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THE
FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW,

No. XLV.

FOR APRIL, 1839.

- ART. I.—1. *Meteorological Sketches.* By an Observer, (W. C. Redfield, Esq. of New York). Prepared for the 13th edition of the American Coast Pilot. American Journal of Science, No. I. Vol. XXXIII.
2. *Mr. Redfield, in Reply to Mr. Espy, on the Whirlwind Character of certain Storms.* From the Journal of the Franklin Institute.

WE venture, with all respect to our readers, to offer ourselves as one of their aides-de-camp or professional friends in this inquiry—not so much, however, to save them the trouble of reference to the works in question, as to guide their investigations by directing their attention to the most important facts of the subject. We have seen a few gales of wind in our time; and though it has never fallen to our lot to encounter a real hurricane, we have often studied their history on those lands and seas over which they sweep with an irresistible fierceness, that seems to defy alike the skill of the engineer on shore, and the seaman afloat. We have always believed from the surprising uniformity in their action, that the laws which regulated their formidable movements would one day be brought to light; and that then the hurricane, like an enemy whose movements we have discovered, might be more successfully coped with.

Colonel Reid lays no claim to originality in this discovery of the Law of Storms,*

* An Attempt to develop the Law of Storms, by means of Facts, arranged according to Place and Time, and hence to point out a Cause for variable

which belongs, in part, to Franklin;—who clearly showed that gales of wind are progressive in a direction independent of that of the wind blowing in them;—in part to Colonel Capper, who suggested that they are vortices;—but essentially to Mr. Redfield of New York, who was the first person, Colonel Reid says, that gave any just notion of the nature of hurricanes. It is due to Mr. Redfield to mention that, until Colonel Reid informed him of Colonel Capper's having previously suggested the rotatory theory of storms, he was quite ignorant of the fact. This we can positively assert. Various other authorities have assisted more or less in this inquiry*—but it is not our present purpose to go into a history of the subject, still less to enter into the controversies to which it has given rise; but rather to lay before our readers with all impartiality the present state of our knowledge of the facts, so far as they seem to bear on the purposes of navigation. This we do, in the confident expectation that the attention of our

Winds, with a view to practical use in Navigation. By Lieut.-Col. Reid, of the Royal Engineers. London: Weale. 1835.

* Dove of Berlin, whose ingenious speculation—for it is no more—has the following remarkable passage in one of his papers: "Hence," says he, "I ascertained, that in this country at least (Prussia), all winds are great whirlwinds—(I have seen rotations of from one to twenty days): that the rotation within this whirl moves on an average always in the same direction." Dove's Outlines of a General Theory of the Winds, translated in the 67th and 68th Numbers of the L. & E. Ph. Mag. for September and October, 1837.

foreign readers, especially those who inhabit the shores of the Baltic, the western coast of Norway, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea, may be induced to co-operate in this important investigation; by collecting such a series of facts as may tend either to establish the theory first practically developed by Mr. Redfield, and so ably generalized and all but demonstrated by Colonel Reid; or else to substitute some other in its place, no less available in the practice of navigation and seamanship.

It may not be unnecessary, before going further, to say a word or two in explanation of the two technical terms we have just used, and which to most persons, we suspect, convey but vague ideas of essential distinction; but which distinction it is very important to keep in view when we wish either to understand and relish these researches as a matter of scientific curiosity, or to apply our knowledge of the law of storms to practice at sea.

Navigation is the art of conducting a ship; first across the seas from port to port, by knowing the route which may be followed with the most advantage; and next, by ascertaining at any given moment in what part of that route the ship may be, or how far out of it she may have been carried by currents or winds, or the treacherous agency of magnetic deviation. Seamanship on the other hand, so far as it relates to the progress of the voyage, consists in knowing what sail the ship is capable of carrying; how she is to be steered in fine weather; at what angle with the wind and sea she is to be placed in tempests; and generally, how she is to be trained and trimmed that she may make the most way with a fair wind; lose least when it is adverse; be exposed to the smallest quantity of wear and tear, or more serious hazard, in bad weather; and finally, that she may be placed, when the circumstances again become favourable, in such a position as to prosecute the voyage with advantage.

For want of these two kinds of knowledge many a goodly ship has gone to the bottom—many a voyage has been baulked altogether—while innumerable others have been protracted to twice or thrice their proper duration, to the serious loss of the owners, the health of the crew, and often to the ruin of the ship, by the needless straining to which she has been exposed.

It is very true that old sailors, especially if their business leads them to traverse again and again the same districts of the ocean, do acquire an instinctive sense of the right thing to do, even under the fiery trial of a hurricane; but by far the greater number

of sailors, however experienced, have hitherto been left very much at a loss on these occasions. Of the truth of this an inspection of the numerous log-books brought together by the industry of Colonel Reid will afford ample proof. Nor is the remark confined to the merchant service, but includes in many cases the most highly educated and experienced officers in the navy. It is easy to perceive indeed, that talents, and the longer or shorter exercise of those habits of resource which the naval profession above all others has a tendency to teach, make a vast difference in the manner in which different ships are handled under similar circumstances of danger and difficulty. But nothing is more certain, as every observant officer must have felt, than the practical advantage which results from an acquaintance with the theory of the phenomena they have to deal with; since it enables them to form a business-like generalization of the laws of the winds, currents, and so forth, which they must meet in traversing the ocean.

Of all the difficulties that seamen have to encounter there is perhaps none which has more frequently baffled their skill or perplexed their science, than the hurricanes of the West Indies and the coast of America, and those of the Mauritius. As it happens also unfortunately, that these districts form parts of the most frequented routes of the ships of all nations, not a season passes in which we do not hear of vast losses of life and property, both on board ships and on shore. So that it becomes a question of great practical importance to ascertain the laws by which these furious tempests are governed; for until this be done it is but vain to hope that they can be successfully coped with. Indeed we may easily discover from inspecting the log-books in Colonel Reid's volume, that in many instances ships have been led into destruction by some of the ablest and most experienced hands, from their acting quite in the dark as to the movements of the elements around them; while, had they been in possession of the facts here recorded and of the generalizations based upon them, they might have saved their vessels.

It must not be supposed, however, that the law of these great storms is as yet fully determined; on the contrary, the chief object of Mr. Redfield's publications, and of Colonel Reid's, is to show the incomplete state of our knowledge of the facts upon which alone any safe and practical theory can be built. These gentlemen have, with great industry and public spirit, devoted themselves to the collection and arrangement of an immense mass of details; and their inferences from

these facts are drawn with so much ingenuity, that we are sure the science of navigation will immediately feel the benefit of the dispersion of Colonel Reid's book. This we rejoice to hear has met with the encouragement of the Admiralty, the Trinity House, and various other influential public boards, and has been sent, officially, to the Governors of all our Colonies.

We are most anxious to contribute our share in this important research, which is not merely national but universal; and of high interest to every country possessing either ships, colonies, or commerce. An inspection of Colonel Reid's work, in which is condensed and arranged all that is known up to this moment, will show the value of accumulating new facts; observed, not for the purpose of substantiating this or that hypothesis, but with a view to elucidating the actual laws that govern the winds; and they, we may be well assured, are as precise and uniform as those which regulate the other phenomena of nature. With the help of the rotatory and progressive theory which we shall presently explain, it is clear that observations may be made with much greater advantage than heretofore, even should that theory not turn out to be the correct one. Observers will now be taught how, and what, to note and to record; and we anxiously hope that the diffusion of this notice of the subject, on the continent as well as in this country, will essentially contribute to the establishment of such a series of general rules as may be available by practical men in all climates. This result can be accomplished only by the collection of a great mass of actual observations, patiently examined and reasoned upon, at full leisure, in the closet of such men as Redfield and Reid; to be afterwards made use of by seamen in their times of greatest danger and difficulty.

We have already mentioned that the nature of a hurricane, and probably of all great storms, was first suggested, as we believe, by Colonel Capper, who says—

"It would not, perhaps, be a matter of great difficulty to ascertain the situation of a ship in a whirlwind, by observing the strength and changes of the wind. If the changes are sudden and the wind violent, in all probability the ship must be near the centre of the vortex of the whirlwind; whereas if the wind blows a great length of time from the same point, and the changes are gradual, it may reasonably be supposed the ship is near the extremity of it."

This hint has been at last acted on and followed out with great success by Mr. Redfield, who, from living in the United States, had the best means of studying those great

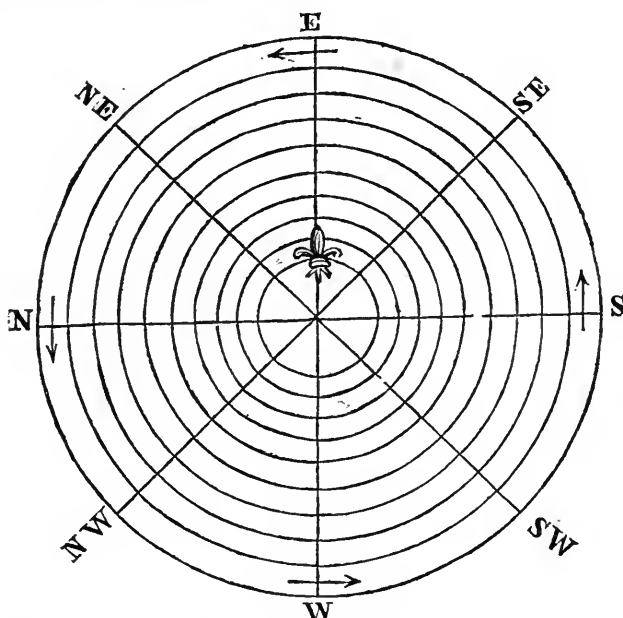
hurricanes that, after exerting their worst violence among the west islands, visit the shores of the United States, along which they often sweep with great force. This able philosopher has accordingly availed himself of his position with singular address, and Colonel Reid is not slow to acknowledge the extent of his obligations to his trans-atlantic fellow-labourer.

Franklin, as we have said, was aware that what he called north-east storms,—or those storms in which the wind blew from the north-east point of the compass, came in reality from the south-west; that is to say, they were first felt in those parts of the country which lay to the southward and westward of his position—beginning in Florida, then striking the state of Georgia, and so on to the Carolinas, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and finally Massachusetts, which state contains Boston. Now as this town, where Franklin resided, lies at the weathermost point of the tract of these gales, it became an interesting question to determine how they came from the leeward: but his explanation, though ingenious, is certainly not near so satisfactory as the present theory. Franklin's idea was, that from some cause a partial vacuum was formed in the south-west, near the point where the gale was first felt, and the adjacent winds rushing in to supply the vacant space, caused the north-eastern gale; farther, that as the place of this air was also to be supplied, another and another portion was called into action, beginning from the south-west and proceeding to the north-east.* The doctrine held by Mr. Redfield, and we think substantiated by the facts brought together by him and by Colonel Reid is, that a hurricane or great gale is simply a whirlwind, revolving (at least in the northern hemisphere) in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a watch; or from right to left, supposing yourself in its centre; and that, at the same time, the centre of this vortex is advancing in a line at one time nearly straight, and at another considerably curved, but always at a rate of progression which is very slow compared to that of the wind circulating round this centre.

It will greatly assist the reader of Colonel Reid's book to construct a figure like the

* Franklin's words are, "Thus to produce a north-east storm, suppose some great rarefaction of the air in or near the gulph of Mexico, the air rising thence has its place supplied by the next more northern, cooler, and therefore denser and heavier air; a successive current is formed, to which our coast and inland mountains give a north-east direction." This theory falls to pieces under a very slight examination of Mr. Redfield's facts collected in the United States.

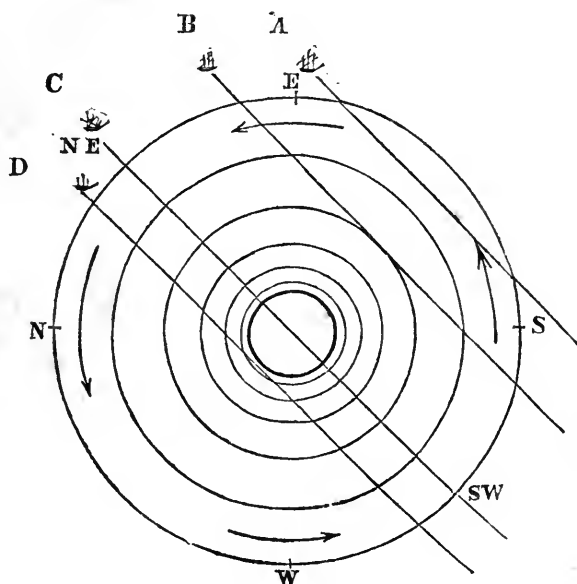
following, of concentric circles on a card, and hold it in his hand or lay it on the maps at the end of the book. We know indeed by experience that it is not easy to follow the Colonel's explanations without the help of such a guide, but that by its means the whole is perfectly simplified.



N. B. The letters and the arrows show the direction from which the wind is blowing.

An inspection of this figure will show that if such be a representation of the manner in which the wind revolves round a centre, which we have ample reason to suppose that it does in the northern hemisphere, the following circumstances may be expected. On the northern part of all the circles, great and little, the wind will be found to blow from the east, while on the south parts of the same circles it will be blowing from the west: on the right or eastern hand the wind will be from the south, and on the left or western side from the north. At the intermediate points the wind will be found to vary between these points. Thus half way between the eastern and northern sides of the circles the wind will be found to blow from the south-east, and so on.

It may be proper to mention that, so far as authentic observations have yet been compared together, this rotatory law (that is, from right to left, or contrary to the motion of the hands of a watch) belongs to all hurricanes and other great storms in the *northern* hemisphere; while similar observations tend to show that the storms of the *southern* hemisphere revolve in the opposite direction. In order to avoid confusion, however, we shall confine ourselves to the storms on the northern side of the equator; and this being borne in mind, we shall proceed to explain by means of a diagram, what would take place if a rotatory storm, advancing in a north-western direction, were to strike four ships differently situated.



The wind would not veer much, as Colonel Reid remarks, while the hurricane was passing over A, the ship which lay most to the eastward. It would commence with her at about east by south and leave off at south by east. The next ship, B, would be plunged deeper into the hurricane. With her the gale would commence at east by north, then it would veer to east, next to south-east, then to south, and on leaving her it would blow from south by west. The ship C, which is supposed to be placed directly in the path of the hurricane's centre, would get the gale at north-east; and this direction would be continued without any variation, but probably with unceasing violence till the centre of the hurricane had nearly reached her, when she would experience a short calm; after this the wind would blow again with great violence from the opposite, or south-western quarter, without variation in direction but probably with gradually diminishing violence, till it left her altogether. The fourth ship, D, would get the gale first at north-east by north, then north north-east, next north by east, then north, north by west, and north-west in succession; after which it would veer to west north-west, west, west south-west, and lastly to about south-west by west on quitting the gale.

With this example steadily kept in the mind, and a card of the description we have recommended at p. 4. always ready to lay on the maps as the reader prefers them, or to hold in his hand while consulting the log-books from which Colonel Reid gives the most copious extracts, we are convinced that the whole of the documentary part of the work may be understood, and the proper degree of weight be given to the evidence brought forward. It must be recollected that when the question regards phenomena in the southern hemisphere, the rotatory motion of storms is in the direction of the hands of a watch, or from left to right. We fear it would be altogether hopeless to give any just notion of the degree of conviction with which the evidence of Colonel Reid's witnesses impresses our minds, unless we could give not merely the words of their testimony, but also (which is quite out our power) the beautifully executed and satisfactory charts, by which not only the work is embellished, but the whole argument illustrated in the clearest manner. We may describe, however, what is the nature of this evidence. It consists of a great number of records, simultaneously but independently made, of the direction of the wind and the state of the weather, at a great variety of places, during the period that a storm has been sweep-

ing over given districts, whether at sea or on land, or both. It will be evident from these data that, if the rotatory theory be true, and instead of one gale uniform in direction sweeping over the district in question, a whirlwind more or less limited in diameter be carried along a given course, that then the winds adjacent to that course will vary in succession through every point of the compass.

At first sight this might appear merely a matter of scientific curiosity; but it is to be considered that if the captain of a ship be informed of the exact part of the storm in which he is involved, and be in possession of the laws which regulate its direction and its degrees of violence, he may be able to shape such a course as either to escape from the vortex altogether, or to separate himself as far as he can from those divisions of it where the wind blows with the greatest force. Even supposing, which is but a common case, that the fury of the storm is too great to admit of any sail being carried at all, or any headway being made, still it may in most instances be in the power of the commander to place his ship on the tack he pleases; and this alone, under certain circumstances, may often be the means of saving a ship from foundering.

We are not afraid of being found too technical to be understood when we say that if a ship is lying to, even under bare poles, it is of considerable consequence to her safety to know whether the wind is likely to veer forward or to veer aft. If it veer or shift aft, that is, come more and more fair, or towards the stern, the ship "comes up" as it is called, and no greater harm is done than her plunging into the head sea which the previous wind had knocked up. But if the wind shifts forward, or in sea language "breaks her off," she is apt, if the shift of wind is sudden, to be taken aback, and in certain cases is forced stern foremost amongst the waves, and so sent to the bottom before means can be taken to "pay her off."

This, we think, will be quite enough to show the great importance to seamen of their being made aware of the "Law of Storms;" and we consider that the naval profession, military as well as mercantile, all over the world, are in the highest degree indebted to Colonel Reid for having gone into this branch of the subject with a technical precision, truly remarkable in a person not bred to the sea, and a clearness which no one at all interested in the subject, and on the spot where the danger arises, can possibly mistake.

Colonel Reid winds up his book by a notice, entitled "Rule for laying ships to in a

hurricane;" and since, practically speaking, this is perhaps the most important point of the whole discussion, we shall give his directions in his own words, which no seaman could improve.

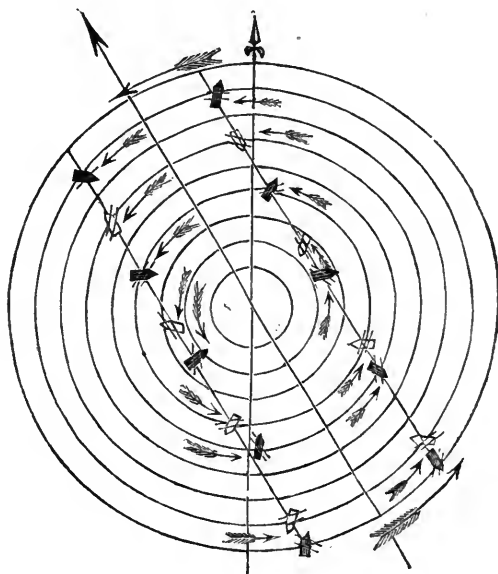
"That tack," says the Colonel, "in which a ship should be laid to in a hurricane has been hitherto a problem to be solved; and is one which seamen have long considered important to have explained. In these tempests, when a vessel is lying to, and the wind veers by the ship's head, she is in danger of getting stern way, even when no sail is set; for in a hurricane, the wind's force on the masts and yards alone will produce this effect, should the wind veer ahead; and it is supposed that vessels have often foundered from this cause. When the wind veers aft,

as it is called, or by the stern, this danger is avoided; and a ship then *comes up* to the wind, instead of having to *break off* from it.

"If great storms obey fixed laws, and the explanation given of them in this work be the true one, then the rule for laying a ship to, follows like the corollary to a problem already solved.

"In order to define the two sides of a storm, that side will here be called 'the right hand semicircle' which is on the right of the storm's course, as we look in the direction in which it is moving; just as we speak of the right bank of a river.

"The rule for laying a ship to will be, when in the *right hand* semicircle, to heave-to on the *starboard* tack, and when in the *left hand* semicircle, on the *larboard* tack, in both hemispheres.

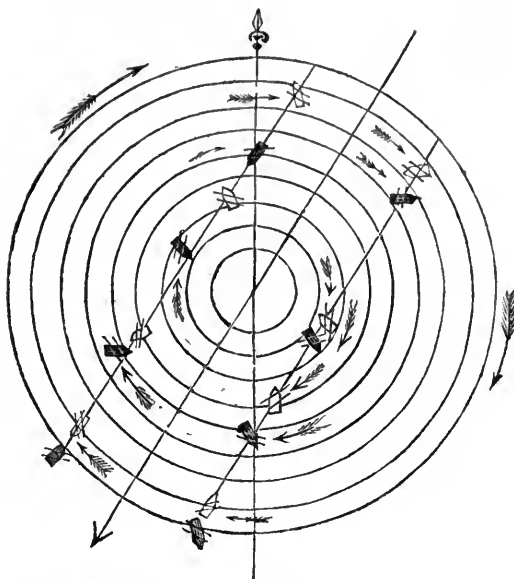


"This figure is intended to represent one of the West India hurricanes moving towards the north-west by north, in the direction of the spear drawn obliquely. The commander of a ship can ascertain what part of a circular storm he is falling into, by observing how the wind begins to veer. Thus in the preceding figure, the ship which falls into the right hand semicircle would receive the wind at first about east by north, but it would soon veer to east, as the storm passed onwards. The ship which falls into the left hand semicircle, would at first receive the wind at north-east, but with this latter ship, instead of veering towards the east, it would veer towards the north."—p. 425.

The Colonel might have added in further illustration of the practical use of these laws

that, supposing either of the ships in the above figure to have had it in their power to carry sail, instead of lying to, the one might have steered to the north-east, and the other to the south-west, and thus have got beyond the limits of the hurricane before they came abreast of the centre; and here all authorities seem agreed in placing the most violent gusts, and the most sudden and dangerous shifts of wind.

It is not very easy at first to understand how the above rule, laid down by Col. Reid for lying to, will apply to the hurricanes of the southern hemisphere which are known to devolve in the opposite direction. But this will be obvious by considering the following figure.



"In both these figures the black ships are on the proper tacks, the white, or unshaded ships, being on the wrong ones.

"The second figure is intended to represent one of those hurricanes in south latitude which pass near Mauritius, proceeding to the south-eastward. The whirlwind is supposed to be passing over the vessels in the direction of the spear head. It will be seen that the black ships are always *coming up*, and the white ships always *breaking off*; and that they are on opposite tacks on opposite sides of the circle.

"Thus the *Astrea*, commanded by Sir C. Schomberg, was on the proper tack on the 20th March, 1811, and an inspection of the log of that ship at p. 236, will show how gradually she came up; but the *Buccleugh* on the 22d January, 1834, (pp. 152 and 153, and the figure on p. 151,) having had the wind from E. S. E. veering to south then to south south-west, thereby proving her to be on the right hand semicircle of a storm moving southerly, was in the wrong position when laid to on the larboard tack. Had she been on the other tack, the wind veering would have drawn aft; then, perhaps, she would not have been so long with her broadside in the trough of the sea, and with her lee waist full of water."—p. 428.

We make no apology for dwelling chiefly on these practical points, for we feel above all things anxious to show that such inquiries are really useful to seamen, and are not merely ingenious speculations. Our wish is to encourage observers on shore as well as afloat to take notice of the facts, and to record them carefully, under the impression that their labour will be usefully bestowed in rendering navigation more certain and more safe; and we would solicit the attention of navigators to these investigations from a conviction of the truth of what Colonel Reid so often urges; namely, that if the wind in storms follows a fixed law, much

advantage must be immediately gained by the knowledge of that law.

We have already pointed out some of the advantages of knowing these laws, but we may advert to others. Colonel Reid shows that, in several cases, ships by not knowing what they were about, or rather by not knowing what the winds were about, actually kept company with hurricanes, as if such companionship were a thing to be sought!

"In following," says he, "the tracks of storms here detailed, we find that the hurricane drawn on chart vi. passed over the island of Antigua in six hours; yet the ship *Judith-and-Esther* not far from that island, was twenty-four hours in that storm, for she ran along it; and many other instances of the same nature occur in this inquiry."—p. 429.

If the reader will refer to the account of the fatal gale well known in the Indian seas by the name of the *Blenheim's Storm*, in which that ship and the *Java* foundered, he will see at pages 241 and 243, that the *Harrier* brig scudded, that is put herself right before the wind throughout the whole gale, changing her course as the wind veered. Thus she necessarily kept in the hurricane, running round and round one of its circles, for three quarters of a revolution! It is possible, nay, almost certain, that had she been aware of the laws which regulate storms, she might readily have flanked out of it. It is not, however, in the guidance of ships in storms alone that these laws, if they are well founded, may be rendered available in the practice of navigation; for they are highly serviceable in such weather as may be taken advantage of to advance the voyage. A hurricane at sea is like a battle in a campaign; an important but an unfrequent occurrence, for which it is wise to be well prepared. But the general business of a voy-

age like that of a campaign, is to get along ; and it is of as great importance to a navigator to know where to look for a wind, as to know how to profit by it when he has found it. On a voyage to or from India, a skilful sailor, especially if he adds some touch of science to the rule-of-thumb knowledge he has derived from experience, will be able "to pick up a wind" during almost the whole of his track out and home. Let us hear what Colonel Reid says on this subject.

"If one side of a storm be to a ship in her voyage a foul wind, the opposite side of the same storm would be a fair one. Thus within the tropics in the Indian Ocean, the left hand semicircle is a fair wind for ships in their voyage from India to the Cape of Good Hope, whilst the right hand side will assist the voyages of outward-bound ships. But," adds the Colonel with his usual technical precision, "there is this important difference, that in the case of the ships coming from India to the Cape they would carry the fair wind with them ; whereas in the other semicircle, owing to the ships' sailing in the contrary direction to the progression of the gale, they would have the benefit of it during a short time only. Thus if a hurricane coming from the eastward were passing over the Mauritius, moving at the rate of ten miles an hour, and a ship sailing eastward were to fall into the side of the storm next the equator, (she would find the wind fair and blowing from the westward, but) the ship and storm would pass each other in half the time in which the hurricane would pass over the island since they would be travelling at the same rates, but in opposite directions."—p. 429.

He might have completed this illustration by saying, that if a ship coming from Ceylon or Java were to fall in with the storm at its southern border, or that farthest from the equator, she would have a fair wind from the eastward ; and if it were not too violent, she might scud before it so as to "improve the gale" during the whole range of its progression.

We have already mentioned that, without referring to the charts in Mr. Redfield's papers and Colonel Reid's book, and giving much more copious extracts from the log-books of the ships whose places are laid down on the charts than we have space for, we could afford no fair notion of the kind and degree of evidence which is brought forward in support of the rotatory and progressive motion of storms. There is one case, however, which is more susceptible of description in words than the rest, and we shall mention it as an interesting sample of the theory.

Before proceeding to this particular case (that of the *Blanche* frigate), it is but fair to such of our readers as have not seen Colonel Reid's book, or fallen in with Mr. Redfield's

papers in the *American Journals of Science*, to state in general terms that in the months of August and September, which is the well known hurricane-season of the West Indies, these furious tempests are found to begin somewhere between the latitudes of 10° and 20° north, and the longitudes of 55° and 60° west, in that district of the Atlantic lying immediately to the eastward of Barbadoes. The hurricanes would seem to be much more limited in their size at first than they become afterwards ; as is evidenced by their sometimes threading their way, as it were, amongst the windward islands, desolating some and leaving others unharmed and in a state of calm ; or if at sea, dismasting some ships of a fleet, while others at no great distance enjoy moderate breezes ! The hurricane then proceeds on its course towards the west-north-west, and after visiting in succession Barbadoes, Martinique, Gandaloupe, and the other islands of that cluster, falls upon Porto Rico, St. Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba. Hereabouts it generally begins to bend its course more towards the north. In military language the hurricane here obeys the order "left shoulders forward !" or as sailors would say, "puts its helm a-port," making furious havoc at Turk's Island, and at Rum Key, and others of the Bahamas, a region especially exposed to the fury of these tempests. After this the gale, now greatly expanded in width, shapes a course nearly north ; which, however, it continues but a short time before it re-curves, or bends back into a north-eastern route ; and this it maintains along the shores of the United States till it passes New York, the Eastern States, and Nova Scotia, and is finally dissipated about the region of the Banks of Newfoundland.

During this long march of about three thousand miles the hurricane advances at a very slow rate, say from ten to twenty miles an hour only ; or not more, and frequently not so much as, the ordinary velocity of the trade winds ! When it is considered that the velocity of the wind *in* the hurricane itself often amounts to 80, 90, or 100 miles an hour, it is difficult if not impossible to account for the well known facts of the case upon any other supposition than that they are merely progressive whirlwinds.

We shall now glance at the curious case of the *Blanche* frigate, Commodore Farquhar, which was off the north side of Cuba on the 12th of August, 1830. On the 15th she passed through the straits of Florida under the full influence of the gulf stream, which carried her rapidly to the northward. Here she was overtaken by a hurricane, which, having passed a little to the northward of Barbadoes three days before, must have trav-

elled at the rate of about seventeen miles an hour in a direction about north-west-by-west. The left or north-western side of the whirlwind appears to have struck the *Blanche* in the middle of the night, for the wind blew from the north-east. She was then on the starboard tack, but as the wind veered to the northward she fortunately wore ship about sunrise; and placed herself on the larboard, or proper tack for a ship in the left hand semicircle of the storm.

There she lay, plunging at a great rate, losing her topmasts and other spars piecemeal, springing her lower masts, splitting her sails, and having men washed overboard; in short, exposed to all the fury of the hurricane. Meanwhile the storm having reached nearly its extreme western point, had recurved, and was proceeding slowly on its course to the north-north-west; and thus the *Blanche* (being in the left half of the whirlwind) had the wind blowing successively from the north-east, north, north-west, and, finally, west and south-west, till at last the storm passed on and left her altogether. By dint of the south-west wind in the tail of the hurricane, and the favourable agency of the gulf stream, she made rapid progress to the north-eastward. On the 22d of August, however, she was overtaken by a fresh hurricane, which came from the southward, after having swept past the Bahamas as usual. On this occasion, however, the *Blanche* passed through the right hand semicircle of the storm, which is manifest from her having the wind first from the east-north-east, then the east, veering so quickly to the south-east and south, as to indicate a near approximation to the centre of the whirlwind. And here, one of many apparently minute, but really important details is obtained by an inspection of the actual log-book. We allude to the circumstance of the foresail being set just at the time the wind had shifted from south-east to south; and when, had the commander been aware of the true theory of storms, he might have suspected that the lull in which he made sail as if the storm had passed, was only indicative of his being close to the central, or most dangerous district of the hurricane. Accordingly, on reading a little farther, we find that a heavy sea presently stove in the cabin deadlights; the reefed foresail was again hauled up, the hurricane increased, and the forestay sail blew to pieces.

On this occasion, too, the *Blanche* was on the starboard, or proper tack; so that as the wind shifted from south-east to south, and so to south-west and west, she always "came up" as the wind hauled round. What is highly curious in itself, and important in confirmation of the rotatory theory in storms,

is the fact, that while the *Blanche*, at the distance of between three and four hundred miles from the coast of America, had the wind blowing from the south-east, veering to south west and west, it was "every where a north-east storm along the whole range of the United States."—Reid, p. 121. This clearly indicates that the centre of the whirlwind passed along at some distance from the shore, in a direction so nearly parallel to it, that only the north-western, or left hand division of the circle swept the different parts of the coast in succession; so that while to the inhabitants of the "seaboard" of the United States this gale seemed merely a north-eastern storm, it veered all round the compass to the *Blanche* and various other ships at some distance from the coast. For example, the *Britannia* sailed from New York on the 16th of August, and met the hurricane on the 17th, when the wind was north-east, but it presently shifted to the east-north-east, and then to south-east. In like manner the ship *Illinois* was overtaken on her way from New Orleans to Liverpool by this same hurricane.

"It will be seen," says Colonel Reid, "that on the 15th of August, 1830, the swell caused by this storm, then to the southward of this ship, reached the vessel; but as the *Illinois* had a fair wind and was assisted by the gulf stream, whilst the storm made a detour towards Charleston and the coast of Georgia, she, for a day, outran the swell; but on the 17th the storm overtook her, blowing furiously from south, whilst at the same moment the wind from the north-east was unroofing the houses at New York!"—p. 14.

This rotatory and progressive theory is greatly strengthened by observing what takes place when the centre of the storm, instead of passing at a distance from the coast, falls near it, or actually upon it. In this case, the inhabitants of the "seaboard" towns experience exactly the same shifts of winds, or veerings, as a ship does, which, like the *Blanche*, is plunged into the heart of the hurricane. The industrious, clear-sighted Redfield has accumulated a number of most interesting facts respecting the second storm of August, 1830, and as these have very properly been reprinted by Colonel Reid, (pages 18, 19, and 20,) any one who pleases may trace its progress along the whole coast.

We shall conclude this branch of the subject by extracting Mr. Redfield's summary of the dimensions, the rate of progression, and the course followed by this remarkable storm, which he says "appears to have passed over the whole route comprised in the foregoing sketch in about six days, or at an average rate of about seventeen geographical miles per hour."

"The duration of the most violent portion of the storm, at the several points over which it passed may be stated at from seven to twelve hours.

"The general width of the tract influenced in a greater or less degree by the gale on the American coast, is estimated to have been from five to six hundred miles. The width of the *hurricane portion* of the track, or severe part of the gale, one hundred and fifty, to two hundred and fifty miles. Semidiameter of the hurricane portion of the storm, seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five miles.

"The rate of the storm's progress from the Island of St. Thomas to Providence Island, Bahamas, (nearly the whole range of the West Indies) fifteen nautical miles an hour. From Providence to St. John's in Florida, sixteen miles per hour. From St. John's to Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, sixteen and a half miles per hour. From Cape Hatteras to Nantucket, on the south-eastern coast of Massachusetts, eighteen miles per hour. From Nantucket to Sable Island, off the south-eastern coast of Nova Scotia, twenty miles per hour."—*Reid, p. 20, cited from Redfield.*

Our space, we regret to say, will not allow us to follow in detail, or indeed at all, any of those memorable West India hurricanes of which Colonel Reid has collected together the accounts; and these he has illustrated by woodcuts and maps of great beauty and interest, and substantiated by such a mass of evidence from the log-books of the ships, the meteorological journals and newspapers of the islands, and the official reports of the various authorities, as sets the question almost at rest. At all events we feel confident, now there is such a key put into the hands of the persons who have most interest in the decision, we mean the inhabitants of the hurricane latitudes, as they are called, and seamen navigating the circumjacent seas, that the point at issue must soon be determined. In the meantime we can safely recommend this portion of Colonel Reid's book to the perusal of the general reader, as likely to afford him—we cannot say amusement—for such formidable scenes are too painful for that—but the highest degree of interest which any such voyages or travels can be supposed to yield.

Besides the more recent hurricanes, five of which he traces in one year, (1837,) Colonel Reid gives a minute and instructive account of the great storm of 1780, when, of Sir Peter Parker's squadron, the Thunderer, the Stirling Castle, Scarborough, Barbadoes, Phoenix, Deal Castle, Victor, and the Endeavour, were all lost, and nearly the whole of their crews perished! The Berwick, Hector, Trident, Ruby, Bristol, Ulysses, and Pomona, were dismantled. Of Sir George

Rodney's squadron, the Blanche, Andromeda, Laurel, Chamelion, and Beaver's prize were lost; and the Vengeance, Montagu, Ajax, Alcmena, Egmont, Endymion, Albemarle, Venus, and Amazon, were dismantled or severely damaged.—p. 275.

In like manner he describes, in more or less detail, the storms of the southern hemisphere; especially those which blow with such irresistible fury at and in the neighbourhood of the Isle of France. The most remarkable of these is known by the name of the "Culloden's Storm;" and from the circumstance of its details having been fully examined into and reported upon by a court of inquiry composed of twelve East India Directors, much light is thrown upon the subject, all tending to establish the rotatory and progressive theory.

We have not space to go into this inquiry; but as it is important to fix attention upon the uniformity in principle between the phenomena of the two hemispheres, we shall quote one paragraph from Colonel Reid's book. Alluding to the Culloden's storm, he says—

"So many ships dispersed by the same storm over a great extent, give us the means of judging of its nature and of the course it took. We find it, after having travelled obliquely with regard to the Trade-wind from the east towards the west, recurving at the 25th and 30th degrees of south latitude, and going off to the *south-eastward*, with a remarkable degree of similarity to the manner in which hurricanes already traced in the northern hemisphere, pass off to the north-eastward."—p. 159.

This singular recurving or bending of the track of these hurricanes, both in the northern and in the southern hemisphere, can be fully understood only from inspection of the maps laid down by Mr. Redfield and Colonel Reid in illustration of their positions. These projections also explain some anomalies which puzzled and misled even the oldest sailors, but which by their help are not only simple, but such as may be turned to account in the practice of navigation.

In the minutes of the proceedings of the committee of inquiry at the India House, most of the commanders speak of this hurricane (the Culloden's gale) as two distinct storms; and throughout their evidence, use the terms first and second gales. This appeared an enigma, until chart VIII. was projected by Colonel Reid—but when the chart was finished, this very circumstance helped to explain the nature of the storm. And further on it is shown almost to demonstration how four of the Indiamen, by not knowing what they were doing, and in entire

ignorance of the laws now developed, must have sailed towards the tract of the storm's centre, "near which, in all probability, they foundered."—p. 160.

"The storm in which H. M. ships Blenheim and Java foundered," says Colonel Reid, "bears the same indication of a rotatory character with those already described."—p. 240.

In short, without multiplying examples, it may be said that in both hemispheres every well authenticated fact or rather set of facts (for it requires a good many simultaneous observations to prevent error,) tends to confirm the rotatory theory.

This brings us to a highly interesting branch of the subject; namely—How do storms behave in high latitudes? and we venture to say that no one who examines Colonel Reid's ninth chapter which answers this inquiry, will fail to discover in it matter of the highest interest, and all the more so from its bringing the subject to our very doors.

"On the south coast of England, violent gales usually set in with the wind about south and veer *by the west*, towards north-west. The barometer falling at the commencement, rises as the wind becomes more northerly. In the corresponding latitude, in the southern hemisphere, this order as regards both wind and barometer is reversed."—p. 369.

Colonel Reid goes on to illustrate his generalization by an attempt, and we think a successful one, to ascertain the nature of the gales of February, 1838, particularly a storm which was severe from the south-east quarter in Ireland, and at the west of Scotland. The scope afforded by Great Britain however being rather too limited for this inquiry, Colonel Reid obtained information from Rear Admiral Sir John Ommaney, commanding on the Lisbon station.

"By the reports from the ships under his command, we find that on the 14th February, when the storm was blowing violently at Cape Clear Light House (on the south of Ireland) from the *south-east*, that the Chamelion was lying-to in a hard gale off Oporto, with the wind at *south-west*. On the 12th February, too, the Bellerophon was driven on shore at Gibraltar, with the wind at *south-west*."—p. 377.

Now we find by the published records (p. 381) that the wind in Ireland at the same moment was from the north-east. It was only wanting, to substantiate the rotatory nature of this gale, to ascertain in what direction the wind was blowing at the bottom of the Bay of Biscay; and we may imagine the satisfaction with which Colonel Reid

ascertained (after his book was published) from an inspection of the log-book of the North Star, Lord John Hay's ship, that the wind at Passages was blowing from the south at the same period that it was blowing from the north-east in Ireland, and from south-west at Cadiz and Gibraltar. Incidentally too he ascertained that the Athol, troop ship, far out in the Atlantic, (in lat. 27° N. long. 36° W.) beyond the Azores and Madeira, had light variable winds on the 12th and 13th February, when it was blowing so hard on the coast of Spain and in the Bay of Biscay. What is still more to the purpose, as she sailed on to the north-eastward the wind freshened and came from the west north-west and north-west; evidently showing that the Athol, by steering to the north-eastward, had overtaken the south-western portion of the whirlwind.

Our chief anxiety, throughout these remarks, has been rather to direct the attention of practical men to the most effectual method of meeting gales of wind with advantage to their voyage and safety to their ships, than to indulge in speculations on the most abstract principle of storms. But we are strongly of opinion that the two inquiries—theoretical and practical—may be most advantageously studied together.

One practical remark of great and immediate utility must not be omitted; and we have no doubt that its importance will be felt by all, but especially by persons in command of ships, on whom so heavy a responsibility rests.

An attentive consideration of the circumstances above stated will show that ships may safely, indeed advantageously, leave the American ports for Europe when half the storm is over; that is, when the wind begins to veer to the westward, for then the wind is fair for Europe. But when ships are about to sail *from Europe to America* the contrary will be the case; and ships starting from European ports should be very cautious how they put to sea when the wind suddenly changes to the south-east, with gusts and squalls, accompanied by a falling barometer;—for these combined symptoms indicate a coming storm. If the ships then put to sea with a fair wind at east or south-east, that is, during the first half of the storm, they will find the wind veer upon them to the south, south-west, and west, in the latter half of the storm. Thus they may encounter foul winds and bad weather while still entangled amongst the narrow seas and channels of the British islands. We believe that a neglect of these precautions is one of the principal causes of the many disastrous losses by shipwreck on the southern and western

coasts of England and Ireland. The great gale of Sunday night, the 6th of January, 1839, when so many ships were lost at Liverpool, is a remarkable case in point.

We may mention a very curious and important circumstance which occurred during the furious gale of the 29th October, 1838. The Royal Adelaide and Leith steamers were both off Flamborough Head on the morning of Monday the 29th, when the storm was raging. One of these vessels, as it appears, steered to the north north-east and continued in the gale for ten hours, while the other, by steering to the southward, remained in it only three hours. Now, we know from the facts collected in the Nautical Magazine for February 1839, that the progress of this storm was to the north north-east, which satisfactorily explains the above facts.

There is one point in practice of which every narrative in these books shows the importance, and to which we are most desirous of drawing the attention, not only of nautical men, but of the owners and underwriters of ships also. We allude to the indications of the marine barometer; an instrument absolutely invaluable, because it gives warning of physical changes in the atmosphere. These when taken in conjunction with other meteorological circumstances may almost always be turned to useful account; either in avoiding a gale, or in preparing for it, or in running out of it, or by making or shortening sail in due time. So strongly are we impressed with the primary importance of this instrument that we should earnestly counsel underwriters to require that every ship insured by them be provided with one.

Colonel Reid with his usual anxiety to give every one his due share of credit states, that we are indebted also to Mr. Redfield for the true explanation of the rise and fall of the barometer. And certainly we have nowhere seen the probable effect on the barometric column, exposed to the action of a whirlwind (which we may now fairly suppose all great storms to be,) so clearly pointed out as in Mr. Redfield's Reply to Mr. Espy, and in his Meteorological Sketches. He there shows that the atmospheric pressure must be at the least in the centre of such a vortex, and that it must increase as the outward limits are reached. He even supposes that the barometer may stand higher than its ordinary level, and not beyond the verge of a storm; and he has communicated to Colonel Reid (p. 418) that when the great hurricane of the middle of August, 1837, was passing, he observed the barometer at New York considerably above thirty inches!

"I would explain," says Colonel Reid, "the fall and rise of the barometer, by

taking a tumbler three-quarters full of water, and then making the fluid whirl round by a tea-spoon. Then hold the glass to the light, and the surface of the liquid will be seen in the form of a cone reversed. Sections across this cone will indicate the fall and rise of the mercury in the barometer."

We have only further to add on this part of the topic, that the indications of the barometer in the southern hemisphere are just the reverse of those in the north, and in all cases strictly in accordance with the rotatory theory. The extracts given by Colonel Reid from Captain King's sailing directions for Tierra del Fuego, p. 369 to 372, show this important fact.

Colonel Reid says in his book, that throughout his investigation into storms he has been desirous of avoiding mere hypothesis: and we think he has done wisely to employ his principal strength in collecting and arranging facts from every quarter, in order to form a substantial basis for those generalizations of which every page of his book shows the practical importance. But he has also favoured us with many valuable hints, both theoretical and practical, which we recommend not only to the attention of scientific men on shore and afloat, but to navigators in every part of the world.

Now, too, that our attention has been awakened, and that we have satisfactory evidence that *some* storms are rotatory and progressive, it is fair to infer that all or very many others may be so also; nor would it be difficult to bring this to the test of experiment in the case of ordinary squalls. Suppose, for example, that three ships were in company and sailing south, on the starboard tack, with the wind at west, and that a squall was seen coming down on their weather-beam. If the centre of the three were to lie-to in such a position as to bring the centre of the squall just upon her, while the headmost ship stood on so as to place herself abreast of the *southern* quarter of the squall, and the sternmost ship by tacking got in a line *with its northern* side, the rotatory character of the squall, if such exist, might be ascertained at once by actual observation. If its laws are the same as those of hurricanes and other great storms, and the experiment were tried in the northern hemisphere, the middle ship, or that which lay-to in order to receive the squall full upon her, would be taken aback by the wind at south; this would not change in its direction till the centre of the squall passed over her, when the wind would shift suddenly to the north, and continue so till it had left her again in the general current of the atmosphere blow-

ing from west. The headmost ship would get the wind first from south-west, which, unless she was "boxed off" briskly, might bring her about; then it would draw to west, and so to north-west, till it left her. The sternmost ship, or that which tacked to the northward, would get the wind first from the south-east, then east, then north-east.

There is one point respecting squalls which we have observed so frequently that we think we may call it general, namely, their slow progressive motion compared to the rapid motion of the wind with them; a fact which we could never find any explanation for till Col. Reid's work called our attention to the rotatory theory.

We shall conclude by giving one recommendation as to the preparation of a ship for a hurricane, which we have had the good fortune to hear from the lips of the ablest seaman and one of the greatest officers alive—we mean Sir Thomas Hardy, the veteran warrior, who, after a life of constant service and constant distinction, has retired to a situation of leisure which, were he to devote it to the simple record of his own seamanlike thoughts, might render the close of his career as permanently useful as its whole course has been brilliant. Sir Thomas Hardy was in command of the *Triumph*, one of Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, so many of which were dismasted in a hurricane in 1806. He, however, saved his masts, by striking his lower yards and topmasts; a proceeding which many officers, unacquainted with its advantages, or not knowing the facility with which it can be done, even in the largest ships, may not unnaturally shrink from. After the hurricane, Sir Richard Strachan, whose ship was disabled, hoisted his flag on board the *Triumph*, and a gale came on almost equal in violence to the hurricane. Sir Thomas astonished the admiral, who was a perfect sceptic as to the practicability of such a measure, by getting all ready to strike lower yards as the gale increased. He allowed it to be done, however, and as the gale moderated he expressed a wish to have the foresail set as soon as possible. The fore-yard was instantly swayed up, the sail let fall, reefed, and set almost as quickly as if it had been the fore-topsail! Nor were these solitary instances; for we have heard Sir Thomas Hardy say that he was in the current practice of striking his lower yards and topmasts whenever the indications of the barometer, and other circumstances, conspired to give warning of a severe gale. We have reason to believe also, that Sir Thomas Hardy was one of the earliest to avail himself of the vast advantages of the barometer; an instrument

which, after the sextant, the chronometer, and the nautical almanac, is unquestionably the greatest boon that science has conferred on modern navigation.

We must not conclude this protracted, but still imperfect notice of Col. Reid's work, without calling the attention of the proper authorities to the atrocious system of plunder and absolute piracy, which still prevails, under the name of *wrecking*, in various parts of the world, especially amongst the islands of the Gulf of Florida; a region over which a far greater number of storms pass than seem to fall to its share.

"The interests of navigation and of the social world," he properly observes, "require that a strict control and watch should be maintained over the conduct of the inhabitants of these islands, which border one of the most frequented as well as the most dangerous thoroughfares in the ocean."—p. 127.

These remarks bring to our mind a story which the late Sir Walter Scott used to repeat with great unction, but which he has unfortunately omitted in his amusing journal of the voyage he took amongst the northern islands of Scotland in the *Lighthouse Yacht*. It appears that the island of Sanda is one of the worst situated for navigation, and the best for wreckers, of any amongst the Orkneys; and the story goes that a worthy minister of that dangerous isle,

"Whose barren beach with frequent wrecks is paved,"

sympathised so deeply with the interests of his flock, that in winding up his prayer for mercy and safety to all mankind, he added—

"Nevertheless, if it please thee to cause hapless ships to be cast on the shore, Oh, dinna forget the puir island of Sanda!"

It is with grief and shame that we feel it our duty to refer to the scandalous conduct of the wreckers on our own shores, who, during the dreadful shipwrecks at Liverpool in the storm of last January, thought only of pillaging the ships, while their crews were left to perish! and had it not been for the admirable conduct of a single steamer, which went out while the gale was still blowing, scarcely a soul would have been saved!

ART. II.—*Leçons sur la Philosophie Chimique professées au Collège de France par M. Dumas, recueillies par M. Bineau.* Paris: Ebrard. 1837.

As supplying requisite information in a popular form, we introduce to our readers the interesting course of lectures delivered by M. Dumas at the *Collège de France* during the months of April, May, and June, 1836,* and collected and published on the authority of M. Bineau, himself a chemist of some note; and we shall endeavour to give, in a connected outline, such details of the progress of the science and biographical notices of its promoters, as may prove not unacceptable to the public.

The origin of chemistry, like that of some other sciences, is veiled in impenetrable obscurity. It is not easy to determine the primitive import of the word, but it has been traced to *Kema*, the book of secrets given by the *Egregori* to the fair daughters of men when these were seduced to their embraces, by which means the knowledge of the sublime science was first imparted generally. It was, however, certainly the name of an art of some kind—but the term, it is said, comprehended originally among the Egyptians the whole of natural philosophy, and afterwards implied the working of metals.

Borrichius and Lenglet du Fresnoy, though they do not assert the divine origin of the science, have classed the eighth descendant of Adam, Tubal Cain, the supposed Vulcan of ancient mythology, as the first chemist whose name has come down to us. We shall examine these points presently.

Mankind must have early acquired some chemical knowledge. Ancient writers, with one accord, though only from their common ignorance, attribute the origin of chemistry to the Egyptians; and the term has been even derived from the old name of Egypt, *Chemia*, which, according to some, it took from Cham, the son of Noah. Two pretended individuals of this nation signalized as chemists are, Thoth or Athotis, surnamed Hermes or Mercury, the son of Mizraim or Osiris and grandson of Cham; and Sephoas, styled king of Egypt, who lived about 800 years after Thoth and 1900 B. C. The latter, to whom the Greeks gave the surname of Hermes Trismegistus, the second Mercury, is regarded as the founder of natural philosophy. The titles of his reputed work on philosophy, which consisted of forty-two

books, have been given by successive writers; but it is not known that any of them treated expressly of chemistry, notwithstanding that the science has been termed after him the Hermetic Philosophy.

The Egyptians in truth cannot properly be considered as at any time acquainted with the science of chemistry; but they were early made aware of various chemical facts, and many and indubitable proofs of this have been collected in one or two not inconsiderable works devoted to the subject. Their progress in the manufacture of not only white but coloured glass, may be instanced. Seneca informs us that they made artificial gems of extraordinary beauty.* They had a method of purifying natron, and of extracting potash from cinders; they prepared lime by the calcination of calcareous stones, and had an intimate knowledge of the uses to which it may be appropriated, as also that it renders the carbonate of soda caustic. Pliny extols their beautiful pigments;† and Baron Denon's testimony to the durability of their colours on mummy cases is confirmed by our own experience. "The green alone appears to have faded; it is sometimes compounded with the blue, though the blue is metallic, the yellow vegetable. The nature of the white, which is most durable, has not been discovered. The red is very brilliant. Red, blue, yellow, green, white, and black, are the colours to be found either on the mummy-cases or the walls of the tombs."‡

This industrious people understood the art of smelting and working gold, silver, copper, lead, brass, and iron. They had also processes for extracting and combining different metals, and producing alloys and other metallic preparations. Litharge, together with the vitriolic and many other salts, were perfectly known to them. They made wine, vinegar, and even beer. Their method of embalming, whatever it was, may be reckoned among the evidences of their chemical knowledge: the statements on this subject by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are very unsatisfactory; and there is reason to believe, as it was the object of the embalmers to shroud their art in mystery, that those writers were either totally deceived, or at least that the mummifying drug was artfully concealed from their knowledge.§

* Epistle xc.

† Lib. xxvi. xxvii.

‡ Pettigrew's *History of Egyptian Mummies*, 4to. 1834, p. 116.

§ Modern science, it appears, has rivalled the Egyptians even in this art, which has so long eluded the world; and a patent has been obtained in England, and also in Paris, for an improved process of embalming and preserving subjects

* We understand that M. Bineau does not intend to publish the course of 1837.

The Hebrews, not impossibly, derived what chemical knowledge they possessed from the Egyptians, during their sojourn among them. The great lawgiver of the Jews has been placed in the number of chemists, from the knowledge that enabled him to dissolve the golden idol worshipped by his people; and dissertations have been written to prove that this solution of gold in water was accomplished by the aid of liver of sulphur, &c. processes which would require a considerable knowledge of chemistry. Our ignorance of the state of science at that time renders incredulity easy, though not always safe, as has been lately proved.

Most of the chemical arts cultivated by the Egyptians spread into Greece: but in following their processes the latter took little pains to discover the causes of the effects they were able to produce. Their ancient philosophers were not devoted to the cultivation of the physical sciences. Plato indeed has described the process of filtration; Hippocrates 400 B. C. was acquainted with that of calcination; and Galen speaks of distillation *per descensum*. Democritus of Abdera, 500 years B. C., employed himself in researches into the nature of plants and precious stones; and Aristotle and Theophrastus treated of stones and metals. The alloy of metals formed at Corinth has been much celebrated. At Lesbos there was a manufactory of glass; and cinnabar was used in some parts of Greece.

The Chinese historians on this, as on other occasions, have claimed the precedence for their countrymen, representing them as immemorially acquainted with various chemical facts, and among the rest with the knowledge of gunpowder. Be this as it may, at the present day they bring, without theory to guide them, some arts to

for anatomical purposes. It is stated that the English patentee addressed a letter to one of the members of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, detailing some curious experiments he had made in order to show the preservative qualities of a fluid which he believed entirely prevented the ordinary effects of putrefaction in animal bodies after death; and inviting the fellows of the society to view the body of a man who died on the 5th and was embalmed on the 9th of November. This communication was accompanied by several specimens of birds—a large Dorking fowl, a pheasant and a pigeon—which had been subjected to the process, and which were found, at the end of more than two months, in a very extraordinary state of preservation; the flesh being perfectly soft and elastic, and not the slightest smell or taint discoverable, although no care had been taken to empty the crops of half-digested food, nor the intestines of feculent matter; nor had the birds been kept otherwise than freely exposed to the air of a common room with a fire in it.

a degree of perfection that might well nigh sink us into despair: as do also the Hindoos, to whom is attributed the invention of the nitrate powder. To these last we are indebted for many ingenious processes, and their manufacture of dyes eclipses all that can be accomplished in Europe; thus fully demonstrating that it is possible for mere practice, pursued with steadiness and accompanied by judicious observation, or even for simple chance, to lead to more perfect methods than obtained by theory. The Tyrian purple is a remarkable proof of the excellency some nations have attained in particular arts. The genius of Sir Humphry Davy, devoted assiduously to the subject, could not, with all the advantages of modern science and theories, discover the process of manufacturing this dye.

The military spirit of the Romans found little leisure for the cultivation of the physical sciences; indeed the sciences generally owe little to them, whatever the fine arts may have gained. So far from advancing chemistry, they may have contributed to its decline; for it is affirmed by Suidas that Dioclesian caused the books of the Egyptians—who even to his time had sustained their reputation as promoters of this science—to be burned, in order that he might subdue them with the greater facility; as he imagined they retained the secret of making gold, by means of which they were enabled to resist his power.

The Arabians may be regarded as early cultivators of chemistry; but the science with them had another and more limited meaning—the *art of making gold*. They have been considered the first alchemists simply, as some conceive, for adopting the Greek term *Χημία*, *Chymia*, with their own definite particle *al* prefixed. The invention of the Alembic also has been attributed to them, and on no better grounds: the word *ἀμβίξ*, *ambix*, was, however, used long before by Dioscorides.

The origin of the opinion that gold might be made by chemical process is unknown. Julius Firmicus Maturnus, at the beginning of the fourth, and Æneas Blasius in the following century, speak of the art as well known.* It was certainly practised by the Greek ecclesiastics, and perhaps passed from them to the Arabians: Suidas appears

* A belief that gold could be extracted if not made from certain minerals must have been much more ancient, as appears from a passage of Pliny: "Invitaverat spes Caium principem avidissimum auri; quam ob rem jussit excoqui magnum auripigmenti pondus, et plane fecit aurum excellens, sed ira parvi ponderis, ut detrimentum sentiret."—*Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 4.*

to have considered the term *χημεία* implied only the *making of gold*. The alchemists pretended that some traces of it are found in the hieroglyphical books of the Egyptian priests, under the veil of which they concealed their mysteries, and that the temple which the Egyptians consecrated to Vulcan was in honour of alchemy. Others maintained that it was above human capacity, and that it was revealed by God; they styled themselves *adepts*, and affirmed that they were not at liberty to impart the secret, for, if they did, some dire calamity would befall them.

Leaving to the last some notices connected with the Eastern part of the subject, it is only about the eighth century of our era that we can form an accurate view of the science among the Arabians; for near this time lived Geber, of Tus in Khorasan, a province of Persia, author of the most ancient works on the subject which have descended to us; in one of which, the "*Summa Perfectionis*," he appears to have collected all that was known of chemistry at that period. Written with an alchemical view, the belief in the transmutation of metals and in an universal medicine is plainly indicated. Geber gives indeed his *red elixir* which is only a solution of gold, (and the same word expresses both,) as a remedy for every disease, and as a means of prolonging life indefinitely and renewing the bloom of youth. To give some idea of the chemistry of Geber's time, we quote the following passage from the best treatise written by him, entitled *De Investigatione Magisterii*.

"To pretend to extract a body from that which does not contain it, is folly. But as all metals are formed of mercury and sulphur more or less pure, (besides these two, Geber recognized a third principle, arsenic,) we may add to them that which is wanting, or take away that which is in excess. To accomplish this, art employs the means proper to each body. These are the kinds which experience has taught us; calcination, sublimation, decantation, solution, distillation, coagulation, fixation, and procreation. As to agents, these are—salts, alums, vitriols, glass, borax, vinegar, and fire."

Chemical knowledge remained chiefly in possession of the Arabians for a long period after Geber, during which the science was cultivated by several distinguished men, whose names have descended to us; among them may be mentioned Rhases and Avicenna as the first who applied chemistry to medicine. Benalt, a monk, is said to have invented glass in England in the seventh century; and the Arabians at the beginning of the eighth introduced chemistry into Spain. It is said to have come to the

general knowledge of Europe during the Crusades; and soon after these expeditions almost every one of its nations became filled with searchers after the philosopher's stone.

One of the earliest known practisers of chemistry in Europe, and assuredly the most distinguished writer on the science of his day, was that redoubtable hero of our childhood's favourite romance—the mighty magician of the old writers—whose name is now recalled to our recollection chiefly with the association of the wonderful brazen head. Roger Bacon was a Cordelier friar. He was born near Ilchester in Somerset, in the year 1214; and studied at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. In perusing his writings we are struck at the same time with the exactness of his knowledge and its universality, and with a depth of thought scarcely credible considering the time when he wrote. He was acquainted with the mechanics of his day, and his notions on physics are particularly clear; in short, making due allowance for his alchemical bias, we are astonished at the frequent precision of his views, many of which his illustrious namesake and successor did not hesitate at appropriating without any acknowledgment.

The association of the idea of magic with chemistry at this dark period of history, is attributable to their origin and union in the Eastern world; but the notion must have been wonderfully strengthened by the mysterious and hyperbolical statements of the early followers of the art. Credulous themselves, they naturally deceived others. Nor is Roger Bacon free from this peculiar mysticism; and it would require no very great stretch of imagination, after reading his treatise "*De mirabili potestate Artis et Naturæ*," where the power of art and nature is curiously exaggerated, to fancy him acquainted with balloons, diving-bells, suspension-bridges, steam-engines, &c.* These

* These exaggerations are pleasingly noticed by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his interesting little work, entitled, "*Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages—The Merchant and the Friar*;" in which the Friar is represented as saying,—"*Bridges, unsupported by arches, can be made to scan the foaming torrent. Man shall descend to the bottom of the ocean, safely breathing, and treading with firm step on the golden sands never brightened by the light of day. Call the secret powers of Sol and Luna into action, and I behold a single steersman sitting at the helm and guiding the vessel, which divides the waves with greater rapidity than if she had been filled with a crew of mariners toiling at the oars. And the loaded chariot, no longer encumbered by the panting steed, darts on its course with resistless force and rapidity. Let the pure and simple elements do thy labour. Bind the eternal enemies, and yoke them to the same plough.*"

overcharged assertions have, not without ample grounds, raised a doubt as to Roger Bacon's claim to the invention of gunpowder, which he manufactured nearly a century before the time of Swartz, generally reputed the discoverer. We learn from the preface to the work quoted below that there are two other remarkable examples of the possession of the same receipt, towards the conclusion of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, which exist only in MS., and have hitherto not been noticed. The first is given in an incited epistle containing a selection of eighty-eight "experiments," preserved in the Bodleian Collection (Digby MS. 67), and purporting to be translated from Arabic into Latin; it is addressed to one Anselm, by Brother Ferrarius or Efferarius, of whom little is known except what appears by his designation, and that he is claimed as belonging to one of the northern provinces of the Spanish peninsula. The second is found in a manuscript once forming part of the Spelman Collection, and now possessed by Mr. Hudson Gurney,—not in a regular treatise, but in a page of collectanea—traditional rhymes and proverbial sayings,—and is in all probability much older than the era when it was thus jotted down. We give M. Dumas' version of Bacon's receipt in order that our readers may compare with it the two others above-mentioned, which we offer in a note—premising that the chemists, after all, have not found the former susceptible of a satisfactory solution: "*Sed tamen salis petræ LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET sulphuris, et sic facies tonitrum et coruscationem, si scias artificium.*"*

Make the contraries unite, and teach the discordant influences to conjoin in harmony. Aid the antagonists to conquer each other; and do thou profit by their mutual victories."

* The carbon and the doses, it is seen, are designated in the above in an enigmatical manner; the Spaniard, it will be observed, enters into de ails:—

"Accipe partem unam, aut libram vel unciam sulphuris vivi, duas libras carbonum salicis sive tilhæ, et sex libras salis petrosi: tere subtilissime in lapide marmoreo vel porfirico. Postea pulveris ad libitum in tunica reponatur volauli vel tonitrum faciente. Notandum est quod tunica ad volandum longa debet esse et gracilis et prædicto pulvere optime concultato repleta; tunica facies tonitrum debet esse brevis et grossa, et prædicto pulvere semiplena et ab utraque extremitate filo forissimo bene clausa. Et nota quod in qualibet tunica foramen parvum faciendum est, ad hoc, quod tenta in illo reposita valeat illuminari; tenta vero in ambabus extremitatibus debet esse gracilis, in medio vero lata et prædicto pulvere bene repleta. Nota etiam quod duplex poteris facere tonitrum ac duplex volatile instrumentum, videlicet, tunicam subtiliter in tunica recludendo."

But although we concede to Bacon the knowledge of compounding the ingredients constituting gunpowder, we cannot assent to the assertion of Sir Francis Palgrave, that he "had attained the knowledge of the process of *granulation*—so simple, and yet so concealed from his contemporaries, and by which the commixture of ingredients alone obtained its mischievous perfection." It seems extremely improbable that this process, which is not even essential to the manufacture of perfect gunpowder, should have been thought of before the invention of fire-arms; for the more convenient use of which only granulation was necessary. For all purposes to which Bacon could have applied it, it would have been more effective in fine dust than in grains.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to remark, that there is not in any of Bacon's works any real foundation for those marvellous tales of which he has been made the subject. Indeed, in his chief work, entitled "*Opus Majus*," although he sufficiently evinces a failing shared by him in common with the age in which he lived, in expressing a belief that certain chemists have been able to make the precious metals and discover the means of prolonging life during many ages, he does not intimate that this was to be attained by the intervention of supernatural means, but simply by dint of repeated experiment, unwearied observation, and indefatigable application. Even in his small treatise, "*De mirabili potestate Artis et Naturæ*," he particularly dwells on the absurdity of believing in necromancy and charms; and mentions various ways in which men may be deceived by jugglers, ventriloquists, &c. But these sound views were not shared by the brethren of his order; they accused him of magic, and he was accordingly thrown into prison.

Several inventions are ascribed to Roger Bacon besides the brazen head; a locomotive chariot, a flying machine, the telescope, camera obscura, &c.

The field of science was at the same time occupied by another remarkable personage, hardly less distinguished than our own countryman, and who also had the reputation of being deeply skilled in the black art, his wondrous feats having likewise furnished

The Spelman receipt is as follows:—

"De mixtione pulveris ad faciendum le Crake. Primo accipe quantitatem quantum volueris de salpetro, et pondera eam per quatuor partes equales. Deinde accipe unam partem ex illis, et contra illam, pondera sulfurum vivum. Deinde divide ipsum sulfurum vivum in duas partes, et contra unam partem ex illis duobus, pondera carbonem de salice. Omnibus istis aggregatis, fiat pulvis."

the nursery with not a little of its lore. Albert of Bollstädt (or Albert the Great) was born in Swabia in 1205. He joined the order of Dominican monks at Cologne, and became at length bishop of Ratisbon. Like his great contemporary he embraced every department of learning: "Magnus in magiâ, major in philosophiâ, maximus in theologiâ." His works are numerous, but those relating to chemistry are only two tracts. The first is entitled "De Alchymia," in which he gives a distinct account of all the chemical substances known in his time. He likewise describes the instruments then in use, and the various operations they had occasion to perform. The second is on Minerals. The knowledge he displays of the chemical properties of stones, metals, and salts, is remarkable.

One of the works attributed to Albert is doubtful, namely "Lilium de Spinis evulsum;" and others are evidently spurious, such as the "Secrets du Petit Albert," and the "Traité des Secrets du Grand Albert." The style of these tracts is different from that of Albert, the master of Thomas Aquinas,* and they were doubtless palmed upon him by the alchemists after his death.

Popular belief assigned to Albert also a superhuman agent which resolved his difficult propositions. But instead of a brazen head, he had the advantage of an entire man, called the *Androïde* of Albert; which, M. Dumas shrewdly surmises, may have been a calculating machine, personified by superstitious exaggeration. The wonderful invention, then, of Mr. Babbage may have had a prototype at this remote period!

To give some idea of the feelings with which alchemists were regarded at this time, we quote the following anecdote, describing an achievement which certainly entitled its hero to rank in the same category as Friar Rush.

"Albert invited a certain Count of Holland to dine. To pay due honour to his distinguished guest, he had a table prepared in the midst of his garden. This naturally much astonished the count and the nobles who accompanied him; it being in the depth of winter, and many feet of snow on the ground. But the instant Albert placed himself at the table, the snow disappeared: a mild heat succeeded the rigours of the cold, the trees clothed themselves with foliage, flowers perfumed the air, and myriads of joyous birds vied with each other in their melody. This scene continu-

ed during the whole repast. But the moment the dinner was finished, the enchantment vanished, and winter reappeared in all its horrors."

France, too, produced about the same period a celebrated individual, who applied himself to chemistry with great success. Arnold of Villeneuve was born at Villeneuve about the year 1240. His reputation as a physician was so great, that his attendance was solicited by kings, and even by the Pope himself. He was skilled in all the sciences of his time, and was moreover a proficient in Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek. He studied astrology at Paris; and having calculated the age of the world, ascertained that it would terminate in 1335. This prophecy, together with other of his opinions, brought upon him ecclesiastical censures—and the theologians of Paris condemned the astrologer as a heretic, which compelled him to leave France. He died in 1313, twenty-two years before his predicted end of the world.

Although distillation was practised long before Arnold's day, he first acquired the knowledge of some of the most important products extracted by this means. He has likewise the reputation if not of discovering spirits of wine, at least of finding out its principal properties. He possessed the philosopher's stone, and gives receipts for making gold, "but in terms unintelligible without being initiated in the enigmatical language in which the chemists hid their discoveries real or imaginary." The most curious of his tracts is his *Rosarium*, which comprises all the alchemy of his time.

But we find a more perfect model in a pupil of Arnold of Villeneuve—Raymond Lully, whose remarkable history is given by M. Dumas, and of this we add an epitome. Raymond Lully was born at Majorca in 1235, of a rich and noble family. After passing the earlier part of his life in dissipation, he became violently enamoured of a beautiful lady. She absorbed all his thoughts. To celebrate her charms he exhausted prose and verse. At length, wearied by his incessant importunities, she, at an interview sought for the purpose, unrobed to him her breast, the subject of his loftiest eulogy, and chilled his glowing passion by discovering a frightful cancer.

Struck with horror and humbled by disappointment, the chastened lover determined to renounce the world; accordingly he distributed his goods to the poor, entered a cloister at the age of thirty, and applied himself to the study of theology, languages, and the physical sciences. Soon after this

* Thomas Aquinas has also left treatises on alchemy, but veiled in a mystery equally profound with that which shrouds his other labours. It is in the works of that theologian that we first discover the combination of astrology with this art.

he conceived the idea of forming a crusade, of which the object, singularly enough, was the conversion of the Algerines and the abolition of slavery. In order to perfect himself in the language of the country, he employed a Mahometan slave who, having penetrated the intentions of his master, thrust a dagger into his breast. The wound, however, was not mortal, and the missionary's apostolic zeal was unabated. After having visited and made his scheme known to nearly all the courts of Europe, meeting with little success, he determined to embark alone for 'Tunis.' Here he invited public disputation on religion, but was soon arrested and thrown into prison; shortly after he was put on board a ship, and sent to Italy.

In spite of his ill fortune, after a short period the self-willed apostle returned to Africa, and recommenced his preaching, at Bougia; but the populace, incited against him, stoned him to death. Some sailors carried his corpse to his native country, where he was honoured as a saint.

Throughout this stormy and adventurous career, so unfavourable to the cultivation of the sciences, the zealous alchemist produced works worthy of notice, making due allowance for the faults of his age. The multiplicity of these works is one of the reasons which have induced a belief, sufficiently unfounded, that there were two Raymond Lullys—the theologian and the chemist. Raymond was currently believed to have possessed the philosopher's stone. Indeed Robert Constantin affirms that he inspected one of the rose-nobles struck in the Tower of London, out of the gold made by him, in the years 1312 and 1313. Raymond Lully may be said to have formed a school of alchemists; but he gave a useful turn to their labours, for in seeking the philosopher's stone by the *via humida*, and employing distillation as the means, he directed attention to the volatile products resulting from the decomposition of bodies.

Raymond was also the inventor of the Athanor furnace; an indispensable requisite with the old chemists who during their long operations required their fires to be constantly supplied with fuel in proportion to the consumption: to this purpose the Athanor furnace was peculiarly adapted.*

* Perhaps the reader curious in these matters, may not consider the description of this kind of furnace superfluous, although it has long since fallen into disuse. "Beside the usual parts, it was provided with a hollow tower, into which charcoal was put. The upper part of the tower, when filled, was closely shut by a well-fitted cover; and the lower part communicated with the fire-place of the furnace. In consequence of this disposition, the char-

We soon encounter two other alchemists deserving of particular notice. John Isaac Hollandus, and his countryman of the same name, who were either brothers or father and son, were born at Stolk, in Holland, some time in the thirteenth century. Their treatises on chemistry are more useful than others of this period; for they are not only written with clearness, but accompanied with descriptions of their different processes, and figures even are given of the instruments which they employed; from which it is curious to observe that many of the processes generally considered of modern date were well known to them.

A long period succeeds without affording, with the exception of Basil Valentin,—a Benedictine monk, born in 1394 at Erford in Germany, and the first who applied chemistry to medicine in Europe,—one chemist in any thing like the proper sense of the term. Basil Valentin was the author of the "*Curus triumphalis Antimonii*," in which he taught the art of obtaining antimony: and from his time dates the use of this important mineral in medicine. Alchemists nevertheless abounded; and alchemical adventurers wandered about the country extorting money on pretence of imparting their secret. One of these votaries of mammon may be noticed from his reputation in other respects—viz. Jean de Meun, author of the "*Roman de la Rose*," who devotes some minor poems expressly to the disinterested purpose of unfolding the process necessary for the formation of the philosopher's stone. Nicholas Flamel may also be mentioned on account of the high celebrity he obtained and the pains that have been taken to ascertain his real—which, it need hardly be added, entirely disproves his reputed—history. It was pretended that he possessed the secret; that he amassed immense wealth, part of which he expended in building houses and even churches; and that he and his wife, feigning death, fled to a far country, became immortal, and possessors of inexhaustible treasures.

The year 1527 was an important era in the annals of chemistry. The first chair was founded at Basil, and Theophrastus Paracelsus was invited by the magistracy of that city to fill it—thus becoming the first public professor of the science in Europe. This extraordinary man was born in 1493, near Zurich. His father, who was a physician, instructed him in physic and surgery. But alchemy was his ruling passion, and he

coal subsided into the fire-place gradually as the consumption made room for it; but that which was contained in the tower was defended from combustion by the exclusion of a proper supply of air."

studied it first under the care of Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, and afterwards of Sigismund Fuggerus. Paracelsus greatly promoted the application of chemistry to the use of medicine. Still he was affected with the usual mania; but, unlike most of his predecessors, abandoning the philosopher's stone he applied himself chiefly to procuring the panacea, and discovering the means of lengthening life to an indefinite period. For in his works he makes a clear distinction between the *panacea* and the *elixir of life*. To accomplish his objects he made essences and quintessences, arcanæ, specifics, and elixirs. Indeed he was early in possession of the secret of the philosopher's stone, which he learnt, as he asserted, at Constantinople, in the suite of the son of the Czar of Russia whilst on an embassy to that capital. A curious chance advanced him to this honour. After having visited most of the universities of Europe, he was taken prisoner by the Tatars, and brought before the Czar, who sent him with this mission.

Paracelsus occupied the chair some time. The occasion of his quitting it is singular enough.

"Although professing chemistry, he likewise exercised medicine. Having been summoned to attend a monk grievously sick, before he undertook the cure, he was anxious to make his market. The patient promised a handsome fee for his services. Paracelsus administered two opium pills, by which a speedy recovery was effected. Cured so rapidly, the monk considered the promised fee too exorbitant, and refused to pay it. A lawsuit ensued; the matter was referred to an arbitration of physicians, who were of opinion that a slight remuneration should content the practitioner, as the patient got well so quickly. Paracelsus, having lost his cause, manifested on the trial a degree of anger which raised a hostile feeling against him, and at last forced him to leave the country."

Deprived of all resources, he wandered about for some time in abject poverty, and died at Strasburg in September, 1541; thus satisfactorily demonstrating the emptiness of the boast which yet he persisted in during his whole life, of possessing the wonderful "elixir proprietatis," which would not only cure all manner of diseases, but enable him to count the number of years to which the oldest antediluvian patriarch attained. He died, it is said, a victim to the jealousy of his rivals, who poisoned him in a debauch of wine, a beverage to which he was much addicted.

The death of Van Helmont, who also gave out that he was in possession of the

elixir,* consummated the disgrace of the universal medicine, which was soon, like the philosopher's stone, regarded by all practical chemists as an idle dream. And here may be drawn the line of demarcation between the Alchemist and the Chemist properly so called.

"Indeed it is with unfeigned surprise that we behold, after a long absence, a real alchemist make his appearance in England in the person of Dr. Price, in 1703. This man produced a red and white powder, by means of which he could transmute mercury into gold or silver at will. He made the experiment before a great number of persons publicly, and at seven different times. The Royal Society of London, who had at first viewed with indifference this experiment on public credulity, found themselves under the necessity, as Dr. Price was a member of their body, of investigating it: they therefore appointed a committee to scrutinize the matter. When Dr. Price found himself necessitated to perform his operations under the eyes of the members of the Society, he pretended that he had no more of the powder, and resorted to other subterfuges. The Society allowed the Doctor time to make his preparations, and the following year challenged a trial of his secret; but the alchemical adventurer terminated the mystery by poisoning himself."

Before taking leave of the alchemists it may be as well to devote a moment to a consideration of their peculiar notions. Imagining that the ingredients which compose gold are to be found in all metals, but so contaminate with various admixtures as to require a high degree of purification to reduce them to their perfect state, they regarded fire as an agent of illimitable power. Nothing could be done without it—with it everything was possible. Through the medium of this element they could render minerals from the earthy into a metallic condition, and the change which the earths underwent warranted, they imagined, the belief of a still higher degree of perfection; they thought that by means of fire, if properly conducted, they might bring the baser metals to a much more perfect state—indeed, transmute them into gold. But they believed that this purification could be instantly accomplished by a substance which they called

* The follies of Paracelsus and his school perhaps gave rise to a society which sprung up in Germany at the beginning of the 17th century, and styled themselves the Rosicrucians. Of these little is known but the title and the work of the Comte de Gabalis; their number was never ascertained. These brothers affirmed that they were in possession of the secrets of transmutation and the universal medicine, with the science of occult things.

lapis philosophorum, and this was the great object of their researches.

But notwithstanding that the successors of Paracelsus, with a few exceptions, aimed at the real advancement of chemistry, and that this had obtained a footing among the sciences by being taught in the universities, more than a century elapsed during which little progress was made. Nicholas le Fevre may be noticed as among the first who formed anything approaching to independent views. After having held the professorship of the *Jardin des Plantes* for some years, he was invited to England by Charles II.,* who entrusted to him the laboratory established at St. James's, on occasion of the formation of the Royal Society, which received its charter from that sovereign on the 15th of July, 1662. Besides being Royal Professor of Chemistry, Le Fevre was Apothecary in Ordinary to the witty monarch, in which capacity he was required by his majesty to make up the preparation called "Sir Walter Rawleigh's Great Cordial," and which was only another name for an universal medicine, as it comprised every disease within its healing influence. As some of our readers may not be aware that the illustrious knight was famous in the arts of pharmacy, we give below, in spite of its length, the receipt for the benefit of modern practitioners; first observing that it is not exactly as originally written, but with the added wisdom of some one or two succeeding generations; for we are told by Le Fevre, in his Discourse upon this wonderful cordial, "that by the counsel and approbation of Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Alexander Fraiser his majesty's chief physician, the flesh, the heart, and the liver of vipers have been added to the number of the ingredients of this remedy, though the first prescription doth not mention them."†

* James II. according to M. Dumas. But errors such as this which occur in the work may not be attributed to the author, as the highly popular lecturer did not publish it himself.

† "Recipe rasuræ cornu cervi libram unam; carnis viperarum cum cordibus et hepatibus uncias sex: florum boraginis, buglossæ, roris-marini, calendulæ, vetonicæ coronariæ rubræ, roris solis, rosarum rubrarum, et sambuci, singularum libram semi-sem; herbarum scordii, cardui benedicti, melissæ, dictamni cretici, menthæ, majoranæ, betonicæ, singularum manipulos duodecim; granorum kermes recenter in rob redactorum, cubebæ, cardamomi majoris, baccarum juniperi, maceris, nucis myristicæ, caryophyllorum, croci, singularum uncias duas; cinnamomi acutissimi, corticis ligni sassafras, flavedinis malorum citriorum et aurantiorum, singularum uncias tres; lignorum aloës et sassafras uniuscujusque uncias sex; radicum angelicæ, valerianæ carlinæ, fraxinellæ seu dictamni albi, serpentariæ virginianæ, zedoaræ, tormentillæ, bistortæ, aristolochiæ longæ, rotundæ et cavæ, gentianæ et imperatoris,

A detail of the opinions of Le Fevre would hardly be worth the space, but we quote the following to show how difficult the chemists found it, at this time, to keep within the trammels of Aristotle.

"The peripatetians found in the flame of wood while it burns, in the smoke which exhales from it, in the water distilled thence, and in the cinders which it leaves, the four natural elements of bodies. But in the opinion of Le Fevre this mode of destruction did not develope all the (first) principles of matter. It was necessary to seek them in the products of distillation. Now what did he obtain, whether in distilling wood or any kind of vegetable or animal matter? He saw gas disengaged which he mistook for air; he collected an aqueous liquor charged with acetic acid, which afforded him at the same time water and spirit; for vinegar was considered by the old chemists an acid spirit. He obtained also another liquor of an oleaginous appearance, and of an inflammable nature, which presented to him oil or sulphur. In short, in the residuum he found a charcoal which by combustion resolved itself into heat and cinders, thus furnishing the two last principles. Treated by water, they separate in effect into two parts; one soluble, salt, the other insoluble earth. Here then we see water, spirit, oil, salt, and earth, first products of the decomposition of bodies, which a chemistry, more advanced, has been able to decompose in their turn."

But we must trace almost another century before we discover the real basis of a science which is the delight and astonishment of the present day. Still distinguished men were not wanting during this period;—and the most remarkable—the illustrious Beccher and his disciple Stahl—deserve a particular notice.

John Joachim Beccher was born at Spire

singularum unciam unam et semissem. Omnia incisa et grosso modo contusa in vase idoneo posita cum spiritu vini rectificato extrahantur secundum artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in extractum mediante, in Mariæ balneo, distillatione evaporentur. Magma expressum comburatur; cineres reverberati per aquam elixivientur, unde sal purum lege artis pareatur, quod extracto misceatur. His ita peractis, huic extracto adde, ut artis est, pulverem sequentem cæteraque ingredientia. Recipe lapidum bezoardicorum orientalium et occidentalium verorum uniuscujusque unciam semissem, magisterii solubilis perlarum orientalium uncias duas, magisterii solubilis corallorum rubrorum uncias tres; boli orientalis, terræ sigillatæ veræ, unicorну mineralis, cornu cervi philosophicè præparati, et cornu cervi calcinati, singularum unciam unam; ambre griseæ electissimæ in essentiam redactæ unciam unam; moschi orientalis optimi essentificati drachmam unam et semissem; croci solis cum tinctura antimonii Basilii Valentini parati drachmas duas; sacchari candisati albi subtilissimæ pulveris albi libras duas. Ex his omnibus mixtis et ex arte unitis fiat confectio verè regia, quæ ad usum reservetur in pyxidibus apprimè clausis."

in 1635, and appears to have been of Jewish extraction. After being physician to the Elector of Mentz, and also to the Elector of Bavaria, towards the end of his life he went to England, and died in London, in 1682, in great poverty it is said. His work entitled "*Physica Subterranea*" is the best treatise up to this time; indeed he may be regarded as the first who really guided the researches of the chemist into the right channel.

George Ernest Stahl was born at Anspach in 1660. As a physician he acquired considerable celebrity. He was successively first physician to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar and to the King of Prussia. Almost from infancy he had imbibed a violent passion for chemistry, and at an early age could repeat the whole of the "*Chemia Philosophica*" of Barnerus. He applied himself particularly to the writings of Beccher, and was the commentator of the "*Physica Subterranea*," which he characterizes as an "*opus sine pari*." His works manifest a vast genius, and display great brilliancy of imagination; but his style is hard, and his writings, especially the last volume of his "*Principles of Chemistry*," present moreover a novelty of which it is difficult to find in science another example. Latin and German are continually intermixed, the German and Latin and Latin and German words succeeding each other in violation of every rule. As it would be impossible to form any idea of this compound without having a portion of it presented to our eyes, we subjoin a short specimen. He is describing the action of sulphuric acid on marine salt, and the characters of the sulphate of soda which results from it: "*Ex hujus deinde remanentiâ seu capite mortuo, woraus der spiritus salis getrieben worden, bleibt ein novum concretum salinum Zurückge compositum ex alcali salis et acide vitrioli . . . id est sal mirabili Glauberi, welches eine brüchige, fragilem et friabilem mollem consistentiam hat, aquam abundantem, feucht, daher es im Feuer ebullirt wie Alaun.*"

Stahl is best known as the originator of what is called the phlogistic theory, which perhaps cannot be more concisely stated than in the following extract we give from M. Dumas.

"According to Stahl the oxides are indecomposable; the phlogiston* unites with

them, and the metals are produced by this union. The metals consequently contain phlogiston, and still more carbon. All combustibles are more or less charged with it.—During the time a body is burning it disengages phlogiston; and the more inflammable a body is, the more it disengages. If the oxide of lead, heated with charcoal, passes into a metallic state, it is because the charcoal in burning abandons its phlogiston, and the oxide possesses itself of it. In short, in the opinion of Stahl, a series of oxides produced by an oxidation more or less advanced, represents a metal more or less dephlogisticated."

M. Dumas compares this theory with the notions of the present day.

"In a word, the theory of Stahl does not differ from ours, except that its author saw combination where we see decomposition, and *vice versâ*. Stahl would not have failed to rectify these ideas if he had paid attention to the indications of the balance; for if we take account of them, an insuperable objection presents itself at the instant. Lead which oxidizes and which is dephlogisticated, according to the theory of Stahl, augments in weight; the loss of one of its principles gives it additional weight. On the other hand, oxide of lead reduced by charcoal gains phlogiston; consequently it should weigh more than before its reduction, but it is diminished in weight."

Considerable merit also is due to Stahl, not only for discovering indecomposable bodies different from the elements of Aristotle, which some of his predecessors even from the time of Paracelsus had manfully combated and of which we have given a recent example, but also for having actually consummated this revolution in ideas.

With only mentioning Boerhaave, Margraaf, the eccentric Rouelle, and Macquer, we hasten to the period when three illustrious men, of very different fortunes and destiny, almost simultaneously threw an effulgence of light upon the science, and contributed above all others to its advancement; and who indeed may be said to have laid the foundation of the beautiful superstructure which has risen in our own time. These were Scheele, Priestley, and Lavoisier.

Charles William Scheele was born at Stralsund, Swedish Pomerania, in 1742. Though of humble parentage he was sent to college, but it is said, made very little pro-

* It was supposed that Phlogiston was the general inflammable principle; that is to say, that a certain something, called *phlogiston*, forms a part of all combustible bodies, and that its separation constitutes *fire*. This principle was never strictly defined, and might therefore be adapted to all the ordinary phenomena;—"Sometimes," says M. Lavoisier, (who, it need hardly be stated, explained this doctrine,) "this principle has weight, and

sometimes it has not; sometimes it is free fire, and sometimes it is combined with the earthy element; sometimes it enters the pores of vessels, and sometimes they are impervious to it; it explains at once causticity and non causticity, transparency and opacity, colours and the absence of colours. It is a very Proteus which changes form at every instant."

gress in learning. Seeing no prospect of his succeeding in the walks of literature, his friends apprenticed him at the age of thirteen to an apothecary at Gottenburg. He displayed considerable zeal in his profession, but did not develope any particular talent. Chance threw into his hand a work of Neuman's, a pupil of Stahl; he perused it with care, and with this book alone commenced the study of chemistry. Following the bent of his inclination with steadiness, he availed himself of every possible means of instruction in his favourite science. Kun-
 • kel's Laboratory was his favourite book. He was in the habit of repeating experiments from it instead of retiring to rest. One night, while occupied in making pyrophorus, a mischievous fellow-apprentice put some fulminating powder into the mixture. The loud explosion which ensued alarmed the whole family, and the luckless chemist was of course discovered. But in spite of the calls of a daily occupation, and restrictions on his midnight studies, he completed his education in a science which he was one day to enlighten, and in silence prepared his greatest works.

Having made some important discoveries, he repaired to Stockholm. Disappointed in his first overtures with the Academy of Sciences of this capital, he quitted it, and repaired to Upsala, where Bergman professed chemistry with great success. Chance brought this great man in contact with the humble apothecary; he discovered his talent, and formed a lasting friendship with him. Bergman sought every means to establish his young friend; the direction of some manufactories belonging to the state was offered him; the King of Prussia endeavoured to attract him to Berlin. But fearing everything which might distract him from his favourite pursuit, the votary of science sought a retirement where he might isolate himself from the world. He was informed that at Kœping, a small village in Sweden, there was a shop in possession of the widow of a deceased apothecary, of some wealth. He quickly repaired to the place, made the necessary arrangements, and established himself with the widow. But instead of a life of ease and tranquillity he met with one of labour and disappointment. The estate was loaded with debts, and the widow possessed nothing. Nevertheless the luckless chemist applied himself cheerfully to labour, dividing his time between his researches and the duties of his shop. By dint of indefatigable industry he gained 600 livres a year, 100 of which he reserved for his personal wants, and devoted the rest to science.

From his obscure situation, the discoveries of Scheele might have remained a long time in oblivion: but they found an echo in Bergman, who patronized him with zeal. As soon as Scheele from his retreat announced a discovery, Bergman hastened to propagate it to the world, taking upon himself the charge of publishing his treatises; and whilst his own countrymen were almost ignorant of his existence, his renown, thanks to the correspondence of Bergman, spread through the rest of Europe.

"It is related that the King of Sweden, in his travels to a foreign state, hearing Scheele incessantly spoken of as a great genius, was touched that he had done nothing for him. He considered it only consulting his own honour to bestow a mark of esteem on such a distinguished ornament to his country, and determined to enrol him in the list of knights. The minister, commissioned to confer this title, hesitated. 'Scheele, Scheele,' he exclaimed, 'is it possible!' The command, however, was peremptory, and Scheele was dubbed a knight. But you may anticipate the sequel: it was not Scheele, the illustrious chemist, the honour of Sweden, but another Scheele, who was the object of this unexpected favour."

But the great chemist was arrested in his modest career when there seemed a fair prospect of his enjoying the fruits of his labours. His last works were ready for publication, the debts of his predecessor were paid, and his reputation was established; a malignant fever, which lasted four days, terminated fatally. He died in 1786, in his 44th year; Bergman having died two years previously, in his 49th.

As if during the whole of his life he had a presentiment that his time would be short, Scheele was resolute not to lose one precious moment.

"The President de Virly and d'Elhuyart went to see him towards the end of his short career. They found this man, whose reputation had attracted them so far, and to whom they had come to pay so touching a mark of respect, at work in his shop, with an apron on; as soon as he had learnt the object of their visit, he resumed his duties with admirable simplicity. During some days they passed at Kœping they invited him to dine; the meal finished, he returned to his labours, and the travellers did not fail to follow him."

We are indebted to Scheele for the discovery—among others—of a multitude of organic and mineral acids:—the tartaric, fluosilicic, manganetic, arsenic, molybdic, lactic, mucic, tungstic, prussic, citric, and

gallic. We owe to him the discovery of chlorine and barytes. Indeed, it would be necessary to pursue him through all parts of chemistry to form an adequate idea of his researches. Almost without means, his ingenuity and perseverance surmounted every obstacle. Duly to appreciate his labours we must take a view of his laboratory, which consisted of

"A few retorts, crucibles, or vials, beer-glasses, and some bladders, and the most indispensable necessities. He had no gas jars; drinking-glasses performed their office. If he wished to collect gas, he attached a bladder to the neck of a vial, or the beak of a retort, in which the gas was disengaged. The bladder being full, he fastened the neck with a packthread. If he wished to employ the gaseous product, he loosened the fastening compressing the bladder, and submitted the gas to the experiments which his curious mind suggested."

We come now to that extraordinary man who, in the midst of religious polemics, devoted himself to chemical science with consummate success; the discoverer of all the principal gases—who solved the question raised with respect to Raymond Lully, and proved that it was possible for a man to be a profound divine and a successful chemist. As Dr. Priestley's labours are better known perhaps than his history, we recall the outline of this latter to the reader's recollection, more especially as the peculiar incidents of his life, on more than one occasion, led to his discoveries; this, too, induced a belief, in which he all along persisted, that we are more indebted for the progress of science to chance than to laborious research.

Dr. Joseph Priestley was born at Field-head, near Leeds, in 1733. His father, a cloth manufacturer, destined him for his successor; but a religious fervour, which it is said he had imbibed from his mother, hurried him upon a more agitated scene. He was brought up in the principles of moderate Calvinism. Imagining that grace failed him, he gave himself up occasionally to a melancholy and profound sadness. That he might study more deeply the Scriptures, he learnt the Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic languages. He was already acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and French. Gifted with a wonderful memory, he acquired languages with great facility.

At the age of twenty-five he commenced his ecclesiastical career at Needham, where he met with little success. His Socinian opinions had already raised him many enemies. He went to Sheffield, where he en-

countered similar opposition. At Nantwich he met some encouragement, and formed a little school: here also he procured an electric and pneumatic machine; and laid the foundation of that scientific education which afterwards became so fruitful.

In 1761, about the age of 32, he commenced his scientific career. In a journey he made to London, chance brought him in connection with Franklin, and the conversation of this great man inspired him with a desire of studying the electric phenomena. He now conceived the first thought of his History of Electricity, purchased the necessary books, and commenced immediately. But the many doubtful questions which presented themselves soon determined him to make those grand experiments which established his reputation.

In 1767, having been nominated pastor of a chapel at Leeds, by a curious chance he took a lodging near a brewery. The facility induced him, as he said, in order to amuse himself, to make some experiments on the carbonic acid gas disengaged during the fermentation of beer. Soon after, having changed his lodging and finding himself deprived of this convenient resource, he conceived the idea of producing the gas himself. He discovered the proper method of collecting it; and was led to the invention of the pneumatic apparatus by which we are enabled to collect and operate upon the gases.

When Dr. Priestley commenced his labours, the phlogistic system was admitted everywhere. Only two of the gases were known—the carbonic, which was called *fixed air* (discovered by Dr. Black), and hydrogen, which was distinguished by the name of *inflammable air*. Dr. Priestley began by studying these two bodies, and made a multitude of useful observations. He soon recognized the existence first of azote, then of deutoxide of azote. The discovery of this last, and of the action which it exercises on the air which has not been deprived of oxygen, was a source of real pleasure to him. Until now indeed he had only respiration itself as a reactive to ascertain in what degree an air was respirable: he was obliged to use mice, which he introduced successively in order to try the air, until they could no longer exist. His experiments, though sufficiently destructive of these animals, were nevertheless useless. In seeking to assure himself if the deutoxide of azote, which afforded him a means of analysis less murderous and more prompt, would also be more exact, Dr. Priestley was enabled to ascertain the singular antiseptic properties of this gas. Having put some mice into a vessel where there was a quantity of

deutoxide of azote, and forgotten it, he was astonished to find on examining them after the lapse of some days, that there was no sign of putrefaction. A short time afterwards he discovered the muriatic acid gas, and next the ammoniacal, previously known in a state of solution; the first under the name of spirit of salt, the second under that of spirit of sal ammoniac, or of volatile alkali: after them, the protoxide of azote, sulphurous acid, and lastly oxygen. He drew this gas from the oxide of mercury in August, 1774; but it was not till the March of the following year that he ascertained its property of sustaining respiration, and its action on the venous blood. A little later, the fluosilicic acid gas and the carbonic oxide gas were prepared by him for the first time. Besides these nine gases of which Dr. Priestley discovered the existence, we may add three others;—the sulphuretted hydrogen, the olefiant, and the phosphoretted hydrogen—thus including the principal gases of any importance in science or the arts. These are some of the wonderful discoveries of a man scarce known and appreciated for his contributions to science at the present day;—discoveries which duly to value we must consider the time at which they were made—a period when the most common gases were unknown. “It is necessary to recal these times, in order to attach due interest to the various experiments to which Dr. Priestley subjected these bodies, so strange and so new to science. His labours on the gases and the air threw an unexpected light upon the most vulgar phenomena.” It would seem that his scientific works were buried beneath the multitudinous volumes of his polemics.

To pursue the history. Quitting the calm pursuit of scientific research, the chemico-divine now threw himself into the arena of politics. In the name of the Unitarians he clamoured for liberty of conscience for all religions. This drew upon him the jealousy of the government, little disposed at that time to look placidly on innovations. The French revolution had commenced. The boldness with which Dr. Priestley advocated religious liberty, gained him in France the reputation of being an ardent republican. They bestowed upon him the title of “French citizen;” and the department of Orne elected him deputy to the Constituent Assembly. He had the good sense (like Wilberforce when the same equivocal honour was vouchsafed to him) to resist these overtures; but nevertheless he was regarded in England as an innovator. To such a degree was party feeling manifested against him, that his name used to be

chalked, with opprobrious epithets, on the walls of the streets of Birmingham. On the 14th of July, 1794, some inhabitants of the town having given a dinner on occasion of the anniversary of the French revolution, a seditious letter was circulated in the evening and was attributed to Dr. Priestley. An excited mob, after burning the house where his supposed political friends were assembled, proceeded to his own residence, where he was sitting in the bosom of his family, unconscious of the peril which awaited him. Some friends, anticipating his danger, came in time to save him. Hidden in a neighbouring house, he had the mortification of beholding his library destroyed, his instruments broken, and his dwelling in flames; but he surveyed the scene with a calmness highly creditable to his philosophy.

Leaving this scene of persecution he came to London, whence, after passing three years in tranquillity, he embarked for America. He purchased a piece of land; and there, under the protection of president Jefferson, passed peaceably the remainder of his days, which were soon lamentably terminated. He was poisoned at a repast with the whole of his family, in consequence of an accident which has never been satisfactorily explained. It proved fatal only to himself, who, now old and enfeebled in frame, could not survive the violent inflammation of the bowels occasioned by the poison.

We now come to the last but not least of the three contemporaries.

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier was born in Paris, August 16, 1743. His father, who possessed considerable property, acquired in trade, sent him to Mazarin College, where he studied the sciences with the utmost ardour, and made great progress in mathematics, astronomy, botany, and chemistry.

Lavoisier was some time undecided as to the route he should pursue; he succeeded equally in his mathematical studies and in the natural sciences. Guettard had inspired him with a taste for geology, which he pursued with great success. About this time the Academy proposed, at the solicitation of the government, a prize medal for the best essay on the lighting of the city of Paris.

“Lavoisier applied himself to the question. After some experiments, he discovered that his sight failed in the delicacy necessary to appreciate the relative intensity of the different flames he wished to compare. Accordingly he shut himself up for six weeks in a chamber totally darkened. At the end of this time his sight acquired an extreme sensibility, and the least variations could not escape him. What an extraordinary devotion to science which could support him, at the age of twenty-two, during a seclusion so

long and so severe! The Academy voted him a gold medal on this occasion."

His course was at length taken. He was resolved to devote the whole of his energies to a science, which, notwithstanding the many great discoveries recently made, was still in inextricable confusion. Lavoisier understood his task. He knew that to accomplish it a long and tranquil life was necessary. A considerable income too was indispensable. He sought and obtained an appointment as farmer-general, and soon after married Mademoiselle Paulze, daughter of one of his colleagues. His most sanguine hopes were realized. He could now devote himself to his researches with all appliances and means.

When Lavoisier accepted his new office, he drew upon himself the murmurs of the members of the Academy of Sciences, which he had entered in 1768, at the age of 25. "This young man so full of promise is lost to science," was the general cry. And when he made known to the Academy any new discovery, "Ah," said they, "what a pity that he is a farmer-general: he would have done more." But though he performed steadily the duties of his important office, he devoted the greater portion of his time to a science which—if his career had not been prematurely terminated—he must have still further advanced. The phlogistic doctrine had fallen at his touch. The dephlogisticated air he proved to be a simple body—

"That which combines with metals in the process of calcination—that which transforms sulphur, phosphorus, and carbon into acids—that which constitutes the active part of air; which nourishes the flame that gives us light—the fire which warms us;—that which in the respiration of animals changes their venous into arterial blood, at the same time that it develops the heat which is necessary; that which forms the essential part of the crust of the entire globe, of water, of plants, and of animals."

But to avoid anticipating we give an account of two or three amongst the not least interesting researches of Lavoisier.

He appears to have been the first who clearly demonstrated, that in heating brass in a closed vessel a portion of the air combines with the brass, which consequently passes to the state of oxide; that when a considerable portion of the brass is oxidized, the rest of the metal remains pure, even although the vessel still contains a considerable quantity of air, and the heat is continued; for the air thus deprived of its oxygen cannot unite itself to the remaining metal; therefore the quantity of oxide formed must be in proportion to the size of the vessel. Thus a portion of the air disappears, whilst the

metal augments in weight by the calcination, and the fixation of this air explains the augmentation observed.

In 1777 Lavoisier completed his analysis of the air. Availing himself of the property possessed by mercury of oxidizing at a certain temperature and of losing its oxygen at a higher state, he was enabled by its aid to remove the greatest part of its oxygen from a determined volume of air. Having thus isolated the azotic gas, he heated the oxide of mercury produced, and collected the oxygen separately. In mingling again the two gases, he re-constituted the atmospheric air, the same in all its properties, and in volume equal to that which he had employed.

Lavoisier's hypothesis of heat is curious; but his conclusions are sometimes incompatible with experiments made by Sir Humphry Davy.

"He first proved that heat accumulated in bodies does not alter their weight; it should therefore be considered an imponderable fluid. This fluid presents itself under two forms—the free state, *i. e.* a state of continual movement, tending to put itself in equilibrium in those bodies which are near that which contains it; but sometimes it is combined and in repose. When it is free, its presence is discovered by its action on the thermometer; but when it is combined, the thermometer is insensible to its action. Proceeding upon this, he ascertained that when a body is transformed into vapour, it absorbs a great degree of heat; as water, alcohol, and ether. He discovered that when the evaporation is most rapid, the absorption is most manifest. Thus vapours are liquid or solid bodies transformed into gas or elastic fluids, by imbibing a great quantity of heat. He wished decisively to enforce, that vapour is absolutely of the same nature as gas. To demonstrate this identity, he devised some ingenious processes. For example, that by means of a tub filled with water, he could obtain ether under the form of gas, and that for this it sufficed that the water was kept at a temperature of 40° (Centigrade.) Consequently, if ether is not gaseous at Paris, for example, it is because the temperature is a little too low, and the pressure a little too great. But ether would become a true gas upon the elevated planes of South America. 'What effect then would be produced upon the different substances of which our globe is composed, if the temperature were suddenly changed?' asks Lavoisier. 'Let the earth be transported suddenly into a hotter region in the solar system,' he observes, and soon the water, the analogous fluids, and even mercury itself, would gradually expand, and be transformed into aeriform fluids or gas, which would become part of the atmosphere. The new kinds of air mingling with others already existing, the result would be new decompositions and combinations, until, the

new affinities having been neutralized, the principles of these different gases would arrive at a state of equilibrium or of repose.' Thus, in Lavoisier's opinion, vapour is gas or somewhat analogous; and in pursuing these results, he was led to conclude that the gases themselves were originally liquid or solid bodies, reduced to vapour; bodies which, by their combination with caloric, have taken the gaseous form.

"Also in combining oxygen gas with some body which renders it solid, the oxygen gas loses the heat which, at first combined with it, kept it in a gaseous state; and this heat which is lost and dissipated gives rise to the phenomena of combustion.

"Solid bodies then are gases deprived of a part of their heat; and Lavoisier did not fail to draw from it a conclusion which he opposes to the preceding.

"If the earth were suddenly transported into a region very cold, the water which forms our rivers and our seas, and the greater number of the fluids with which we are acquainted, would be transformed into solid mountains, into very hard rocks, at first diaphanous, homogeneous, and white as crystal; but which, in the course of time, mixing with substances of different natures, would become opaque stones diversely coloured. The air, under this supposition, or at least a part of the gases which compose it, losing their elasticity, would be reduced to a liquid state; thus producing new liquids of which we have not the slightest idea.' "

We have given this long extract partly to draw attention and pay our humble tribute of praise to the labours of Dr. Faraday, who has verified some of these suppositions in his experiments on the condensation of the gases.

Lavoisier, according to M. Dumas, laid the crowning-stone of his fame by establishing the composition of water; but we cannot consent to this proposition, inasmuch as our own Cavendish had previously demonstrated the fact; and the component parts were only finally settled by M. Gay-Lussac.

But we have reserved the catastrophe.—The bloody tide of revolution engulfed even this votary of science. In 1794 an act of accusation was passed in the convention against all the farmers-general. Lavoisier was included. The revolutionary tribunal were not wont to make exceptions. They saw in Lavoisier only the obnoxious officer, and they doomed him to the fate of his colleagues. We subjoin the judgment passed on a man who not only had shed such lustre on the sciences, but in his political life had displayed the most unbounded love to his country. He was "condemned to death, convicted as the author or accomplice of a plot against the French people to favour the success of the enemies of France; especially in imposing all kinds of exactions and griev-

ances upon the French people, and in mixing water and deleterious ingredients with the tobacco, injurious to the health of the citizens who use it."

The subsequent progress of chemistry cannot be contemplated without astonishment. Its advancement was greatly facilitated by the reform effected in chemical nomenclature. Guyton de Morveau, in 1782, first drew attention to the necessity of this, and the new system was finally perfected by the joint labours of Morveau, Fourcroy, Lavoisier, and Berthollet. The terms of the alchemists were abolished, and others, founded upon the nature of compound bodies and the leading qualities of elementary substances, introduced. The confusion which had previously prevailed was extreme. The same body had often a great number of names; and the terms in use rested for the greater part on the most distant analogies. "Thus, they said—*oil* of vitriol, *butter* of antimony, *liver* of sulphur, *cream* of tartar, *sugar* of lead; chemists seemed to have borrowed the language of cooks."

The reformed language was introduced in 1787; and though the progressive character of chemistry has rendered necessary some modifications, for which we are principally indebted to Sir Humphry Davy, it has been made to answer the wants of the modern science. The study of chemistry now contained nothing repulsive to the most fastidious; and its importance in explaining the phenomena of nature drew towards it the attention of the most cultivated minds.

Foremost of discoverers in the history of modern chemistry may be placed our own countryman Dalton, whose *Atomic Theory*, as it is, perhaps not very appropriately, called, has led to a complete revolution in the science. But we must not forget the researches of his predecessors which prompted him to this theory. So early as 1777, Wentzel observed that there are several saline solutions which, when mixed with others, completely decompose each other, so that two new salts are produced. This fact was afterwards noticed by Richter, but did not attract particular attention. Adopting the doctrine of definite proportions, hinted at by Higgins, Dalton was led to speculate on the ultimate elements of bodies; and having demonstrated that a volume of carburetted hydrogen gas and one of olefant gas contain the same weight of hydrogen, but that the weight of carbon in the latter gas is just double that in the former, this led him to attend to the nature of these elements; and he concluded that they consisted of *atoms* incapable of further diminution or division. He considered it then demonstrated that carburetted hydrogen is a

compound of one atom hydrogen and one atom carbon; he inferred that the ultimate particles of all homogeneous bodies are perfectly alike in weight, figure, &c. In other words, every particle of water is like every other particle of water; every particle of hydrogen is like every other particle of hydrogen, &c.;—that moreover, these particles, falling into juxtaposition in definite proportions, form compounds, and take, at the moment of their separation, all their first properties.

When this "New System of Chemical Philosophy" was first made known, the conflict of opinions was overwhelming. Several chemists, Sir Humphry Davy among the rest, refused to admit it; and others affected to treat it with contempt. No one indeed doubted that a compound presenting invariably the same character and properties consists of the same constituent parts; but many thought that the theory would impede research by accommodating the results of analysis to its deductions.

The first direct proof of the accuracy of the theory was adduced by Dr. Wollaston, who showed the existence of three salts composed of oxalic acid and potash, the oxalate, binoxalate, and quateroxalate.

The subsequent experiments of Dr. Wollaston, Dr. Thompson, Sir H. Davy, (who was soon converted to the doctrine), Gay-Lussac, and above all Berzelius, have elucidated and rendered this theory, in the opinion of most persons, almost certain. But though universally adopted at home, it is not so on the continent.

M. Dumas proceeds to consider Wollaston's opinions on the infinite divisibility of matter; but he will not admit that either the phenomena of chemical equivalents, or the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, demonstrate the existence of atoms.

"We know that the air is a body, that it dilates in proportion as it recedes from our earth, and we may reason thus: if the matter of the air is formed of atoms, they would experience a considerable separation, but limited; at a certain distance from the earth, an equilibrium would be established between the earth and the most distant atoms, and the atmosphere could not be extended indefinitely.

"If, on the contrary, the matter of the air is divisible to infinity, it would spread throughout space, and condense itself round other worlds, at least those of our system, as it does round the earth.

"Then the moon would have an atmosphere. Now we know that the mass of the earth is much more considerable than that of the moon. We can conceive then, that in order to render the air of our atmosphere in

the same state in which it would be at the surface of the moon, it must be carried to a considerable distance from the centre of our globe. If you make the calculation, you find that the mass of the moon could only condense at its surface an atmosphere equal in density to that which would exist at about 2,000 leagues from the earth."

Observations made by Vidal, Wollaston, and Kater, justify the conclusion that the sun has no atmosphere.

"All contest then is impossible. Our atmosphere does not expand indefinitely into space; it is arrested at a certain limit.

"Wollaston considers it proved that the matter which constitutes the air cannot be infinitely divided."

We may observe that before the Trojan war the Phœnician Moschus suggested the idea of those particles. M. Dumas says—

"The first notion of atoms dates about 510 years before the Christian era. About this period was formed at Elea, in Greece, a school of philosophy, well known by the name of the Eleatic school. They reasoned thus. Matter exists; every thing which exists is matter. Annihilate matter, what would remain? Who can imagine?—There would be *nothing*, you say, a vacuum, space. Then *nothing* would exist. Now if *nothing* exists, it is a being, it is matter, and matter cannot have been destroyed. *Nothing* then does not exist. But if *nothing* exists not, matter is every where, *there is no vacuum*.

Leucippus opposed this school, and deeming the evidence of his senses of some weight, endeavoured to prove the existence of a vacuum. But in combating this doctrine it must be acknowledged that he employed singular arguments, and that his experiments are worthy of notice, as exhibiting a curious contrast between their utter want of precision, and the extreme importance of the conclusions he drew from them.

"Thus he maintained that a vessel full of cinders would contain as much water as an empty one.

"In a word, movement, the existence of which could not be contested, furnished him with unanswerable arguments.

"Leucippus regarded matter as a sponge, the isolated grains of which swim in vacuum. These grains are solid, impenetrable, infinitely small. All known bodies are thus formed of vacuum and plenum. With the material element or plenum, with vacuum, and movement, Leucippus constituted the world. The grains which compose it differ in figure, which explains the differences we observe in the various kinds of matter. Moreover, he admitted, that by varying only their order and disposition, these material elements produce bodies totally different. This is in some measure the isomerism of modern chemists. In short, he takes notice of the compo-

sition and decomposition of bodies, and he admits that bodies composed of the aggregation of material particles are destroyed by the separation of these same particles."

Democritus went farther than Leucippus; he maintained that matter is not divisible to infinity.

"If matter could be divided to infinity," said he, "we should arrive at particles without magnitude: particles without magnitude could not produce bodies possessed of magnitude; matter then can only divide itself into limited particles which have magnitude. These particles he called *atoms*, and it was Democritus who invented this word, now so often employed in chemistry."

Epicurus added a third property—gravity—to the two attributes admitted before him—figure and magnitude.

"One of the writings in which this philosopher has unfolded his ideas with more detail had long remained lost, but was found in the ruins of Herculaneum.

"This work formed the basis of the famous poem of Lucretius, in which we find the ideas of Epicurus developed and embellished. Lucretius admits vacuum, atoms, and movement. The atoms, in perpetual agitation, are precipitated in the vacuum. But their fall is not exactly perpendicular; it presents a slight and variable declension, which plays an important part in the cosmogony of Lucretius. With the atoms which float in space, with a movement which impels them, with a fortuitous or side motion which makes them fall obliquely, Lucretius builds the entire world, in all its details. Thus all creation is formed by chance."

These notions, like the other vagaries of the Epicurean philosophy, were little considered till the controversy between Descartes and Gassendi forced them into notice.

"Descartes wished to renew the romance of nature *more antiquo*. Regarding magnitude as divisible to infinity, and applying to matter the same principle, he denied the existence of atoms, and built his system without admitting them. Gassendi, on the contrary, composed the universe of atoms. But these do not even touch. Kept at a distance by the forces which governed them, spaces are left between, and their mass presents but little solidity. Thus Gassendi has closely approached the ideas of the present day."

Unpalatable as the philosophic world found some parts of the doctrine of Gassendi—his round atoms forming light, those constituting cold, heat, smells, tastes, and even sound—Wolf dished up something more indigestible still, but under another name. His system was gravely discussed in the acad-

my of Berlin, and in 1746 a prize was proposed for the best dissertation on *monades*; but the issue of the discussion was unfavourable to the *monadist*.

"With Wolf every thing is monade. God is a monade. We are monades, as are also our ideas. Monades press before us in space, they become obscure; then we have no clear ideas. But they separate, they brighten; light beams on our senses, and our conceptions become just and precise."

Next came Swedenborg, who admitted in atoms a form generally spherical; but he conceived them to be associated so as to form small, diversely figured masses. "It is then to him we are indebted," says M. Dumas, "for the first idea of making cubes, tetraedres, pyramids, and the different crystalline forms, by grouping the spheres; and it is an idea which has since been renewed by several distinguished men, Wollaston in particular." But the two systems differ essentially.

In the year 1809 M. Gay-Lussac published in the *Mémoires d'Arcueil*, a paper on the union of the gaseous bodies with each other, the object of which apparently was to confirm and establish the atomic theory, by exhibiting it in another point of view. In this paper he endeavoured to show that the gases unite with each other in extremely simple proportions, one volume of one gas either combining with one volume of another, or with two volumes, or with half a volume. He had already established, with M. de Humboldt, the composition of water—which is formed by the union of one volume of oxygen with two volumes of hydrogen gas. He now ascertained by experiment the composition of the ammoniacal salts, of the oxide of azote, of ammonia, of sulphuric acid, carbonic acid, and of the oxide of carbon. Thus M. Gay-Lussac regarded gases as formed of atoms which combine in definite proportions, as Dalton maintained to be the case with bodies in general.

M. Dumas states,—

"My conviction is, that the equivalents of chemists, those of Wenzel, of Mitscherlich, those which we call *atoms*, are nothing more than molecular groups. If I had the power, I would expunge the word *atom* from the vocabulary of the science, fully persuaded that it goes farther than experiment; and never in chemistry should we go farther than experiment."

We now revert to the question of the origin of Chemistry. Though in this general outline we have thus far accompanied M. Dumas, we must pause for a moment to notice with disapprobation his peremptory, but superficial remarks upon some portions of

the subject historically, and which by men of far greater learning and research than obviously fall to the author's share, were, and are, held worth consideration. The sneer of a lecturer may pass unscanned, and in safe superiority among his disciples, but when published to the world at large, the triumph is by no means so secure. The Fathers of the Church, to whom M. Dumas has sarcastically alluded, were men whose minds could afford to become the objects of his wit, and might have repaid his scorn with interest. They wrote from that which was before them; and as many of the works to which they had access have long since unfortunately perished, reason would counsel us to receive with attention and closely examine the fragments of the past contained in their pages alone, and carefully to collate them with such other notices as we possess, before we presume to attribute to them an ignorance that not impossibly, nor even improbably, rests with ourselves. To an attempt of this kind we feel ourselves imperatively called by some of the preceding passages in this article, however inefficient to the task.

The venerable authorities referred to have preserved a tradition that the book Kema was given by the Egregori to the Daughters of men; and as the fact here alluded to is evidently the same with that mentioned in the 6th chapter of Genesis, verses 2 and 4, we shall proceed to inquire if a collation of the circumstances can throw any light upon the origin of Chemistry, and, incidentally, even upon that confessedly obscure portion of Holy Writ.

The passage in question, v. 2, c. 6, of Genesis, affirms that the Sons of God, or Beni-Alohim, saw the Daughters of men, or Benoth-Adam, "and took them wives of all they chose" of the latter. The Jews from early time, and commentators constantly, have supposed that by the Sons of God, angels were necessarily intended. This interpretation, though generally received, is, as generally admitted by scholars, open to question.

It is allowed on all hands that the word Alohim, usually rendered *God*, or *of God*, as in the above instance, is also, and with equal correctness, to be understood simply of Might or Power; of which word indeed it is only the plural form; and in fact often understood by preference in this latter sense: as the wind of God, i. e. a mighty wind; the cedars of God, i. e. mighty cedars, &c.: precisely the same form of expression is preserved in the Arabic also to the present day, and as indicative of any quality in excess. By analogy, therefore, in the passage

we are considering, it would signify **Might**, or the **SONS OF THE MIGHTY**. Who are these?

The language of the passage distinctly marks, and in terms that cannot be mistaken, the practice of polygamy thus freely established. And whence did it originate? There can be no question as to this; since, so far as we are informed, it was adopted by Lamech in the first instance; not improbably from espousing the wife of the man he had slain, as appears from the Chaldean paraphrast, in self-defence: (see F. Q. R. No. 35.) Lamech was the descendant of Cain.

Cain the husbandman, עֵינֵר, *agor*, (Latin *AGER*, a field :) was denounced as a fugitive, עָרַב, and wanderer, גִּירָה, *gori*, from his parents, and his posterity remained separated, as the word *niphilim* implies, the apostates, giants, or **MIGHTY**;—and they are no longer referred to by the sacred historian as the Children of Adam. The genealogy of these occupies the 5th chapter of Genesis; i. e. we submit, the interval between the separation of the races, by the punishment of Cain, and their re-union by the licentiousness of his descendants with the Benoth-Adam; Daughters, not of *Men*, as translated, but of **ADAM**, as in the original text.

Independent of the probability that the polygamy of Lamech should have been adopted and carried to excess by his vicious descendants, and not by angels, the name preserved, Egregori, countenances this hypothesis; and, since its preservation was never contemplated in connection with the sacred text, confirms it, we think, both incidentally and absolutely.

The Egregori of Chemical History are obviously and undeniably the עֵינֵר-גִּירָה, *agri-gori*, or Husbandmen-wanderers of Hebrew Scripture, the race whose skill in metallurgy and science is so distinctly marked by the names of Jubal and Tubal-Cain—and so fairly presumable farther by the fact that their first ancestor, Cain, was the founder of the first city.

We would further observe that the first fugitive is described as fleeing from vengeance to the land eastward of Eden—and, wherever we place this, it was to Persian ground. The two ancient languages of Persia, however corrupted, bear out the same sense as the Hebrew, and by a slightly different and derivative etymology, owing probably to their later corruption. *Eghre* or *Aghre*, in Zend and Pehlivi respectively, signify mighty, or prone to evil; the Cainides were undoubtedly both; and *Khero*, *Khor*, signifying *crime* in the same tongues, seems allied to the Sanscrit *Ghur*, to oppress or harass.

Thus, then, the fugitive husbandmen of the Hebrew code were the mighty sinners and oppressors of the land where they flourished; and their improvements in art are given on such unquestionable authority that we see no reason to doubt the tradition that they brought the first elements of science to the general knowledge of mankind. In this case, and only in this, can we account for the traditional preservation of the name Eggegori, which collaterally forms the link wanted in the chain of evidence.

The two heathen traditions of this confluence of races have gone to the two extremes of exaggeration. Truth might lie between. The Arabs, following the rabbinical tradition, have formed two Giant Angels; while the Persians have degraded them to Demons, or Deevs, (mighty, sage, powerful,) who offered violence to the Peeris, daughters of light or purity; (*peor*;) i. e. to the daughters of the pure race, the children of Adam and Seth. Both Deev and Peeri, too, suffered under Divine wrath.

By this explanation—and the coincidences, if of no value, are the more remarkable,—the obscurity of the antediluvian history disappears, and the parts stand in confessed relation to each other. Let us even admit that the only parallel phrase, that in Job, of “the Sons of God,” signifies Angels there, yet it would be no authority for the former case; since, as we have seen, the word is freely translated both ways in various instances.

On the subject of writing we may notice, as a matter of curiosity if not of importance, that traditions of both the nations referred to attribute writing to Enoch, though the Arabs confound him with the son of Seth. To the Apocryphal book of this prophet we need not allude: but with reference to the alleged book of Kema, or mysteries, it is singular that the same word, *kor* or *gor*, כּוּר, signifies not only mighty, or leaders, Chald. כּוּר, but also, written, graved; as in rock: exscidit, כּוּר, *koreth*, and effodit, כּוּר, *khor*; and כּוּר, *koreth*, is the pen, or instrument of writing, in Hebrew; while this root appears in the Zend form *ma-gor-ta*, a book; i. e. many letters; Hebrew כּוּרָא, *ma-kora*, reading.*

* The specimens here given incontestably prove that homophonous letters did not necessarily alter the sense in early times; nor probably before the Captivity. Even now, scarcely two writers, still less speakers, agree in the *e*, *h*, *hh*, *ch*, *tch*, *g*, *k*, *kh*, *q*; of the Hebrew especially; as the grammars show.

See also F. Q. R., No. 39, for the Aleph and Oin, &c., interchanged in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis. In No. 35, we have marked the interchangeability of every letter

Could the Korybantes, with their columns of inscribed ceremonials, bear reference to the same double root, *Kori*, the Wanderers, or the Lettered, and *phantes*, priests? Their original residence, too, was supposed to be Phrygia, and their especial pursuits astronomy and metallurgy.

The Hermesians also affirmed that the *Koords* were among the earliest possessors of the arts of agriculture and reading, and preserved a tradition of their descent from the children of Adam.

The same double root is preserved in the Arabic name of Koran, the (book) *to be read*, from the Arabic, (and Hebrew,) *Karâ*, to read; and that of the *Koreish*, (כוּרִישׁ) the pre-eminent tribe, who largely retained the oldest Zendo-Persian superstitions.

From all these coincidences, too numerous perhaps to be altogether accidental, we may fairly ask whether the race that first introduced settled habitations and music, the arts of life and the science of metals, could yet have been so ignorant of that science as to render the assertion of their possessing it ridiculous? Could the descendants of Tubal-Cain have used the forge for metallic operations, and yet have been ignorant of all the results of combination? Or without laying any stress upon the philological coincidences we have put together, is it in the least extravagant to imagine that the art of writing first occurred to the first cultivated race of mankind, the children, as Holy Writ proves, of Cain?

Nevertheless, we are bound to observe that the chain we have adduced of philological facts tends to bear out the universal voice of tradition, and the positive affirmations of the Hermetics and Chaldeans, that writing was an antediluvian art.

It is only, we submit, from the serious doubt and confusion entailed by the two slight misunderstandings, for they cannot be called mistranslations, of the Hebrew text which we have pointed out, that so strong a reluctance has been everywhere felt to admit the historical value of the antediluvian narrative. With Noah and his family for the connecting link, can we doubt that the arts of the former period were preserved, and their memory retained, though in tradition alone? This, too, simply because those arts were not connected with the religious scheme of the Mosaic dispensation.

But why, we would fain inquire, should

of the alphabet from above thirty languages, and could easily multiply the proofs through three times that number.

Modern sagacity alone has established the incorruptibility of radicals of every kind.

M. Dumas indulge in a sneer at the knowledge of the Hebrews? Moses was skilled in all the science of Egypt; and that this, whether original, or derived from, or shared by other nations, was great, no one can pretend to deny. The astronomical science that built the pyramids could not have been the work of a day, but must have descended improving, and therefore must have been preserved by characters; so also the book of priestly names which Herodotus heard read. The Pentateuch establishes the fact that Moses was skilled in science in general: we instance, the outlines of natural history, the laws and observances for health; and these develop a knowledge of anti-septics, and even, though shrouded by religious forms, a process of obtaining potash by combustion. The Arabs indeed, and Segued Ben Musib in particular, distinctly affirm from tradition his acquaintance with chemistry, rude as it might have been, and his communicating a portion of this knowledge to his successor, Joshua. His scientific terms, as noticed by Prosser* among others, are singularly correct; the short treatise on the same subject by the late Arthur Lumley Davids, contains ampler evidence of the fact; and a profounder intimacy of the Hebrews with mensuration than the moderns, until very lately, can boast, is established without a possibility of question by the researches of Captain Jervis, who has demonstrated the correct measurement and perfect concord of the two passages respecting the Brazen Sea in Solomon's time, so constantly ridiculed by the learning of even the last century: a fact, we believe, little known, but assuredly one of the most astounding of recent discoveries.

It would be singular too to deny chemistry to the Hebrews while the words that express its first and obvious requisites are absolutely the very formatives of their language. The etymology of כֶּמֶס, Hebrew and Chaldaic, is, object; mode of development: i. e. SCIENCE. Strictly from the formatives, כֶּמֶס, Power in operation.

The derivation of the word Alchemy in Webster's Dictionary is given as the Arabic article *Al*, and *Kimia*, hidden; from *Kamai*, to hide. The Arabic and the Greek word are, however, in all probability differently derived from the same root, above shown: opposite extremes being frequently expressed by the same word, in Eastern languages especially; in this case, the *development* would imply something *concealed*.

The presumptive evidence of derivation in both the cases cited above, instead of favouring, is, in fact, decidedly against the Arabs, the Greeks, and the vulgar opinion. The term *Ombic* certainly existed in the East long before Geber or Dioscorides: into the works of the latter it may, *by possibility*, have been interpolated, with so very much besides, but it is scarcely doubtful that he borrowed it from Asia. The components of the word show indeed its exact nature; not, *Mixed in one vessel*; as commonly supposed, but, and far better; *Forming by gradual Exhaustion*: i. e. distillation; another instance is in the word Crucible or Cucurbit, by its formatives denoting a furnace-pan.

The conjectures are doubtless partially correct that identify the early name of Egypt with the term, Chemistry; the common root of both referring variously to the *Action of Heat*, deemed the Universal Agent in oldest Eastern Philosophy; though a difference might be made between Cham, the arid heat, and כֶּמֶס, *kema*, the genial and fertilizing warmth.

After recent discoveries and the elaborate volumes of Wilkinson we little need to dwell upon this portion of the subject; embalming was known to Egypt in the days of Jacob and Joseph; and bronze and the mystery of the Hermetic *mummeya* are proofs of chemical combination rivalling and exceeding modern skill, and could not have been acquired at once. Their green, too, like ours, was the sole perishable colour.

Laertius affirms that the Egyptians were preceded by the Chaldean sages, whose name Kartumim has been variously derived from astrology, writing, and wisdom, in an era when the three were probably synonymous; and when certainly, as we have noticed, the labours of the first-named science necessitated the use of characters. The same authority affirms, but more suspiciously, that the Magi were indebted for their learning to Chaldea. When we examine historically the facts left by them, few and indistinct as they appear in the ignorant hands of their poetical condenser, Ferdousi, and find the working of gold and silver, the formation of armour by the furnace, with a considerable knowledge of botany and distillation in that remote age, we are scarcely tempted to doubt their degree of skill displayed in times scarcely less remote, and beyond all historical relation, in the mines of the Ural and Altai by the Tchudes, as Ehrenberg's recent travels give evidence; (See too F. Q. R. No. 40,) where the time out of mind *traditions* of the Chinese and Tatars have been fully verified by the

* Prosser's "Key to the Hebrew Scriptures," explaining every word in the sacred text. A little volume which we can freely recommend to students of the language.

facts discovered, of works scarcely credible did not their remains exist. We would ask too, whether the preternatural skill attributed respectively, and with recorded, and often exaggerated facts, to the Egyptian magicians and the Chaldeans in the Scriptures; to the Magi of Persia and the Deevs in the Shah-nameh of the former, the Mahabharata, Harivansa, and Ramayuna of Hindostan; to the enchanters of the African Dom-daniel, the witches of Thessaly, the Tatar sprites, and the mighty dwarfs of Scandinavia; and even if the Chinese gunpowder and loadstone, do not all more or less evidence a skill in natural magic far beyond the general enlightenment of mankind in any age, and a knowledge of properties and powers of nature that could only have proceeded from chemical and other sciences? The wonder-workers of Egypt, the jugglers of China and Hindostan have from unknown ages to the present day defied the more regular progress of European inquiry; the flexible gold even of our own times, the steel furnished to Alexander by the Indians, [see their process in Mr. Heath's paper in the *Athenæum*, 1839, p. 172, together with the opinions of Mr. Brande, *Lit. Gazette*, 1839, p. 155, on the steel of the Egyptians,*] established a chemical skill which it would be idle to question or defend.

The Nabatheans are often confounded with the Chaldean sages, but their existence is demonstrable by the Hebrew Scriptures shortly after the time of Moses. Occupying the northern and western parts of Arabia, claiming the priesthood and even sovereignty of the oldest Egypt, their mystic books contained and concealed the treasures of early science for their Arabian descendants, for whose use 1000 years ago, under the Caliphate of Ben Mervan, some of them were translated by the Nabatheans,, Aben Vahashih, &c. The Worship, the Agriculture, the Astrology, the Laws, the Customs, Ceremonies and Sacrificial Offerings of this Hermesian race, recorded by Maimonides, have all to the best of our knowledge, in their entirety unfortunately perished, with all their possible information and monstrous and impossible chimeras; but the wreck still remaining allows us to identify the antiquity of the existence and superstitions of their race, the genuine ancestry of Arabian philosophy.

* "It was explained only by the lights of modern chemistry." * * "Yet there was little doubt that the tools used for forming the hieroglyphics on their obelisks and temples were of Indian steel."—*Heath's Speech before Royal Asiatic Society, Asiatic Journal*, pp. 248, 249.

Was not the Roman glass, noticed by Winckelman, Etruscan?

It will scarcely be questioned, we presume, that the Hermetic philosophers of Arabia, who, as the Nabatheans, extended from the confines of Egypt to the Persian gulf, united the lore and science of Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. In the scattered but indubitable traces left us of their existence we recognize art, ceremonials, superstitions, and usages, either borrowed from, lent to, or shared with the above-mentioned limitrophe countries, and in whose fading records they are yet, however imperfectly, preserved. When we recall the known tendency of eastern, and in fact of all ancient nations, to maintain the traditional customs of their ancestors; and bear in mind, on the other hand, the gradual progress of improvement which no pertinacity can ever entirely shut out, and the study of science so unremittingly pursued by the sages of old; we shall probably find little difficulty in admitting, not only the unquestionable existence of the Hermesians in Egypt and Arabia, but the identity of this race in the former land with the descendants of their Arabian brethren in later times. If also we compare the traditional reverence, preserved in both countries to this day, of the wonderful skill in the properties of nature and of the magic powers of their early philosophers, with the absolute coincidences of rites and institutions, already hinted at as found in the sacred and profane Oriental and classical writers, we shall scarcely, we trust, be deemed to draw too largely upon credibility when we affirm the impossibility of denying the claim of the latest Hermesians to the traditionary descent and knowledge of their asserted ancestors. As the particulars of this race are little known we shall offer a few details, such as time has spared, especially as being connected closely, if indirectly, with the general subject.

Dividing the sovereigns of Egypt into three classes, of which the Coptic princes were the third and the Pharaohs the second, as facts, confirm, the Nabatheans assume for themselves the first royal station in chronology, and specify among others their king, Kemas, who wrote on astronomy, physic, and the properties of plants and minerals. They claim the labours of the tombs and catacombs, the pyramids and temples, together with the cultivation of astrology and alchemy from the earliest times. In his valuable work on the modern Egyptians Mr. Lane, no ordinary observer, has justly remarked that in their addiction to alchemical pursuits "a considerable knowledge of chemistry is sometimes acquired;" and this assertion of scientific progress, undeniable now, must have been equally true of their

ancestors. Talismans, astrological tablets, secrets of nature and the heavens, magic fumigations, philtres, compounds; distillation, sublimation, solution, calcination and purifying; crucibles, boilings, alkalis; the trituration, solution, calcination, and composition of stones and gems; sulphur, brass, magnets, vitriol, salts, vegetable salts and waters, medical and poisonous plants and their oils, mandragora, &c. taken above a thousand years since from works confessedly obsolete, and in an almost forgotten language then, attest a knowledge fairly borne out by the relics of Egyptian skill so far as we otherwise possess them. The fact, too, that their terms have been always the terms of chemistry, is in their favour, conclusively.

They divided natural magic, or philosophy, into two parts—1st, the existing properties of animals, plants, metals, and minerals; and 2d, the construction of machinery. Both these were distinguished from supernatural magic, the powers and influences of the seven planets, the twelve constellations, &c. &c.; and though, as Von Hammer observes, there is much that is fanciful and extravagant, there is also much of the formal rudiments of knowledge unquestionably laid down in their writings.

The Hermesian priests were divided into four classes, which the general reader may like to compare with the details of Clemens and others. The first were direct descendants of Hermes, and intermarried with their own race alone. The second, of collateral descent, did the same, but were allowed the use of perfumes and the intercourse of their relations at the commencement of each season, and whenever the sun entered a fresh sign of the Zodiac. The former class enjoyed these relaxations but once a year, with Sol in Aries, and a single festival of twenty-eight days; while the festivals of the second class were periodical with the seasons and of seven days each.

Their children were presented by the mother to the priest of the temple, who prayed over and sprinkled the child with water from a golden cup. If it turned towards the threshold it was deemed accepted, placed in a coffin and covered with a green handkerchief (like the houris?) if a girl, or with a red one if a boy. The coffin was closed awhile, and the child's parents and relatives performed their devotions and hymns; the priest then, holding a triple staff, interrogated the young aspirant as to his birth, wishes, sacrifice, and secrecy in the name of the Supreme: the child's answers were written down; and next, opening the coffin and purifying it with fumigations, they sacrificed a

quadruped or bird; the blood of which was burnt, and the body wrapped up in linen and placed in a pot of earth in the sacrificial pit with secret rites. If the child ever spoke of this ceremony he was ejected speedily, but on some factitious pretence:—if an adult left them, he survived but three days.

At their great festivals seven bulls and seven rams were sacrificed to their seven Gods of the Planets, including the sun and moon; a proceeding which identifies them with the idolatrous ceremonials of Balak and Balaam, the son, or priest, of Beor, and fixes one, and that a very remote, point of their history.

At their sacrifices alluded to, every priest wore the dress of his class and read the holy books; after which they remained prostrate for an hour, and, on rising, the sacrificers successively delivered their divinations, all which were taken down by the priests and compared for a general result. These are considered precisely similar to, if not identical with, the Chaldean Chartumim, and their name, *na-habath*, seems indicative of continued attention, or study, into mysteries, though its original derivation is probably from *na* and *abba*—patriarch, chief, or lord; to which the prophetic office, נביא, *naba*, was attached, and the inspired flow of eloquence—נבואה. The Na-bathi, or sages, were then the *Vates*, in the double sense of this word, poet and prophet.

The third class of Hermesians admitted some strangers; and the fourth, still more freely intermixed, were peripatetics. These we suspect to have been the Sabæans, as “they first introduced the worship of stars and constellations;” probably as such, and not as intelligences: thus assimilating to the later Magians.

The Sabæans, at least of later times, were not in all likelihood the same as the Nabatheans, for their rites seem more numerous and corrupt so far as we have any means of judging, though most writers have confounded the two.

ART. III.—*Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen.* (Symbols and Mythology of the Ancient Nations, especially the Greeks.) By Friedrich Creuzer. 5 vols. 8vo. Darmstadt.

THE work whose title we have prefixed is of so vast and varied a nature, and the researches on which it is based and the comparisons instituted so numerous, complicat-

ed, and important, that we cannot wonder at the high reputation it has obtained, abroad and at home; especially where, as in its native land, multiplicity of details and abundance of illustration are even more sought for than the conclusions they are intended to establish. Highly as we ourselves must necessarily value them also, and greatly as we must admire the learning employed in the task, we yet cannot but think that the amassing and arrangement of details is but the first and rudest form of proceeding. It is the undoubted preliminary to the rest; the collection of materials to be employed in the after labour: but we cannot but fear that these gigantic accumulations have injured even more than they have aided the cause of knowledge, by occupying the time of their authors in collecting statements rather than in digesting their consequences, and thus preventing learning and ingenuity from reaping the fruits of their own proper labours.

To these vast and useful displays of erudition and science we feel, as we have stated, every obligation: but if anything more is intended; if these treasured stores are, as we doubt not, brought forward to produce a yet unobtained and desirable result; if the garb worn by the genius of the past, however valuable in itself, is still more so as marking the outline of the form that bore it, it is not, we submit, by examining alone the breadth or composition of the garment, by fixing the eye on its eternal folds and the ceaseless and varied play of the drapery, much as these may assist, that we can trace with certainty the real mouldings of the figure beneath. We must, in fact, draw back from too close an inspection, forget the varieties of the several parts in the general effect, and lay down the observer's microscope and the anatomist's scalpel, if the entire, original man is to be comprehended by the open eye. In all writings it is easy to accumulate facts or opinions, but these beyond a certain point only harass the action and the judgment. The true art of all excellence is selection; the true difficulty is only to reject: in the multiplicity of views and labours we may obtain the reputation of learning; in the calm severity of discrimination alone can we ever hope to become really wise.

It is from inattention to this rule which, like every other truth, is freely admitted and never applied, that we ourselves must attribute the failure of our learned brethren of Germany, in their efforts to find the goal which they seek by so many paths at once. The maze of antiquity is for them indeed a labyrinth; and every apparent turn and

opening is sought and explored with an avidity that induces continual deviations from the one straight path of progressive discovery.

It is clearly impossible to give in our narrow limits anything like a fair view of M. Creuzer's labours beyond a slight enumeration of the contents. The ignorance and information of earliest times; the basis of a grammatical system; remarks on the various physical sources of symbols and mythoi, their various shapes, and the different forms of belief; with an historical view of the earlier and later periods of mythological symbols, constitute the six chapters of his first book. The second book examines the religion of the Egyptians, Indians, and Medo-Persians, in a chapter devoted to each, and, we need not say, developing extraordinary research.

The second volume inquires into the subject of the religion of Asia in the first and second periods, and that of Carthage; the origin of Grecian worship, Pelasgian and Samo-Thracian, including also notices of Homer, Hesiod, and the gods of Greece; and embraces the Etruscans and other nations of ancient Italy.

The third and fourth volumes contain the heroes and demons of Greece, the Bacchic mysteries, Pan, the Muses, Psyche, Ceres and Proserpine; and the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinia, with their immensity of detail: the work concludes with a general view of the pagan nations and creeds, particularly of the north, and a vast variety of other matter down to the Christian era.

We cannot, it is clear, do justice to this subject; and there is the less necessity for the attempt, since not only is the inquiry suited rather for the abstruse scholar than for the general readers of our pages, but also because the far more simple, clear, and concise volume of our own countryman, the late erudite scholar R. P. Knight, recently reprinted with much judgment in an extremely cheap form, supplies a somewhat similar though more narrow course of inquiry; and is, therefore, far more acceptable probably to the general taste: to this book we turn.

The same difficulty meets us at the threshold of both works; and we are fain to inquire whether it is not more probable that the confusion of early times is merely corruption of a previous simplicity, an ignorant and pardonable mistake of history for mythology, of men for demons and monsters, than of an originally refined and subtle system of abstract imaginings. Did, in fact, the imagination range before the objects of sense had time to affect it, and be-

fore obscurity had shrouded the recollections of the past? Did the ideas of man spring from the tangible objects before him, i. e. from perception? or did he commence with metaphysics before he had cognizance of actuality in its most obvious forms? Did he resort at once to imagery and fable to veil the opinions and facts he wished to hand down in his first rude traditions?

Yet such seems the general assumption.

It was remarked, though too boldly, by Newton in his *Egyptian Chronology*, that the concise tale of kings in Herodotus was much enlarged in the time of Diodorus the Sicilian, and received an immense accession of numbers in the later age of Manetho. The fair suspicion, which recent discoveries however have shown to be incorrect though certainly not in the sense supposed, may yet be applied, and with justice, to the religious system of Egypt. The priests, as we have formerly observed—No. XLII. p. 196,—could read the names of their 330 kings to Herodotus, yet could tell him nothing of those kings; so that beyond an imperfect writing and the existing monuments, the historical knowledge of Egypt was lost amongst those who were set apart to preserve it. And yet we have for 2000 years been believing, and are still expected to believe, that while absolute facts were irrecoverably lost, the finer dreams of mythological refinement, the allegorical customs, the types and shadows in which Egyptian wisdom, or folly, loved to veil its sense among the initiated, were all at once in after ages revealed in full light, and to the uninitiated alone!—that that veil of Isis which no mortal, even a native priest, had undrawn, was raised for the curiosity of the unbelieving Greeks; and that though the mysteries of Eleusis were unprofaned in the time of Horace—*vetabo qui Cereris sacra vulgârit*—the deeper silence of those more mysterious rites, whose meaning was whispered by the two higher orders of hierophants alone, was freely proclaimed in its original, unexaggerated state for the general ear, by the profane voices of Plutarch, Porphyry, and Macrobius!

It would indeed betray a salutary scepticism to inquire how this discovery, itself the greatest mystery perhaps of all, originated. Did the minor priests reveal the knowledge they had guarded so long; that entrusted to themselves alone? Or did they betray the secrets of the higher orders only?—and how came they by these? Or, and is it not more probable to suppose, did the strangers so freely admitted in later times to imperfect participation of the sacred rites, confuse the doctrines of their semi-informa-

tion, and leave to the Greek inquirers a mass of unshaped traditions and fanciful allegories, which the best aids of learning and genius could work out into no clearer shape than the wild and hopeless divarications presented in the pages of those later writers?

“It is extremely difficult,” Mr. Knight observes, “to obtain any accurate information concerning any of the mystic doctrines; all the early writers turning away from the mention of them with a sort of religious horror; and those of later times, who have pretended to explain them, being to be read with much caution; as their assertions are generally founded in conjecture, and oftentimes warped by prejudices in favour of their own particular systems and opinions in religion and philosophy.”—pp. 2, 3.

The union of art and mythology in ancient times has ever been so obvious, that each has been called upon, in every age, to assist in casting some light on the other; but it has been reserved especially for “these piping times of peace,” to carry out more thoroughly and effectually the measures which were likely to ensure success, while the mass of intellect which has been brought to the work, with the energetic power which has set that mass in motion, not only promises, but has already ensured, the most favourable results. Within our memory this branch of knowledge was the study of a chosen few, but now so widely has it spread as to form a subject of interest in general society. In the work now more immediately before us,* besides its ample learning, considerable talent has been displayed, not only in the general arrangement and treatment of the subject, but in a perspicuity of description as desirable to the reader as creditable to the author; while the text is substantiated by numerous extracts from ancient writers, contained in the notes, with continued references to coins and other works of art. In his opening section Mr. Knight states

“As all the most interesting and important subjects of ancient art are taken from the religious or poetical mythology of the times, a general analysis of the principles and progress of that mythology will afford a more complete as well as more concise explanation of particular monuments than can be conveyed in separate dissertations annexed to each.”

He then refers to the primitive religion of the Greeks, as being similar to that of all other nations not enlightened by revelation; most justly asserting, in Sect. 5, p. 2, that

* *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, by R. P. Knight. Privately printed 1818, and reprinted, London, 1836.

we find traces of the same simple "principles and fanciful superstructures from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Ganges." He next proceeds to say

"There can be little doubt that the voluminous poetical cosmogonies still extant among the Hindoos, and the fragments preserved of those of the Scandinavians, may afford us very competent ideas of the style and subjects of those ponderous compilations in verse, which constituted the mystic lore of the ancient priests of Persia, Germany, Spain, Gaul, and Britain; and which in the two latter countries were so extensive that the education of a Druid sometimes required twenty years. From the specimens above mentioned we may, nevertheless, easily console ourselves for the loss of all of them as poetical compositions, whatever might have been their value in other respects."

Is this last paragraph true, and have we not cause to regret them considering them only as poetical compositions? The question we conceive may be fairly asked; nor can we imagine how to answer it, without the means of judging.

We are next introduced to the "secret or mystic system," and reminded of the difficulties attending initiation, on which occur the following remarks.

"When Greece lost her liberty, the periods of probation were dispensed with in favour of her acknowledged sovereigns; but nevertheless so sacred and awful was this subject, that, even in the lowest stage of her servitude and depression, the Emperor Nero did not dare to compel the priests to initiate him, on account of the murder of his mother. To divulge any thing thus learnt was everywhere considered as the extreme of wickedness and impiety, and at Athens was punished with death; on which account Alcibiades was condemned, together with many other illustrious citizens, whose loss contributed greatly to the ruin of that republic and the subversion of its empire."

We greatly question whether it was so much "the sacredness and awfulness" of the subject as the complete mastery of the priests over the minds of *all classes* by the management of their extensive means, which was proved by Nero's "not daring to compel the priests to initiate him." By laying bare the slender basis of their mysticism, the "vulgar religion or popular mythology" would have received a blow, which, at the time when the mild and humane tenets of Christianity were disseminated, there was every reason for averting at any hazard. That the priests even in those late days did possess such power cannot be questioned, while the feelings of the people at an earlier period may be proved by the fact, well

known and recorded, of Æschylus narrowly escaping being torn to pieces on the stage for bringing out something supposed to be mystic, and saving himself by proving that he had never been initiated. As in the Jewish dispensation, dark shadowings forth of things to come formed no slight part of their laws and ceremonies, so, to the uninitiated of the heathens, symbolical language formed a veil at which men might gaze and wonder; while in many of its details it bore an evident impress of portions of our belief. The following observations are just and to the purpose.

"In examining these symbols in the remains of ancient art, which have escaped the barbarism and bigotry of the middle ages, we may sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between those compositions which are mere efforts of taste and fancy, and those which were emblems of what were thought divine truths; but nevertheless this difficulty is not so great as it at first view appears to be; for there is such an obvious analogy and connection between the different emblematical monuments, not only of the same, but of different and remote countries, that, when properly arranged and brought under one point of view, they in a great degree explain themselves by mutually explaining each other. There is one class too, the most numerous and important of all, which must have been designed and executed under the sanction of public authority; and therefore, whatever meaning they contain, must have been the meaning of nations, and not the caprice of individuals.

"This is the class of coins, the devices upon which were always held so strictly sacred, that the most proud and powerful monarchs never ventured to put their portraits upon them, until the practice of deifying sovereigns enrolled them among the gods. Neither the kings of Persia, Macedonia, or Epirus, nor even the tyrants of Sicily ever took this liberty; the first portraits that we find upon money being those of Egyptian and Syrian dynasties of Macedonian princes, whom the flattery of their subjects had raised to divine honours. The artists had indeed before found a way of gratifying the vanity of their patrons without offending their piety, which was by mixing their features with those of the Deity whose image was to be impressed; an artifice which seems to have been practised in the coins of several of the Macedonian kings, previous to the custom of putting their portraits upon them.

"It is in a great degree owing to the sanctity of the devices that such numbers of very ancient coins have been preserved fresh and entire; for it was owing to this that they were put into tombs, with vases and other sacred symbols, and not, as Lucian has ludicrously supposed, that the dead might have the means of paying for

their passage over the Styx: the whole fiction of Charon and his boat being of late date, and posterior to many tombs in which coins have been found.”—pp. 3, 4.

Although the fiction of Charon and his boat may have been posterior to many tombs containing money, the boat was used for the Egyptian dead; and is it not certain that Charon himself was a fiction of the older Etruscans? His hideous features, unclassical and supposed unearthly visage, so represented also in Etruscan tombs, affording the same singular facial angle and formation of skull as are found in Mexican pictures and the tombs of Peru, as well as in some Egyptian mummies; one of these is in the British Museum, though by our sages *purposely* concealed from view! The importance Mr. Knight attaches to the assistance derivable from coins may be gathered from the following.

Sect. 17. “By opening the tombs, which the ancients held sacred, and exploring the foundations of ruined cities where money was concealed, modern cabinets have been enriched with more complete series of coins than could have been collected in any period of antiquity: we can thus bring under one point of view the whole progress of the art from its infancy to its decline, and compare the various religious symbols which have been employed in ages and countries remote from each other. These symbols have the great advantage over those preserved in other branches of sculpture that they have never been mutilated or restored; and also that they exhibit two compositions together, one on each side of the coin, which mutually serve to explain each other, and thus enable us to read the symbolical or mystical writing with more certainty than we are enabled to do in any other monuments. It is principally, therefore, under their guidance, that we shall endeavour to explore the vast and confused labyrinths of poetical and allegorical fable; and to separate as accurately as we can the theology from the mythology of the ancients: by which means alone we can obtain a competent knowledge of the mystic, or, as it was otherwise called, the Orphic faith, and explain the general style and language of symbolical art in which it was conveyed.”

Having thus explained his intention, our author commences with Ceres and Bacchus, called in Egypt Isis and Osiris, and in Syria Venus and Adonis, as those under whom persons were generally instructed in the faith. The Egg, with the Serpent, the Bull, and the Goat, are successively brought under notice, as symbolical representations of the active, pervading, and creative power of Divinity; and the passively productive principle is asserted to have been enigmatically

shown by the fig-leaf, the concha Veneris, the barley-corn, and the letter Delta. The Amazons of course receive their share of doubt, whilst a supposition of the origin of such fables is hazarded in the statement of Hippocrates, “that the right breast of the Sarmatian women was destroyed in their infancy to qualify them for war, in which they served on horseback; and none was qualified to be a wife until she had slain three enemies.”—(See also F. Q. R. No. xxxvii., p. 118.) Mr. Knight has previously mentioned that

“In the great sculptured caverns of the island of Elephanta, near Bombay, there is a figure, evidently symbolical, with a large prominent female breast on the left side and none on the right. This figure has four arms; and of those on the right side, one holds up a serpent, and the other rests upon the head of a bull; while of those on the left, one holds up a small buckler, and the other something which cannot be ascertained.”—p. 15, § 50.

In this emblematical figure our author considers the artist to have intended the union of the two sexes.

An idea of Mr. Knight (last part 54th Sect.) that “much of the Hindoo mythology and all their knowledge of alphabetical writing, as well as the use of money, came from the Greeks, through the Bactrian and Parthian empires, the sovereigns of both which appear to have employed the Grecian letters and language in all their public acts,” is out of the question.

Can indeed the *Aum* of the Indians, equivalent with the *Amun* of the Egyptians, have by any possibility been derived from the *Pan* of the Greeks? Does not the argument tend the opposite way, and bring much from India which has been supposed *given* to it? We refer the reader to F. Q. R. No. XLIII. Art. *Schlegel*, pp. 93—98. Also No. xxxv., p. 66, and No. xxxvii., p. 107.

The Etruscan tombs, we now see, to a certain extent contradict the latter part of the 86th section. What would the author moreover say to the cities of the plain? Surely the account in the 19th chap. Genesis is enough to determine that “such preposterous appetites were” not “wholly unknown to the *simplicity* of the early times,” although not “once noticed either in the Iliad, the Odyssey, or the genuine poem of Hesiod; for as to the lines in the former poem alluding to the story of Ganymede, they are manifestly spurious.” Did not the introduction or omission of such subjects depend simply on the poet’s taste? But without entering on the authenticity of this or other passages, which would involve us

in matter beyond our limits, we must observe that Mr. Knight seems frequently to meet difficulties in this manner; a method to which an author should resort as sparingly as practicable, and with the greatest caution. A bold assertion is easily made, even when impossible to maintain. In Sec. 99, the lines in the Iliad concerning Ariadne, Bacchus, and Theseus, are declared to be "*evidently spurious*." In Section 173, "the whole of the Song of Demodocus in the Odyssey" is said to be "an interpolation of a much later date." In Section 206, "the four lines alluding to the dedication of the Brothers of Helen in the Odyssey" are described as "being *undoubtedly spurious*, though exceedingly beautiful;" and again in Sec. 220, note 10, "The four lines in Odyssey M. 69—72, are *manifestly* interpolated." The author has taken we observe so much of hypothesis for his theory itself, that he has overlooked the necessity of proof in his critical remarks.

The following quotation may be interesting to the general reader, although not containing anything new to us now.

"In Stukely's Itinerary is the ground plan of an ancient Celtic or Scandinavian temple found in Zealand, consisting of a circle of rude stones within a square; and it is probable that many others of those circles were originally enclosed in square areas. Stonehenge is the most important monument of this kind now extant, and from a passage of Hecatæus preserved by Diodorus Siculus, it seems to have been not wholly unknown to that ancient historian; who might have collected some vague accounts of the British islands from the Phœnician and Carthaginian merchants, who traded there for tin." "THE HYPERBOREANS," said he, "INHABIT AN ISLAND BEYOND GAUL, IN WHICH APOLLO IS WORSHIPPED IN A CIRCULAR TEMPLE CONSIDERABLE FOR ITS SIZE AND RICHES." This island can be no other than Britain; in which we know of no traces of any other circular temple which could have appeared considerable to a Greek or Phœnician of that age; that the account should be imperfect and obscure is not surprising; since even the most inquisitive and credulous travellers among the Greeks could scarcely obtain sufficient information concerning the British islands to satisfy them of their existence. A temple of the same form was situated upon Mount Zilmissus in Thrace, and dedicated to the Sun, under the title of Bacchus Sebazius; and another is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, which was dedicated to Mars, upon an island in the Euxine sea, near the coast of the Amazons.

"The large obelisks of stone found in many parts of the North, such as those at Rudstone and near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, belonged to the same religion; obelisks, as Pliny observes, being sacred to the sun,

whose rays they signified, both by their form and name. They were therefore the emblems of light, the primary and essential emanations of the Deity; whence radiating the head, or surrounding it with a diadem of small obelisks, was a mode of consecration or dedication which flattery often employed in the portraits both of the Macedonian kings and Roman emperors."

In the next Sections, 103, 104, p. 30, Mr. Knight states that,

"On a Lapland drum the goddess Isa or Disa is represented by a pyramid, surmounted with the emblem so frequently observed in the hands of the Egyptian deities; and the pyramid has likewise been observed among the religious symbols of the savages of North America. The most sacred idol, too, of the Hindoos in the great temple of Juggernaut, in the province of Orissa, is a pyramidal stone; and the altar in the temple of Mexico, upon which human victims were sacrificed to the deity of the Sun, was a pointed pyramid, on which the unhappy captive was extended on his back, in order to have his heart taken out by the priests."

"The spires and pinnacles with which our old churches are decorated come from these ancient symbols; and the weathercocks with which they are surmounted, though now only employed to show the direction of the wind, were originally emblems of the sun; for the cock is the natural herald of the day, and therefore sacred to the fountain of light. In the symbolical writing of the Chinese, the sun is still represented by a cock in a circle; and a modern Parsee would suffer death rather than be guilty of the crime of killing one. It appears on many ancient coins, with some symbol of the passive productive power on the reverse; and in other instances it is united with Priapic and other emblems and devices signifying different attributes combined."

Now to what does all this amount? Neither more nor less than to a fanciful description of probabilities. That the obelisk was the symbol mentioned there can be no doubt, as well as that the pyramid was the same:—that the cock was an emblem of the sun may be unquestionable; but that the spires and pinnacles of our old churches or the weathercocks on them were connected with those ancient symbols may be a pretty suggestion, but can reach no farther. Too extensive a use of imagination is more injurious than its too limited exercise, while the pursuit of any favourite or long cherished theory frequently renders us blind to the most important opposing facts. The *one* desired object is alone kept in view, and many are the posts against which we stumble in our course; to the *one* feeling of the mind we must attend, be the object what it may—religion—politics—or the leg of a

spider. The mental microscope is applied to that object, and while gazing on it in self-absorbed satisfaction we lose sight of all else. We can occasionally observe others similarly employed on different subjects and pity their delusion, little suspecting that like thoughts are passing in their minds regarding us. With all the talent of this work aided by its extensive research, we are inclined to think that Mr. Knight occasionally travels beyond his limits, indulging too freely in fanciful suggestions. All researches into the past must, it is true, be attended with some considerable exercise of imagination; to a sparing indulgence no objection could be raised, but against the intoxications of fancy we must protest. That Mr. Knight may be right in many of his conjectures we do not doubt, but of some we more than entertain a suspicion: it will however be better at once to proceed with his solution, and the destruction of many of our old school companions, we had almost said friends, of whom he disposes in the most summary and wholesale manner.

Sect. 107. "The third eye of this ancient statue (Jupiter, of wood, in the citadel of Argos) was in the forehead; and it seems that the Hindoos have a symbolical figure of the same kind; whence we may venture to infer, that the Cyclops, concerning whom there are so many inconsistent fables, owed their fictitious being to some such enigmatical compositions. According to the ancient theogony attributed to Hesiod they were the sons of Heaven and Earth, and brothers of Saturn or Time; signifying, according to the Scholiast, the circular or central power; the principles of the general motion of the universe above noticed. The Cyclops of the Odyssey is a totally different personage; but as he is said to be the son of Neptune or the Sea, it is probable that he equally sprang from some emblematical figure or allegorical tale. Whether the poet meant him to be a giant of a one-eyed race, or to have lost his other eye by accident, is uncertain; but the former is most probable, or he would have told what the accident was."

Poked out by the ferule of an umbrella perhaps.

"In an ancient piece of sculpture, however, found in Sicily the artist has supposed the latter, as have also some learned moderns."

We have inserted this last clause lest some of our readers, not aware of the fact, should give Mr. Knight himself credit for this mangling of our one-eyed friends. What Homer would have said to "the artist" and "the learned moderns" we know not; but hope that, using the precedent of the Spartan Lysander with the Athenian Philocles, he would have carried out their ideas on

themselves; if indeed they were not more than half-blind already. The "learned moderns" who imagined so much, would have as easily imagined a whole nation of fortuitously one-eyed Calenders, instead of three in the Arabian Nights. It may certainly be justly argued that an eye is an eye; but although not accustomed to consider the Cyclops as beauties, we do not like associating them in our minds with Greenwich pensioners.

In the last part of the 114 sect. we find the origin of Actæon thus described—

"The very ancient colossal statue of the Androgynous Apollo near Miletus, of which there is an engraving from an ancient copy in the Select Specimens, Pl. XII., carried a deer in the right hand, and on a very early gold coin, probably of Ephesus, a male beardless head is represented with the horns of the same animal; whence we suspect that the metamorphose of Actæon, like many other similar fables, arose from some such symbolical composition."

And in Sect. 121. "The beauty of his person and the style of his dress" (the Phrygian Attis) "caused his statues to be confounded with those of Paris, who appears also to have been canonized; and it is probable that a symbolical composition, representing him in the act of fructifying nature, attended by power and wisdom, gave rise to the story of the Trojan prince's adjudging the prize of beauty between the three contending goddesses: a story which appears to be wholly unknown to the ancient poets, who have celebrated the events of the war supposed to have arisen from it."

In this manner is the Judgment of Paris settled; but we would observe that the Eastern use of the apple as a marriage ceremonial, though not referred to by the author, may seem to give some colour to this idea. The horrors of the "Promethens vinctus" of Æschylus are as quickly despatched.—We next learn

Sect. 123. "From the symbolical use of the boar to represent the destroying or rather the antigerative attribute, probably arose the abhorrence of swine's flesh, which prevailed universally among the Egyptians and the Jews."

Is not the law of Moses against the Jews eating swine's flesh sufficient to account for their abhorrence of it without this symbolical solution? and was it not more probably historical than symbolical among the Egyptians, from the death of Timaus?

"The stories of Prometheus were equally allegorical; for Prometheus was only a title of the sun, expressing providence or foresight; wherefore his being bound in the extremities of the earth, signified originally no more than the restriction of the power of the

sun during the winter months, though it has been variously embellished and corrupted by the poets; partly perhaps from symbolical compositions ill understood, for the vulture might have been naturally employed as an emblem of the destroying power."—Section 124.

We take the same objection here as in the preceding case; namely, that the symbol arose more probably from the historical fact. The next extract needs no introduction.

Sect. 135. "The mythological personages Castor and Pollux, who lived and died alternately, were the same as Bacchus and Apollo; whence they were preeminently distinguished by the title of the GREAT GODS in some places, though in others confounded with the canonized or deified mortals the brothers of Helen. Their fabulous birth from the egg, the form of which is retained in the caps usually worn by them, is a remnant of the ancient mystic allegory, upon which the more recent poetical tales have been engrafted; whilst the two asterisks and the two human heads, one going upwards and the other downwards, by which they are occasionally represented, more distinctly point out their symbolical meaning, which was the alternate appearance of the sun in the upper and lower hemispheres. This meaning, being a part of what was revealed in the mysteries, is probably the reason why Apuleius mentions seeing the sun at midnight among the circumstances of initiation, which he has obscurely and enigmatically related."

On the rape of Europa is the following.

Sect. 144. "It is in the character of the destroying attribute that Diana is called ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΙΟΔΑ and ΒΟΩΝ ΕΛΑΤΕΙΑ, in allusion to her being borne or drawn by bulls, like the Destroyer among the Hindoos; and it is probable that some such symbolical composition gave rise to the fable of Jupiter and Europa; for it appears that in Phœnicia, Europa and Astarte were only different titles for the same personage, who was the deity of the moon, comprehending both the Diana and celestial Venus of the Greeks; whence the latter was occasionally represented armed like the former, and also distinguished by epithets which can be properly applied only to the planet, and which are certainly derived from the primitive planetary worship."

As Mr. Knight's use of the lotus or water-lily is extensive, and his description of it interesting, we cannot do better than place it before our readers, premising that from it according to our author, has sprung *every order of Grecian architecture*.

Sect. 146. "The mystic symbol called a modius or *ποδος*, which is upon the heads of Pluto, Serapis, Venus, and Fortune or Isis, appears to be no other than the bell or seed vessel of the lotus or water-lily, the nymphæ

nelumbo of Linnæus. This plant, which appears to be a native of the eastern parts of Asia, and is now found in Egypt, grows in the water; and amidst its broad leaves, which float upon the surface, puts forth a large white flower, the base and centre of which is shaped like a bell or inverted cone, and punctuated on the top with little cells or cavities, in which the seeds grow. The orifices of these cells being too small to let them drop out when ripe, they shoot forth into new plants in the places where they were formed, the bulb of the vessel serving as a matrice to nourish them until they acquire a degree of magnitude sufficient to burst it open and release themselves; when they sink to the bottom or take root wherever the current happens to deposit them. Being, therefore, of a nature thus reproductive in itself, and as it were of a viviparous species among plants, the nelumbo was naturally adopted as the symbol of the productive power of the waters, which spread life and vegetation over the earth. It also appeared to have a peculiar sympathy with the sun, the great fountain of life and motion, by rising above the waters as it rose above the horizon and sinking under them as it retired below. Accordingly, we find it employed in every part of the northern hemisphere where symbolical worship either does, or ever did prevail. The sacred images of the Tartars, Japanese and Indians, are almost all placed upon it, and it is still sacred both in Tibet and China.

In Sect. 149, Mr. Knight attacks those who, as he expresses it, "have reduced as much as possible the limits of ancient history, notwithstanding the obstinate evidence of those monuments of art and labour which still stand up in their defence." This is at once taking it for granted that they are wrong, which surely should not be done in so concise a manner and only on the evidence of the extent of monuments. We know what works were achieved by eastern monarchs in an incredibly short period, and that the labour of their multitudes was not a matter of consideration; the canal through the Isthmus of Sana for instance being a work, according to Herodotus, of more ostentation than utility. We ourselves are thankful for any information that may extend and simplify our knowledge of past ages, when founded upon correct data. The argument indeed of Mr. Knight in favour of a longer period, in Sect. 151, appears at first to be well supported; but on looking at Mr. Cory's excellent "Chronological Inquiry" and noting his direct calculations ("every one of which," he justly says, "is founded upon historic record without the slightest variation to accommodate") we at once acknowledge ourselves bound to give credence to such testimony in preference to isolated evidence; as of Herodotus being shown, and Hecatæus, the statues of 341 successive priests, each

of whom was compelled by custom to erect a colossal figure of himself. It is not on such a circumstance, dependant on such a priesthood, that we can depend, when opposed to the result of calm and general inquiry.

We will now proceed with our author's suggestion regarding the Grecian orders of architecture.

"But remote as the antiquity of the Egyptian remains seems to be, the symbols which adorn them appear not to have been invented by that, but to have been copied from those of some other people, who dwelt on the other side of the Erythræan ocean. Both the nelumbo and the hooded snake, which are among those most frequently repeated, and most accurately represented upon all their sacred monuments, are, as before observed, natives of the East; and upon the very ancient Egyptian temple near Girge, figures have been observed exactly resembling those of the Indian deities, Juggernaut, Gonnas and Vishnoo. The Egyptian architecture appears, however, to have been original and indigenous, and in this art only the Greeks seemed to have borrowed from them; the different orders being only different modifications of the symbolical columns which the Egyptians formed in imitation of the nelumbo plant.

"The earliest capital seems to have been the bell or seed vessel, simply copied, without any alteration except a little expansion at the bottom to give it stability. The leaves of some other plant were then added to it, and varied in different capitals according to the different meanings intended to be signified by these accessory symbols. The Greeks decorated it in the same manner with the foliage of various plants, sometimes of the acanthus, and sometimes of the aquatic kind; which are, however, generally so transformed by their excessive attention to elegance, that it is difficult to ascertain them. The most usual seems to be the Egyptian acacia, which was probably adopted as a mystic symbol for the same reasons as the olive; it being equally remarkable for its powers of re-production. Theophrastus mentions a large wood of it in Thebais, where the olive will not grow; so that we may reasonably suppose it to have been employed by the Egyptians in the same symbolical sense. From them the Greeks seem to have borrowed it about the time of the Macedonian conquest, it not occurring in any of their buildings of a much earlier date; and as for the story of the Corinthian architect, who is said to have invented this kind of capital from observing a thorn growing round a basket, it deserves no credit, being fully contradicted by the buildings still remaining in Upper Egypt.

"The Doric column, which appears to have been the only one known to the very ancient Greeks, was equally derived from the nelumbo, its capital being the same seed

vessel pressed flat as it appears when withered and dry; the only state, probably, in which it has been seen in Europe. The flutes in the shaft were made to hold spears and staves, whence a spear-holder is spoken of in the Odyssey as part of a column: the triglyphs and blocks of the cornice were also derived from utility; they having been intended to represent the projecting ends of the beams and rafters which formed the roof.

"The Ionic capital has no bell, but volutes formed in imitation of sea shells, which have the same symbolical meaning. To them is frequently added the ornament which architects call a honeysuckle; but which seems to be meant the young petals of the same flower viewed horizontally, before they are opened or expanded. Another ornament is also introduced in this capital, which they call eggs and anchors; but which is, in fact, composed of eggs and spear heads, the symbols of passive generative and active destructive power, or, in the language of Mythology, of Venus and Mars.

"These are in reality all the Greek orders, which are respectively distinguished by the symbolical ornaments being placed UPWARDS, DOWNWARDS, OR SIDEWAYS; wherefore, to invent a new order is as much impossible as to invent an attitude or position which shall incline to neither of the three. As for the orders called Tuscan and Composite, the one is that in which there is no ornament whatsoever, and the other that in which various ornaments are placed in different directions; so that the one is in reality no order, and the other a combination of several."—Sects. 152—156.

We shall leave the consideration of these suggestions to our readers—they are amusing and ingenious, if not instructive; carrying an air of probability which our cooler judgment may reject, but which is worth examination. With the solution we confess ourselves unsatisfied; the elegant Corinthian does not at all answer to its symbolical description, but more fully verifies the old-fashioned notion of foliage drooping over the top of a basket, whether the carrier of the basket happened to be a Corinthian or Egyptian; we would venture to suggest for the Ionic, as equally symbolical with sea shells and of much more frequent occurrence, Bulls' or Rams' horns; the graceful curve of that order being by this means attained without seeking in another element for that which can be more powerfully expressed in our own; and in even more perfect accordance with the symbolical language of the nation.

Mr. Knight, in Sect. 167, speaking of "parents making their children to pass through the fire," states that "in India it is still performed by mothers passing through the flames with their children in their arms;" and that he thinks commentators wrong, as they

certainly are, in supposing them to have been burnt alive; continuing, that this mode of consecration to the deity is now performed in Ireland, "and held to be a holy and mystic means of communion with the great active principle of the universe."

In Sect. 168, however, he acknowledges

"It must be admitted that the Carthaginians and other nations of antiquity did occasionally sacrifice their children to their gods in the most cruel and barbarous manner; and, indeed, there is scarcely any people whose history does not afford some instances of such abominable rites. Even the patriarch Abraham, when ordered to sacrifice his only son, does not appear to have been surprised or startled at it; neither could Jephtha have had any notion that such sacrifices were odious, or even unacceptable to the Deity, or he would not have considered his daughter as included in his general vow, or imagined that a breach of it in such an instance could be a greater crime than fulfilling it."

We are aware that a custom of sacrificing the eldest, only, or most valued child, existed among the earliest nations; but that the patriarch Abraham should not have expressed surprise, or shown any misgivings—and be it remembered that we are not told what he felt at the command of his Creator—will not form a subject of wonder when we reflect on all the circumstances that had preceded it.

The child Isaac had been granted him by a miracle in the old age of himself and wife. He was in the habit of direct communication with the Deity. By His direction had he been guided in his journeyings, and preserved from many and evident dangers. He could feel no doubt that it was Jehovah who required his son of him, and he consequently did not venture to betray a question of the course to be pursued. The very fact recorded by our author was the cause of Abraham's being so eminently rewarded: the unwavering steadiness of his faith "was imputed unto him for righteousness." To the introduction of Jephtha's vow we entirely object, while the method of insertion here deserves reprehension: Mr. Knight must have known, as who does not? the fact of the sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter to have been a long controverted point. Was it right then to advert to it, whatever might be his opinion, as an unquestionable illustration? For our own parts we have ever regarded the vow of the father as two-fold—"It shall surely be the Lord's, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering," Judges xi. v. 31, and its fulfilment we have considered as carrying out the former intention, that of devoting his child to God in perpetual vir-

ginity. The words, we think amply bear this construction. "And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed: and she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel." Judges xi. v. 39. In answer to the author's general insinuation on this subject, we would remind his readers that human sacrifices were not only forbidden by the Jewish law, but declared abominable to God.

The following passage is pretty, while the next will be found to contain interesting facts.

Sect. 169. "The celestial or ætherial soul was represented in symbolical writing by the butterfly; an insect which first appears from the egg in the shape of a grub, crawling upon the earth, and feeding upon the leaves of plants. In this state it was aptly made an emblem of man in his earthly form; when the Athenian vigour and activity of the celestial soul, the *DIVINE PARTICULA MENTIS*, was clogged and encumbered with the material body. In its next state, the grub becoming a chrysalis appeared, by its stillness, torpor, and insensibility, a natural image of death, or the intermediate state between the cessation of the vital functions of the body and the emancipation of the soul on the funeral pile; and the butterfly breaking from its torpid chrysalis, and mounting in the air, afforded a no less natural image of the celestial soul bursting from the restraints of matter, and mixing again with its native æther. Like other animal symbols it was by degrees melted into the human form: the original wings only being retained to mark its meaning. So elegant an allegory would naturally be a favourite subject of art among a refined and ingenious people; and it accordingly appears to have been more diversified and repeated by the Greek sculptors than almost any other which the system of emanations, so favourable to art, could have formed."

On this point we would also refer to our last number, p. 224, where the butterfly is used, and we think with great elegance, as a symbol of love-fancies and imaginings by the Chinese.

Sect. 167. "The Egyptians are said to have represented the pervading spirit or the ruling providence of the Deity by the black beetle, which frequents the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and which some have supposed to be an emblem of the sun. It occurs very frequently upon Phœnician, Greek, and Etruscan, as well as Egyptian sculptures; and is sometimes with the owl, and sometimes with the head of Minerva, upon the small brass coins of Athens. It is of the Androgynous class, and lays its eggs in a ball of dung or other fermentable

matter, which it had previously collected, and rolled backwards and forwards upon the sand of the sea until it acquired the proper form and consistency; after which it buries it in the sand, where the joint operation of heat and moisture matures and vivifies the germs into new insects."

In speaking of dancing Mr. Knight alludes, sect. 187, to Socrates and Sophocles cultivating it as a useful and respectable accomplishment, and of its being classed by Aristotle with poetry. At the latter part of the same section he says—

"The ancient dancing, however, which held so high a rank among liberal and sacred arts, was entirely imitative; and esteemed honourable, or otherwise, in proportion to the dignity or indignity of what it was meant to express. The highest was that which exhibited military exercises and exploits with the most perfect skill, grace, and agility; excellence in which was often honoured by a statue in some distinguished attitude; and we strongly suspect that the figure commonly called 'the fighting gladiator' is one of them; there being a very decided character of individuality both in the form and features; and it would scarcely have been quite naked had it represented any event in history."

We shall leave it for others to determine upon the probability of Mr. Knight's "suspicion," merely remarking that we thought fighting Gladiators were sometimes as much disencumbered of clothes as dancers, and that consequently we do not see why it might not as well be the original as the imitation: we pass on to the conic stones, upon which our author forms another suspicion.

"Stones of a similar conic form are represented upon the colonial medals of Tyre, and called ambrosial stones; from which probably came the amberies so frequent all over the Northern Hemisphere. These, from the remains still extant, appear to have been composed of one of these cones let into the ground, with another stone placed upon the point of it, and so nicely balanced that the wind could move it, though so ponderous that no human force unaided by machinery can displace it: whence they are now called LOGGING ROCKS, and PENDRE STONES, as they were anciently LIVING STONES and STONES OF GOD; titles which differ but little in meaning from that on the Tyrian coins. Damascius saw several of them in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis or Baalbeck, in Syria; particularly one which was then moved by the wind; and they are equally found in the western extremities of Europe and the eastern extremities of Asia, in Britain, and in China. Probably the stone which the patriarch Jacob anointed with

oil according to a mode of worship once generally practised, as it still is by the Hindoos, was of this kind."—Sect. 197.

Why the stone which formed the pillow for Jacob's head should "probably" have been "of this kind," we are at a loss to conjecture, unless we could imagine the patriarch providing for future travellers being *rocked* to sleep. Neither would the process of setting "such a stone up for a pillar," which we are informed he did, have been an easy task even for Jacob, as in the foregoing description we are told the upper stone was "so ponderous that no human force unaided by machinery could displace it." The placing it we should have imagined to have been a somewhat more difficult undertaking. But arguments on such *probabilities* are thrown away, and we can only regret that a work so full of information and research should be defaced by so many absurd puerilities. We turn with pleasure from this subject to section 203, where the author says—

"This custom of canonizing or deifying men seems to have arisen from that general source of ancient rites and opinions, the system of emanations; according to which all were supposed to partake of the divine essence, but not in an equal degree; whence, while a few simple rites, faintly expressive of religious veneration were performed in honour of all the dead, a direct and explicit worship was paid to the shades of certain individuals, renowned for their great virtues or great vices, which if equally energetic, equally dazzle and overawe the gaping multitude."

We consider the following observations to be correct, while experience unfortunately tends to confirm the concluding probability.

"But what contributed most of all towards peopling the coasts and islands, both of the Mediterranean and adjoining ocean, with illustrious fugitives of that memorable period, was the practice of ancient navigators in giving the names of their gods and heroes to the lands which they discovered in the same manner as the moderns do those of their saints and martyrs; for in those early ages every name thus given became the subject of a fable, because the name continued when those who gave it were forgotten. In modern times every navigator keeps a journal, which, if it contains any new or important information, is printed and made public; so that when a succeeding navigator finds any traces of European language or manners in a remote country, he knows from whence they came; but had there been no narratives left by the first modern discoverers, and subsequent adventurers had found the

name of St. Francis or St. Anthony with some faint traces of Christianity in any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, they might have concluded, or at least conjectured, that those saints had actually been there; whence the first convent of monks that arose in that colony would soon make a complete history of their arrival and abode there; the hardships which they endured, the miracles which they wrought, and the relics which they left for the edification of the faithful, and the emolument of their teachers."—Sect. 209.

In sect. 211. we have an attack upon (we presume) Mr. Bryant, "for entirely rejecting the testimony of Thucydides in his account of the ancient population of Greece, and receiving in its stead that of Cedrenus, Syncellus and other monkish writers of the lower ages, and other crimes of a like character." We will not interfere in this matter further than to show that there are two opinions of Mr. Bryant by quoting a few lines from Mushet's "Trinities of the Ancients."

"I cannot," (says that gentleman) "mention the name of Jacob Bryant without reverence and admiration. His love of truth; his profound and extensive learning; and his admirable judgment, constitute him a great authority in everything relative to antiquity;" and, again, "I am happy to say that I coincide in most of his conclusions, wrought out by unparalleled industry and surprising erudition. His great work on '*The Ancient Mythology*' must continue to be the wonder of posterity: it is honourable, as much to the country in which it was produced, as to the great and inestimable author himself."

In justice to Mr. Bryant we have given this quotation, and shall support it by another—"in medio tutissimus ibis." Thucydides undoubtedly revived and preserved the legends of the Greeks, but we are not aware that these were the earliest traditions. Till the Pelasgi can be traced are we not justified, with Bryant, in examining every relic of antiquity?

In sections 213, 214 and 215, we have a sweeping consecutive condemnation of Sanchoniatho, Eusebius, Alexander's Letter to his Mother, and Warburton, while the early Christian writers are not spared for countenancing the first; we will, however, quote the remarks on them and Eusebius, in order "that the urbanity and kindness with which he opened the treasury of his mind," as described by his editor, may be made evident.

"The early Christian writers, however, took it (Sanchoniatho) under their protection, because it favoured that system, which, by degrading the old, facilitated the progress

of the new religion; but in whatever else these writers may have excelled, they certainly had no claim to excellence in either moral sincerity or critical sagacity; and none less than Eusebius, who, though his authority has lately been preferred to that of Thucydides and Xenophon, was so differently thought of by ecclesiastical writers of the immediately subsequent ages, that he is one of those by whose example they justified the practice of holy lying, or asserting that which they knew to be false, in support of that which they believed to be true."—Sect. 214.

The only reference given in support of these allegations is of so general a kind as to contain no further direction than "pro libro adv. Jovinian." The characters of the early Christian writers and of Eusebius stand on too high a pinnacle to be touched by darts hurled by Mr. Knight. He and every other man has a perfect right to differ from preceding writers, whether dead or living; but there can be no necessity in that difference for wholesale abuse, or even the imputing improper motives to the opposite party. Eusebius' name stands high as an authority—late researches have tended to establish him—that he sometimes errs there can be no doubt, and what author ever existed whose works were perfect? but that he deceives intentionally we deny, while the result of our knowledge of his chronological inquiries speaks much for his general accuracy. A reference to Cory's Fragments,* and the recent Venetian edition of a similar work, amply establishes this fact. Our author, in common with Eusebius, has returned to his parent earth, and we should much regret writing a sentence that would cause an angry or unpleasant feeling in the minds of his friends; at the same time we cannot suffer posthumous works to disseminate error without notice; and in the present instance have felt compelled to animadvert upon such portions as we consider objectionable, while we have endeavoured to bestow our meed of praise upon other parts and upon the general learning and research displayed.

The following quotations we shall introduce without comment.

Sect. 220, (latter part.) "The Egyptians represented the sun in a boat instead of a chariot; from which boat being carried in procession upon men's shoulders, as it often appears in their sculptures, and being ornamented with symbols of Ammon taken from the ram, probably arose the fable of the Argonautic expedition; of which there is not a trace in the genuine parts of either of the

* What an admirable, concise, and invaluable supplement might be formed to this excellent work by references alone to similar passages in all the Greek writers.

Homeric poems. (Why should there ?) The Colchians indeed were supposed to be a colony of Egyptians, and it is possible that there might be so much truth in the story, as that a party of Greek pirates carried off a golden figure of the symbol of their god ; but had it been an expedition of any splendour or importance, it certainly would have been noticed in the repeated mention that is made of the heroes said to have been concerned in it."

We are informed, in Sect 225, that "the most common mode of signifying deification in a portrait, was representing the figure naked, or with the simple chlamys, or mantle, given to the statues of the gods."

In the latter part of the same Section we are told that "a deified or canonized Roman emperor was not called Deus, but Divus ; a title which the early Christians equally bestowed on the canonized champions of their faith." The grateful enthusiasm of Virgil, Ec. 1, bestowed the former appellation.

Sect. 231. "The only certain proof of plagiarism, or borrowing, is, where the animal or vegetable productions of one climate are employed as symbols by the inhabitants of another ; as the lion is in Tibet, and as the lotus and hooded snake were in Egypt, which make it probable that the religious symbols of both those countries came originally from the Hindoos. As commercial communications, however, became more free and intimate, particular symbols might have been adopted from one people by another, without any common origin, or even connection of general principles ; though between Egypt and Hindostan the general similarity is too great in points remote from common usage to have been spontaneous or accidental."

We have the following observations on India in Sect. 232.

"Should the pious labours of our missionaries succeed in diffusing among them a more pure and more moral, but less uniform and less energetic system of religion, they may improve and exalt the characters of individual men ; but they will for ever destroy the repose and tranquillity of the mass. The lights of European literature and philosophy will break in with the lights of the Gospel ; the spirit of controversy will accompany the spirit of devotion ; and it will soon be found that men who have learned to think themselves equal in the sight of God will assert their equality in the estimation of men. It requires therefore no spirit of prophecy, nor even any extraordinary degree of political sagacity, to fix the date of the fall of European domination in the East from the prevalence of European religion."

What results may lie in the womb of time we cannot say ; but the foregoing remark is well worthy of the most serious considera-

tion at the present moment, when so many concessions are making to the spirit of practical theorizing, without the slightest regard to the religious prejudices, and these are RIGHTS, of the natives of Hindostan.

ART. IV.—*Lettres inédites de Marie Stuart, accompagnées de diverses Dépêches et Instructions, 1558–1587. Publiées par le Prince Alex. Labanoff. 8vo. Paris, 1839.*

THE historical world, and the reading public of Europe, have long before now, we believe, made up their minds upon the oft-mooted question as to the guilt or innocence of Mary Stuart, and even, in great measure, as to the degree in which she was implicated in the plots of the times. Yet the subject will afford an eternal interest. It was not merely a question of dry historical fact, in which conflicting testimonies were to be examined and weighed together, and the value of each witness calmly ascertained ; it was not merely mixed up with a political question, nor complicated only by that most difficult of considerations, the tendency and collision of rival and hostile creeds. Yet this alone might suffice, for, in this case, the best and holiest feelings of our nature, enlisted in the worst of causes, are so liable to perversion and deterioration in themselves, and so easily warped to the vilest courses under the most sacred of sanctions, half hallowing even while it debases, that the severest scrutiny and soundest judgment of inquirers are continually misled in the examination of feelings and passions that continually deceived even those whom they actuated at the time.

These causes, however efficient to throw doubt over the subject, are not the sole complications. Historic certainties and sectarian violence do not always maintain their importance ; the struggle of a rising against a failing religion, even though its epoch was the era of emancipation from political through religious thralldom, is not always a matter of equal interest to all, even of the descendants of those who fought the great fight of its liberty. But in regarding the particular case before us, we find a deeper thread is interwoven throughout the web ; a softer pulse is awakened, and in the universal breast, that asks nothing from judgment or devotion. Apart from all other considerations, the difficulties of Mary's position, the passions, prejudices, ambition, the vices and violences of her masters and tyrants, whether followers

or enemies, stand out in fearful relief, and excuse, in spite of our judgments, her own unnumbered faults. We view her as the subject of Grecian tragedy, the single victim of unrelenting fates; and her youth, her rank, her sex, her isolation; her utter helplessness, and the unrivalled beauty that provoked and exaggerated, yet defied, sustained, and half atoned misfortune, all join to form the halo that sheds light on that corruption. We rise from the damning tale of evidence as from a painful romance, and drown unwilling censure in sad and sorrowing admiration. We feel by the head and think by the heart: the truth of history fixes the case in our minds, and imagination invests it with a constant though factitious charm. We read the facts and are convinced; yet turn to fancy, and prefer to doubt.

If anything, however, were wanting to complete the chain of evidence against the ill-judging and unfortunate Mary, it would be the letters published in the volume before us. Yet if they leave no doubt whatever of the reality of circumstances upon which she was condemned, we question much if they will in the least diminish the personal interest in her fate. Nothing but this could have stood out so long against the accumulated and daily increasing proofs of her guilt: but this, we conceive, will last as long as her name, and ever plead, and plead effectually, the many extenuating circumstances that excuse and perhaps justify her conduct, while they certainly demand sympathy for that hopeless woman, so unequal to the times in which she was placed; whose political guilt was but weakness; whose sin to heaven was only her religion; whose insincerity was adherence to her creed; while her very birth was treason, and her beauty the real crime that could look for no pardon from her triumphant and vindictive rival.

We need not enter more fully upon a subject so often discussed, but proceed to a general abstract of the volume before us.

Prince Labanoff informs us, that in making, about eight years since, various researches in a rich collection of MSS., which, however, circumstances forbid his naming at present, he met with various letters of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, and which he believed to be unedited. Unfortunately the copies made for him were found incorrect, and he has therefore now published only his previous collection, from the Bibliothèque Royale and the Archives of the Kingdom, at Paris. This consists of thirty-five letters of the Queen's, her testament, the warrant and report of her execution, together with sixteen diplomatic despatches and memoirs concerning especially the latter years of her life.

With the exception of the warrant and four of M. de Chateaufort's despatches, which have appeared in Lord Francis Egerton's *Life of Chancellor Egerton*, a rare book and unfinished, the prince conceives the rest to be unpublished; for so many and imperfect have been the collections already before the world, and so altered by translation from their original French into English, Scotch, and Latin, and then re-translation, that it is not easy to speak with certainty on the subject.

A fertile source of errors has also been found in the uncertainty of dates, into which two changes were introduced within eighteen years. First by the Edict of Roussillon, which, in 1564, altered the first day of the year from Easter eve to the 1st January; and, secondly, by Pope Gregory XIII's bull, reforming the calendar in Catholic countries, October 5, 1582; while it was not altered in England or Scotland till 1752. Mary Stuart continued, it seems, to date her letters by the old style, while the French king and his ambassadors adopted the new: and the difference of ten days is the exact difference in the two dates of the Queen's execution, the 8th and 18th February, 1587, as established by M. de Chateaufort's despatch of February 27th.

A chronology of Mary Stuart's history, compiled from Castelnau, Robertson, Lingard, Raumer, &c. assists the reader's memory in perusing the collection itself.

The contents of the first letter prove it to have been written 1558-9, shortly after the marriage with the Dauphin, and give a first indication of that injustice with which Mary was afterwards so lavishly treated in France, by an attempt in the former instance to deprive "her and her husband of what the king had given them." A subsequent letter dated Edinburgh 10th August, 1562, and addressed to M. de Gonnor, superintendent of finance, requests his assistance to recover the balance of her dowry and some compensation for other matters.

An instruction, July 11, 1566, from the King of France to Castelnau, on his journey to Scotland to congratulate Mary on the birth of her son, (James VI.) after complimenting Elizabeth on his way, recommends him to present letters of congratulation also to the king (Darnley,) but only in such a manner as shall be pleasing to Mary; and a similar reservation is placed upon the envoy's communications with the Scottish nobles. The same document, referring to the succours in men and money required by the queen, promises the former if the necessity should be found by the envoy to continue; and the passage regarding the money, so

difficult for the French treasury, we extract, as curious :

"And further, as the said Sr. de Mauvissière states that he thinks that the said Lady Queen of Scotland will inquire of him what assurance he brings her of the aid which the king wishes to afford her in her affairs, as well in men as in money, if the said lady speaks of it to him he will answer :

"That M. the Cardinal de Lorraine having made known to their Majesties that the said Lady was in want of money, and seeing that the King from the necessity of his affairs, could send her nothing from himself, prayed their Majesties to let him be supplied with the 60,000 livres which were due to him of his pensions, which their Majesties did willingly ; and because that there was not then enough ready money in the hands of the treasury of the Espargne to supply the said sum in deniers, they caused the said treasurer to engage in his own proper and private name to those from whom my said Lord the Cardinal should receive the said amount, which their Majesties conceive he will not have failed to send to the said Lady, knowing as he did the necessity for it. And this said Lady can entertain no doubt that if his Majesty had as much money (deniers) in his treasury as good will to supply the sum to the said Lady she would always find his purse open and at her service.

"As for sending her supplies of men, their Majesties have understood from various sources that the affairs of her kingdom are at this time in such peace and tranquillity, and she, to whom God has given so fine and desirable an heir, so revered and obeyed, that they confide that she has no desire but to reconcile her subjects with each other if there remains among them any enmity for the past, and to preserve her kingdom in peace and tranquillity, and this is why they have not thought it needful to give on this head any charge to the said M. de Mauvissière. But if matters are otherwise, which they cannot believe, and that the said Lady has need of assistance, she will let this be known, if she pleases, to the Sieur de Mauvissière, in order that at his return, he may report it to their said Majesties, who will always act in favour and for the aid of the said Lady, which she may promise herself and rely upon from princes the firmest and dearest friends to her in this world."—pp. 15—17.

The death of Darnley followed, and the fatal affair of Bothwell ; if disgraceful to the queen herself, assuredly far more disgraceful to the nation who suffered and their nobility who connived at, this insult to the royal dignity and their own. Prince Labanoff notices, 1567, the pregnancy of Mary by Bothwell, affirmed by Lingard, and her refusal to disavow him and illegitimatize his infant ; this was a daughter, born 1568 at Lochleven, and who took the veil at Notre Dame de Soissons. The fact is stated by

Le Laboureur in his *Memoirs of Castelnau*, and him the prince considers worthy of credit ; the more as his confidential situation at the French Court (he was Royal Almoner and Counsellor) allowed him access to state secrets, and to the registers of the Convent of Soissons.

Mary now surrendered herself to Elizabeth (16th May,) and the next letter in the collection, October 22, 1568, refers to the appointment of "Rosse, Hereis, and Kilvounin," as commissioners to York, where according to "Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow," nothing was done, though the Bastard of Scotland was present.

Two succeeding letters from Mary to the Duc de Nemours, May and October, 1570, evince her anxiety as to any efforts making in her favour by her family, owing to the difficulty of communicating with them ; the letters sent by M. de Pougny being now "old and still here" (Chatsworth.)

A letter, June, 1578, is to M. d'Humières, once in the service of Mary's first husband, and forwarding the expedition of some seignorial rights with many expressions of kind remembrance for his services : another letter, September, 1580, accompanies a present of two geldings for M. de Guise : and one from Sheffield, in February, 1581, also to Castelnau, and desiring some boxes of dresses to be sent speedily from her tailor, declares also her vexation at being "counteracted by those of her counsel" in the gift of a benefice to this faithful envoy ; "not choosing to suffer that her commands should be traversed as they have so often been, even in matters of her own." She owns her want of money for the payment of her attendants, and even for her own comfort :

"My malady has become much worse in the last four or five days, and though it has almost brought me to extremity, I have not been able to obtain any one thing necessary and requisite for my health. I am better now, but still feeble and attenuated. I could wish that the Queen of England, Madame my good sister, (!) would have some little regard to the things needful for the restoration and preservation of my health, and allow me to ride on horseback about this place when I recover. Request this, if you please, and send me an answer by the first opportunity."

Unfortunate queen ! Her next letter, September 2, 1582, declares that if some amelioration of her captivity does not take place she has little hope of surviving the winter.

The complaints of Elizabeth against the French King and Court occupy the next letter, a despatch from Castelnau to Henry

III; especially with regard to harbouring the traitors and rebels, "my lord Paget and his brother, Charles Arondel, and some others of their accomplices;" and to the communications maintained by the ambassador with various English nobles and others, and his interference with the affairs of the Queen of Scots. This produced a detailed recrimination on the ambassador's part.

"The said queen perceiving that I spoke in this fashion, and that I knew so much of her conduct by the allegation of infinite cases, she told me that she had thought she had reason to be angry with me, but that my complaints were the strongest. That she had trusted me as a brother in the affair of the marriage; but that now I had taken another course." * * *

The ambassador replied with firmness, alluding to the treatment of Mary in prison, and his duty to interfere.

"The queen, seeing that I spoke in this strain, and with so much truth and reasons so strong that she could not answer one of them, begged me to discontinue these remarks, and speak of something more agreeable: but I wished to obtain one conclusion, (namely) that she was greatly obliged to you and the queen your mother, in all cases, for the frank manner in which you acted towards her in general."

"Archubal Duglæ has requested me to lend him a thousand crowns. * * * The said Archubal, a man of quality and great merit, has refused a pension of two thousand crowns from the Queen of England."

We must pass over the letter of Henry III. to his sister and other passages, to extract one from Mary herself to Castelnau. Du Glas (Douglas) had not attended to her wish to remain out of Scotland.

"Especially do not let him know in any shape that you maintain the least secret communication in the world with me, for I perceive that the negotiations carried on by Walsingham between you and him are only to discover, by the replies made by you on my part, whether you have still any means of communicating with me in secret. * * * Let them fancy what they please as to the means by which you learn my intentions."

In another letter she says—

"Beale is gone from here; * * * the report he has made of my replies and negotiations with him, has been most maliciously perverted and interpreted by some of the council. He is no less angry than myself; for I have never said those things as they have been understood, and he has no way reported and related them thus. Walsingham has acted, I imagine, like his peers in matters of religion; he has cut and falsified the text."—p. 97.

On the 30th of October, 1584, she writes
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to urge Castelnau, on her intended removal from the custody of Lord Shrewsbury, to insist upon a rigorous examination of the reports about that nobleman and herself, spread by the countess; also to procure that her next keeper shall not be one of the pretenders to her crown, as her life would not be safe; and that it should be a personage of sufficient power and authority to guard this in the possible case of the Queen of England's death, &c.

In a letter dated simply the same year, Mary informs the ambassador, in enclosure, of the discussions between the English deputies and herself, which they desired should be kept profoundly secret! She states also that she had written strongly to her son, whom Elizabeth wished to detach from the French league and join with one in England, against this course. She adds—

"Tell Archubal Du Glas from me that I know for certain that this Queen has no desire to send him to Scotland; and hereon, that my opinion is that he should accept from her any appointment he receives, labouring by every demonstration in his power to assure Walsingham of his true attachment to the Queen of England, in order if possible to discover her intention with regard to myself and my son. And henceforth require him, from me, to try in conferring with Walsingham, and casually leading to the question of my freedom, to sound his opinion: and what he discovers pray apprise me of, if you please, by the first occasion."

We pass over Leicester's suspicious protestations of good-will, and the jealousy of Elizabeth towards Talbot, Rutland, and others supposed to be interested in behalf of the imprisoned queen; and whose accord and friendship had thrown Elizabeth into such distrust and anger, that according to Castelnau, who relates all the foregoing, "if she could ruin them she would do it," (p. 113.) Mildmay and Revel, he adds, were to remove her to the castle of Harford; it was said they wished to be excused the task; but "the people here are all so double (faced) and false in every word, that one cannot place credit in them, nor assume any certainty."

The letters of the Queen of Scots to Mendoza, the Ambassador of Philip II., 30th of May, N. S. 1586, confirm the testament noticed by Robertson. Mary declares that in case her son, James, did not before her death embrace the Catholic faith, of which she saw little chance, she was determined to leave her right of succession to the king his master; as she felt a greater obligation to support the universal right of the Church

than the interests of her posterity. She begs the Ambassador Mendoça to keep this resolution a profound secret, as if betrayed, "it would cause in France the loss of her dowry, in Scotland a rupture with her son, and in this country her total ruin and destruction."

In a subsequent letter to the same, Mary rejoices in the rising spirit of the French king against Elizabeth, and proceeds thus:—

"You cannot conceive how the intelligence of the Earl of Leicester's exploits, and Drake's, have raised the spirit of the enemies of the said king throughout Christendom; and how his so long patience towards this Queen of England had lowered the confidence which all Catholics here have ever reposed in him. Myself, I will freely confess to you, was so disheartened from entering upon new pursuits, seeing the little effect of the past, that I have closed my ears to divers overtures and proposals of enterprizes, which have been made me these six months here by the said Catholics, having no means of giving them a satisfactory answer. But in what I have newly heard of the good intentions of the said King towards this quarter here, I have most amply detailed to the chiefs of the said Catholics a scheme which I have sent them with my opinion upon every point to determine on its execution conjointly; and to gain time I have directed them to send to you some one of them fully instructed, and with all diligence, to treat with you according to the general offers already made you, respecting all things which they will have to require in this affair from the said King your master, you can feel secure of them and their faith and word, which they have passed to me, that faithfully and sincerely they will accomplish at the hazard of their lives what they will promise by their deputy, and therefore I beg you to give them all credit in the matter, as if I myself had sent them; they will inform you of the means of my escape hence, which I shall take upon myself to effectuate provided I am beforehand assured of the recourse to arms (*des armes faictes*)."

This letter is dated Chartley, 27th July, 1586, and requests the twelve thousand crowns for her deliverance to be procured from the king, regretting that the last twelve thousand had profited her so little. The postscript is marked, Aug. 2.

It was about April, 1586, that Gifford and Maude obtained the confidence of Ballard and Morgan; and being thus connected with Mendoça, the Spanish Ambassador in France, and later, with Savage and Babington; so soon as the Queen of Scots had fairly committed herself by writing the above letter, Ballard was arrested by Walsingham's orders, August 4; and four days

afterwards Mary was transferred to Tixal, and all her papers and jewels seized.

M. de Bellièvre set out from Paris, November 17, and arrived on the 27th at Calais, where he received despatches from M. de Chateaufort, praying him to use all speed, as Elizabeth was urging on the trial of the unfortunate Mary. The wind, being contrary, detained him two or three days, but on the 28th he embarked, at midnight, and reached Dover at nine the next morning. Remaining there one day, to recover such of his suite as had suffered from sea-sickness, he reached London, then a two-days' journey, on Sunday, 1st of December, at noon. The next day he sent one of his gentlemen to the queen at Richmond, to request an audience. "As the malice of the queen was infinite," this was delayed, though the trial was pressed with activity; and a rumour, first of the plague at Calais, then of an apprehended attempt on Elizabeth's life, afforded the pretext for deferring the ambassador till the 7th of December.

When MM. Bellièvre and de Chateaufort came into the presence, they delivered the remonstrances of the French king; to this Elizabeth replied by declaring that her own life had been thrice endangered by the attempts of Mary, and that these had cost her more tears than the loss of all her relatives. To the examples in history cited by the ambassadors, she answered, (and with characteristic vanity,) that she had seen and read more books in her life than a thousand others of her sex and quality, but had never met with so cruel an attempt as that made against herself by her kinswoman. She added, that she had found treason where she had placed confidence, and ingratitude for benefits conferred; and that she should shortly forward the proofs to the king and queen of France for them to judge. After expressing her regret to M. Bellièvre that the object of his mission was not more auspicious, she retired to her chamber.

The promised explanations being withheld, the ambassador had audience of leave the 15th of December; and on the 16th the sentence of Mary was pronounced; the city bells were rung for twenty-four hours, and the inhabitants were commanded to light fires before their doors as on festivals. The rest is well-known.

We translate verbatim the farewell letter of the doomed and unfortunate queen to the Duke of Guise; its sad and earnest solemnity is well maintained by the Christian patience of insult recorded at its close.

MARY STUART TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

24 November, O. S. (4 Dec'r, N. S.) 1586.
My good Cousin, he whom I hold dear-

est in the world, I bid you adieu, being by unjust judgment on the point of being put to death so as none of our race before God has ever suffered, and least one of my station; but, my good Cousin, praise God for it, for I was useless to the world in the cause of God and his Church, being in the state I was, and hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith, and readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unfortunate island; and though never has executioner dipped hand in our blood, be not ashamed of it, my friend, for the judgment of heretics and enemies of the Church, and who have no jurisdiction over me, a free Queen, is profitable in the sight of God to the children of his Church. If I adhered to them I should not suffer this blow. All those of our house have all been persecuted by this sect, witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received into the mercy of the just judge. I recommend to you therefore my poor attendants, the discharge of my debts, and to cause some annual dirge (obit) to be founded for my soul, not at your cost, but to make solicitation and ordinance as shall be requisite, and you will understand my wishes by these my poor helpless attendants, ocular witnesses of this my last tragedy. May God prosper you, your wife, children, and brothers, and cousins, and especially our head, my good brother and cousin, and all his; the blessing of God, and that which I should give to my children, may it be on yours; whom I recommend no less to God than my ill-fortuned and abused (one). You will receive some tokens (rings) from me, in order to remind you to cause prayers for the soul of your poor cousin, devoid of all aid and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage singly to resist so many wolves howling against me, to God be the glory. Believe in particular what will be told you by a person who will give you a ruby ring from me, for I take it on my conscience that you will be told the truth of what I have directed, especially of what concerns my poor attendants, and the share of each. I recommend to you this person for her simple sincerity and honesty, that she may be placed in some good situation. I have chosen her as the least partial and who most simply will report my orders. I pray you that she be not known to have told you any thing in private, as jealousy might injure her. I have suffered much for two years and more, and could not let you know it for an important reason. God be praised for all, and give you the grace to persevere in the service of his Church so long as you live, and never may this glory depart from our race, that men as well as women we be ready to shed our blood to maintain the cause of the faith, all other worldly considerations thrown aside; and for myself, I hold myself born on the paternal and maternal side, to offer my blood thus, and

have no intention to degenerate. Jesus crucified for us, and all the holy martyrs render us, by their intercession, worthy the voluntary offering of our bodies to his glory. From Fotheringay, this Thursday, 24 November.

"They had, to degrade me, caused my days (dais) to be pulled down, and then my keeper came to me offering to write to their Queen, saying not to have done this act by her command, but by the advice of some of her council. I showed them instead of my arms on the said dais, the cross of my Saviour. You will understand all the conversation: they have been more kind since.

"Your affectionate Cousin and perfect friend,

"MARY, Q. of Scotland, D. of France."

The volume before us contains, beyond the Testament of the unfortunate Mary, a Memoir from M. Bellièvre's departure till the 25th of February. Also, a letter from M. de Chateaufort to Henry III. on the 27th, wherein he excuses his silence from the fact of the ports being so strictly guarded that he could not contrive to send off a messenger; a passport which he had obtained in a false name having only procured the arrest of the bearer at Dover, where he had been then detained from the 19th to the 27th of February. This document likewise contains the account of Mary's execution. A report of the same follows, and some letters detailing subsequent events bring us to the decree of the parliament of Paris, which concludes the volume, except a few papers of minor importance contained in the supplement, and found during the process of printing the work.

A repertory of such papers and documents as were known to the Prince de Labanoff is given at the end, though this does not include the letters said to have been written by the unfortunate queen in July, 1536; to Mendoza and Paget on the 6th, to Babington on the 17th and 25th, and on the 27th of that month to Paget; her supposed love-letters also are omitted. It is, however, the Editor's intention to publish all these, as a supplement, in a complete collection.

Of the 352 pieces that form this Repertory, 164 have been already published; 35 are contained in the present volume, the remainder are believed by the prince to be inedited. The collection, too, to which we have alluded in the outset of this article is not included in the enumeration.

ART. V.—*The Agra Ukhbar, for 1838.*
The Calcutta Englishman.

DURING the latter part of the past session, the attention of the Parliament was repeatedly directed to the late succession to the throne of Oude; a subject of no small importance, connected as it is with innumerable other interests in the affairs of the East, whether we view it as a matter of simple right or wrong, or as deeply involving the honour, the integrity, the honesty of those who control the East India Company, and the character of the British nation.

It is a subject for very grave consideration on the part of the British nation, the vast extent of dominion which they possess in Asia, and the means by which they hope to preserve it; whether it is to be by rapine, injustice, fraud, and violence, or by the goodwill and affections of the population. The only permanent security must be in the latter, and no temporary advantage which can be obtained without it, will counterbalance the evils which the former course must ensure; and which ultimately and inevitably will, as it ought to do, lead to our expulsion from the soil of Asia.

It is certainly not a very pleasing task at the present moment to contemplate the precarious state in which our interests in India are reduced, from a variety of external as well as internal causes. The supineness, and even apathy of the British public to these interests, and also to the welfare of our oriental empire, is an evil of the greatest magnitude, since it has sanctioned an accumulation of wrongs and injuries, as ruinous to our character and to the stability of our eastern sway, as they are destructive to the peace and welfare of the Indian community.

But for the presence of the Prince of Oude, Ekbal-ood Dowlah, in London, the recent session would have passed over, and those most extraordinary scenes and proceedings which had so lately taken place at Lucknow, and are thereby obtruded upon our notice, would have been buried in oblivion; and, like innumerable other instances of injustice and oppression, have increased the doleful catalogue of Indian crime, perpetrated by our governors, which, sooner or later, must inevitably lead to resistance. It is quite out of the order of things to suppose that a community of one hundred and twenty millions of people, who are every day becoming more and more enlightened, will submit much longer to a tyrannical sway. The germs of internal discontent are numerous and powerful; so much so, that if once put in action, the united efforts of the Bri-

tish nation never could repress the inevitable consequences. It must be recollected, that besides the natives themselves, who as a nation dislike us, there has sprung up a tolerably numerous population, the offspring of British subjects, amounting now to little short of a million of people, who from their cradles have been the object of contempt to Englishmen, and even to the upper classes of natives, and the victims to an unnatural, cruel, and unnational policy. By birth and education Christians; by the neglect, if not indirect persecution, of the government, thousands of them have been driven to embrace heathenism. They have been subjected to all the rigour of Mahomedan laws, and denied the benefit of British institutions. In these ill-used and persecuted individuals, the time may come when Great Britain may have sincerely to deplore the not having alleviated their condition in society, and cultivated their affections; instead of holding them up, as they have ever done, to the native population as beyond the pale of British society. Of this subject we may speak more fully at a future period; but we have considered it requisite to say this much now, by way of illustrating some one of the actual and positive dangers with which our eastern empire is beset. We do not do this as a matter of complaint; for it has too long ceased to be considered, even by the aggrieved party, as worthy of further appeal to the mother country: nor as having any hope of amelioration or redress, until those revolutions take place in the mental and physical powers of the Indian community, which will induce them to assume as a right that which has been constantly denied them as a matter of justice, not to say favour.

Our Eastern empire has latterly presented a most calamitous picture of famine, disease, pestilence, and death. Thousands of human beings have fallen victims to these; the rivers in some places being literally blocked up with the dead, and in many towns no hands to bury them. In this dreadful state of affairs the utmost alarm was excited by apprehensions of internal commotion in our north-west frontier territories, from the violent and most extraordinary measures which had been pursued, on the death of the late King of Oude, with regard to the appointment of a successor.

It is in vain we look to our external position for an alleviation of our troubles. For some time past the government of India has been making preparations of a defensive character against an approaching second war with the Burmese; and in which the latter have threatened to become the aggressors. In Assam, one of the provinces con-

quered from the Burmese, some conflicts had actually taken place between the troops of the two nations. The Nepaulese, again, who flank or skirt our provinces of Bengal for a space of 600 miles, have been placing the whole chain of these interminable mountains, covered with forests, in a state of defence, avowedly for the purpose of taking the part of the Burmese, in the event of war with the latter.

What consequences such a combination of interests on the part of the Burmese and Nepaulese might produce, it is not difficult to conjecture. The whole line of our frontier, from the point of Teck-Nauff, the southern extremity of the province of Chittagong, in the bay of Bengal, to the provinces of Oude, which are also partially skirted by Nepal, would be exposed to the attack of those hardy mountaineers, whom neither toil nor danger appears to daunt. However softened or concealed for political purposes, the defeat of the British troops by the Burmese in 1824, on the plains of Ramoo, must be fresh in the recollection of the public, and their occupation of the lower part of the province of Chittagong for six months in defiance of the British power: from this they afterwards withdrew, only to meet the war we had commenced in Ava. The desperate and arduous contest we there entered upon, occasioned not only a most deplorable loss of human life, but a sacrifice of twelve millions and a half of English money. The sanguinary conflicts between the British troops and the Nepaulese in 1813 and 1814 cannot be forgotten, nor the extreme difficulty with which we maintained our footing in the country we had invaded. The affair of Kallunga, where General Gillespie fell; the defeat and retreat of General Sullivan Wood with dreadful loss, from before the stockade at Bootwah; the massacre of Captain Blackney and his detachment of 300 men at Summonpore; the murderous attack upon Captain Sibley at Pursa Gurry, when he was killed, and his detachment of about 400 men nearly annihilated; are so many instances in proof of what the Nepaulese are competent to do, and may be received as no slight evidence of the probable effects of combinations such as that to which we refer.

Looking to the north-west of Hindostan, we find every indication, at no very distant day, of conflicts which our friend and ally, Runjeet Sing, whose dominions skirt our frontiers, will be engaged in with the northern part of India, threatening the most disastrous consequences, and to lead in all probability to an extensive invasion of our possessions; an invasion, the results of which

must be considered very doubtful, encouraged, as it is believed to be, if not positively supported, by Russia. Certain it is, that Russia, in 1819, sent an expedition *en route* to India, to see if it were practicable for an army, conducted upon the principles of modern warfare, to cross the Indian Caucasus, or the great range of northern mountains. The report was favourable to the enterprise. At the present moment there has been another Russian expedition sent to Khiva and Bokhara, with the possible object of surveying the territories comprised between the Oxus and the Caspian Sea.

At the fair of Niznei Novogorod, where the Emperor of Russia was present, his majesty "summoned many of the chiefs from eastern countries, and those from Cabool, Candahar, &c., were treated with great honour." Now we find also by the Delhi Gazette, that Dost Mahommed Khan, the chief of Cabool, was making every preparation for carrying on a war against Runjeet Sing, and of which he had given due notice to the Nazims of Peshawar. It appears that Dost Mahommed Khan, very recently, with a naked sword in his left hand, and the Koran in his right, had walked into the Choke Bazar of Cabool, where all the principal inhabitants were assembled, and declared to them with tears in his eyes, that "formerly he fought with Runjeet Sing for the sake of his country; but now he must fight for religion; therefore, if he failed in the war, their religion would be polluted by Kaffirs (Christians)." It seems that the multitude in reply told him, to "take the field against Runjeet Sing, and they were all ready to follow him."

It would by this appear that it was a religious crusade these barbarians were about to wage against Runjeet Sing, with whom it is more than probable the British will be obliged constantly to unite in offensive operations, to prevent, if possible, the evils from extending into their own dominions.

It is with very great reluctance that we refer to these events; but it is only by an exposure of the truth that we can hope for remedies to be applied to the evils. We must, however, reluctantly confess, that we look with despair for any such effort from the present ministers of the crown. Ever since the Whigs have been in power, our Asiatic dominions have been placed in great jeopardy by mal-administration. The only rule and order, as far as we have been enabled to trace their deeds, has been a total disregard of the civil rights of the community, and a callous infringement upon the rights of our neighbours, with an indifference absolutely monstrous, for solemn and

heretofore binding treaties. Of the former we have a conclusive sample in what is called Mr. Babington Macauley's 'Black Act,' which, Sir John Cam Hobhouse says, "had not been adopted by the Governor-General of India,—but circulated through the Presidencies in order to obtain the opinion upon it of those functionaries who were best able to judge of its merits."

This is certainly one of the many strange and incomprehensible official declarations of her majesty's present ministers, which really makes honest men blush at the apparent total disregard of truth.

Just so, also, Sir John Hobhouse with regard to his declaration, that the *Black Act* "had not been adopted," while we have the astounding fact that it was published in "*The Calcutta Gazette*," as to be in full force "*from the 15th day of November, 1837*;" and after which day it was ordained "*that no native of India shall quit the territories under British rule without an order from the government.*"

The ministers of the crown might well be ashamed to avow giving countenance to this atrocious "*New Penal Code*," which goes to make virtual prisoners of one million and twenty thousand of British subjects in Asia, as well as to subject Europeans all over the country, to be tried by black judges, without a jury, for all sorts of offences,—and according to their caprice or judgment, the former may be imprisoned for years or transported to a penal settlement, or even banished for ever from India. They are, it is true, to be tried by British law, but this is a mockery; for of the elements of it, or of the law itself, neither the black judge, nor the black counsel, know any thing. We may analyse this law at a future period, and endeavour to expose some of its most monstrous absurdities and oppressions.

To revert to the subject from which we have digressed, the Oude affairs;—and in which the conduct of her Majesty's ministers, as far as we can judge from the documents which Sir John Hobhouse, most reluctantly, consented to lay upon the table of the House of Commons, appears in a very exceptionable light. Instead of manfully avowing the orders and instructions which were sent out by the Board of Control to regulate the succession to the throne of Oude, and also for the seizure upon the remaining territories of that king, guaranteed to him under a solemn treaty in 1801, when the reigning sovereign ceded one half of his dominions as the condition upon which himself and his heirs should be secured in their possession of the remainder, Sir John Hobhouse has produced a variety of papers which go to implicate the

British residents at Lucknow, and also the Governor-General, in transactions of a remarkable and suspicious character; and which, if the documents that have been withheld were produced, might be traced perhaps to a higher quarter. Orders were sent to India authorizing the seizure of the territories of Oude; the production of those orders has been declined by Sir John Hobhouse; and through fear and shame the Board of Control have refused to ratify the treaty concluded under them with the new King of Oude, by the Governor-General of India, and acted upon by the latter. If the Board of Control were really free from all participation in the terms of the treaty with which they repudiate all connection, why have they not instantly recalled Lord Auckland from the seat of power? Why allow him to continue to discharge the functions of so high and important a trust after he stands so lowered, if not debased, in the minds of the Indians by the act of his own servant?

With the question as to who is the legal heir, whether as regards the succession according to Mohammed or English law, we need not enter upon it now. But we must direct the attention of our readers to the monstrous fact, that the present reigning sovereign of Oude was dragged out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled, as the terms upon which he should ascend the throne, to sign a "deed of engagement," in which he says, "*I hereby declare, that in the event of my being placed upon the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate.*"

Probably the history of the world cannot produce so remarkable an event upon the succession of a sovereign to a throne, or one that has been in its execution, so replete with calamity as this most atrocious proceeding.

We need not enter into details of a transaction that has so justly created astonishment in the mind of every one acquainted with the circumstances even as detailed in the statements made by Colonel Low, the acting resident in this business. The sudden death of Nusseer-ood-deen-Hyder induced an attempt, on the part of his widow, to seize the crown for an adopted grandchild. Colonel Low, informed of the circumstance, instantly determined upon placing the present occupant on the throne of Oude; and we give merely the extract from the parliamentary papers of the unconditional terms.

"*Translation of a Deed of Engagement, executed by Nawaub Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, on the Night of the 7th July, 1837.*"

"Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, the resident, has apprised me through Lieutenant Shakspeare, his second assistant, of the

death of Nusseer-ood-deen-Hyder, King of Oude. The resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India, respecting the necessity of new engagements on the part of the Company's Government with the Oude state; and I hereby declare, that in the event of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate.

(True translation.)

(Signed) *J. Low, Resident.*

N. B.—At the foot of the Persian paper the present king wrote the words 'Cabool wo Munzoorust,' and affixed the impression of his seal.

(Signed) *J. Low, Resident."*

The minute of the Governor-General Lord Auckland while approving the promptitude and decision evinced by the resident generally throughout this affair, and the violent proceedings that ensued, yet has expressed doubts as to the propriety of the particular act of requiring the engagement. We quote the passages from his lordship's minute.

"I would not, without further consideration, and on the very brief notices which we at present possess, venture to express any final opinion on the important events which have taken place at Lucknow; but I am prepared at once to approve and sanction the general policy which Colonel Low has followed in admitting the claims of Nusseer-ood Dowlah to the throne of Oude. The title of that prince to the sovereignty appears, according to the most established rule of succession in the Mahomedan law, to be indisputable, and by those rules it is most fitting that we should, in the present instance, be guided.

"I will take an early opportunity of submitting to the Council the ulterior measures which in my opinion should be adopted. For any criticism in detail on the measures adopted by Colonel Low, we must wait for further accounts, but I may now say that I should undoubtedly have been better pleased if he had not, in this moment of exigency, accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new king has signed. This document may be liable to misconstruction, and it was not warranted by any thing contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low. The views of his government, as but recently expressed to that officer, are defined and moderate, and from this circumstance, as well as from the new king's character and position, there could in any case have been little doubt of his willingness to adapt his conduct to those views."

The death of the late king was sudden, it appears, but he had long been ailing; and it does seem not a little singular that no preparation for the event, so momentous as it proved, should have been made in the councils of the Governor-General; for had such

been the case, Colonel Low would not have been driven to the fatal expedient of treating in the name of Great Britain a friendly sovereign as a mere slave, glad to obtain promotion on any terms required by his masters. If the engagement was in truth not warranted by the instructions, as Lord Auckland specially declares, and if the views of his government are so "defined and moderate," as stated, it seems strange that Colonel Low should neither have understood their definiteness nor suspected their moderation, though he was the person principally concerned in keeping these points in view. Was that otherwise able and meritorious officer unapprised of these official facts? Was he led by previous experience to imagine and attribute very different views to the Indian government? Or did he, which is scarcely possible, choose to fly in the face of ALL instructions.

If the latter, by any strange hallucination, was really the case, we would fain ask whether sufficient time had not elapsed since July 11, 1837, if not before it, for Lord Auckland to have expressed something more than the hypothetical feeling of being better pleased if an act contrary to all "defined and moderate views" had not taken place? And here we would inquire, has so flagrant a breach of affirmed instructions been repudiated on his lordship's part? Lord Auckland's personal character and amiability are well known, but it is not a case of mere feelings; his public duty to the government and the country, whose fame is tarnished by so flagitious a precedent in political affairs, required a far stronger mark of disapprobation than his Minute, referred to, contains; the more since, as he observes, the new king's character and position left little doubt of his willingness to accede to moderate views, if required of him.

But the proceeding so gently and gracefully censured by his lordship is nevertheless accepted by him also. Yes, the Governor-General of England in India, declaring a proceeding suspicious and unwarranted (it must be allowed this is done most delicately) yet makes himself a partner to that suspicious and unwarranted step in preference to the "defined and moderate views" he had entertained, and with such singular, disinterested felicity, until the moment arrived for gaining more by the contrary course. "Fortunate senex! ergo tua rura manebunt."

It is, or at least used to be, generally considered that the higher, as well as the inferior, appointments of the British government imposed as the first necessity the maintenance of the metropolitan country's honour:—we have recently, however, been blessed with an example or two of the freedom of great

functionaries abroad from the responsibilities of abusing or deserting their trust. Consequently, in the instance before us, not only is the actor in this asserted unwarranted course retained in full favour in his office, but the very superior who first saw and pointed out the dishonour and disobedience of the act, and then abetted it, retains also his appointment by the favour of the ministry at home.

"Forgad—this is a better song than the other!"

It is assuredly far from our wish to ask any unpleasant questions, and we shall carefully avoid them; we therefore entirely repress our curiosity to know,

1st. How the resident, evidently an able man, came to misunderstand or defy his instructions.

2d. How the Governor-General could at once censure and adopt the engagement.

3d. Why the ministry at home should acquiesce in these two extraordinary and contradictory acts—and not recall the self-condemned Governor-General.

More than all, we should like to be informed who issued the aforesaid recent instructions, and whether any others, of a different tendency, had been given out from any quarter. In fact, whether the views so happily emphasised as "but recently expressed" had been preceded by any thing less "defined and moderate."

We abstain, however, from all interrogatories, because any thing like an opposition between public orders and declarations and secret dispatches is not to be thought of, unless in the case of Jesuits, or of the Russian government: and our admiration at the magnanimity wherewith the poco-curante and poco-sapiente ministry behold the injury inflicted on the national reputation by such deeds, is equalled only by our reverence of the resignation with which they submit to receive every advantage that can be obtained by any means. With so acquiescent a disposition on their parts it may be pleasant for the new King of Oude to know that—

"It will be matter for our consideration, in what manner some modifications of the existing treaty shall be framed, under which the British Government might have more power to prevent or remedy mal-administration, and by withdrawing from the obligation, still existing in terms, although it has long ceased to be recognised as binding in practice, of exercising a complete and minute interference by means of its own troops, in defence of the Oude government, be less liable to responsibility for all its acts, and the ordinary course of its internal policy, and this with increase of ad-

vantage, rather than injury, in rendering disposable our own military means, and without admitting, on the other hand, the formidable growth of an armed and unchecked independence.

"The occasion for some modifications of the existing treaty is most favourable; the late treaty has been too constantly disregarded by the sovereigns of Oude, in their continued and most embarrassing rejection or evasion of all our advice for the good government of their country, not to justify us, if it should seem expedient, in insisting upon our placing the right of acquitting ourselves of our responsibility upon a clear and admitted basis, and we may avail ourselves of the opportunity offered without reproach or suspicion, provided that our efforts are faithfully directed only to objects of security, and tranquillity, and good government, and are without the taint which schemes of acquisition in money and in land would give them; schemes as repugnant to my own designs and feelings, as they have been ever disavowed by the honourable Court, and by each successive Governor-General, in discussing the grave question of the position in which events have placed us, both towards the Oude ruler and people.

11 July, 1837. (signed) *Auckland.*"

This reluctance to interfere upon "our responsibility," the determination "of acquitting ourselves of it," and this horror of the "taint which schemes of acquisition in money and in land" inspire into each successive Governor-General is easily intelligible. The repudiated act of Colonel Low renders the "scheme of acquisition," of the latter superfluous; and the "repugnance of Governors-General" to schemes of acquisition of the former is really touching; and considering the state of that unhappy treasury of Oude, it was also well-timed: though after reading the following extracts from older documents we ought, but for this avowal, to have suspected that the real repugnance had previously been to leave any thing in it.

The Oriental Herald, a publication of extraordinary talent and interest, in a notice of a recently published work contains this passage:—

"In the private letter of Colonel Baillie* to Mr. Edmonstone, dated 19th October, 1814, which from its contents was evidently never intended for publicity, and which never would have met the public eye had not dissension appeared in the camp, are to be found the following words, and they are a text on which much might be preached:—'I was desired to propose to the Nawaub that his Excellency should propose to Lord Moira to make a voluntary loan to the Company, of a sum of a crore of rupees.

* English resident at Oude.

This having been done, his lordship, in a letter to the Vice President in Council, dated 29th October, says, 'At a subsequent conference, his Excellency *solicited* my acceptance of the sum as a free gift;' and again in the same letter, 'His Excellency the Vizier tendered to me as a proof of his friendship, and the cordial interest which he feels in the prosperity of the Honourable Company, an accommodation of a crore of rupees.' These are the secrets of the prison-house and with a vengeance, and a fine specimen of the voluntary principle they are. Du Val, the highwayman, was a joke to the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, though his words may bear something of the same sort of interpretation."—*Or. Herald for October*, p. 329.

This, be it observed, occurred in October, 1814, and we extract the fitting sequel from the book itself under review, the work of Captain White, who has the merit of bringing these singularly honourable proceedings before the public at present. Quoting from a letter referred to, the author observes, speaking of the then Vizier Sovereign of Oude—

"Saadut Alie, having been '*driven*,' as Lord Hastings says, to '*actual desperation*' by his lordship's letter, had been soothed down by private communications, that the loan of a million and a quarter sterling would make him good friends with his lordship. His lordship, no doubt, was well pleased with this, as it avoided his '*being forced in self-defence to possess himself of Saadut Alie's dominions and riches*.' The English of which is, that as there was no money in Calcutta, or in any of the local treasuries, he must have it wherever it was to be found, either by stratagem, fraud, or force.

"It is rather important here to show how these far-famed '*voluntary loans*' of Lord Hastings were obtained. We have already seen how the first million and a quarter was obtained; let us take a slight glance at the manner in which the second was procured, as well as how the first was disposed of the moment it was obtained. Upon the latter point his lordship, being upon remarkable good terms with himself, says—

"My surprise is not to be expressed when I was shortly after informed, from Calcutta, that it had been deemed expedient to employ fifty-four lacs of the sum obtained by me in discharging an eight per cent loan; that the remainder was indispensable for current purposes; and that it was hoped I should be able to procure from the Nawaub Vizier a further aid for the objects of the war. This took place early in autumn (1814), and the operations against Nepaul could not commence until the middle of November, on which account the council did not apprehend my being subject to any sudden inconvenience through its disposal of the first sum. Luckily I was upon such *frank* terms with Nawaub Vizier,

that I could explain to him freely my circumstances. He agreed to furnish another crore of rupees; so that the Honourable Company was accommodated with two millions and a half sterling upon my simple receipt.'

"By this it is clear that the Council of Calcutta, as well as his lordship, were determined to plunder the Nawaub of every shilling he had." p. 70—72.

The Whig statesman who procured so much money, if not to the honour at least to the *credit* of the British name in India, had not concluded his manœuvring.

"Mr. Rickets, in December, 1814, writes to Major Baillie to inform the Nawaub of 'the high gratification which his lordship would experience, were the Nawaub to prove his anxiety for the British welfare by the tender of another loan to Government,' of a second crore of rupees. Upon the 18th of February he again writes—

"His Lordship is most anxious to hear the result of your negotiation with the Nawaub for further pecuniary aid, as without another crore (£1,250,000) Government may experience the most serious embarrassment.'

"Upon the 19th Major Baillie replies—

"I have at length obtained from his Excellency a direct offer of fifty lacs of rupees, in a letter addressed to Lord Moira; and I assure you, with great truth, that this offer had been obtained with a difficulty which induced me more than once to despair of the smallest success to my labours. His Excellency has been led to entertain notions of our Government very opposite to the professions of disinterestedness which I was in the* *habit of conveying* to him about the time of his accession to the musnud."

This, as our readers will perceive, was not only unfortunate but unreasonable; though appearances might perhaps have been deemed somewhat suspicious: the good major, however, indignantly proceeds—

"Some miscreants have endeavoured to persuade him, that the object of all our proceedings is to plunder him of his wealth, and, when he has no more money, to take his country; and that his minister is in league with us to this end."—p. 72.

Captain White's narrative thus proceeds—

"The offer of fifty lacs was promptly refused by Lord Hastings. Major Baillie was directed to try again his '*admirable skill*,' to state any thing and every thing he could think of to induce the usurper, as '*his tendering further pecuniary assistance to his lordship at that juncture would be most thankfully received by his lordship*;' and that '*the money would be merely wanted to meet the present exigency*;' and he was

* These italics are ours.

instructed to state, that he knew 'his lordship would only accept it on the condition of its being received as a temporary loan, payable, with interest, by kists (instalments) in two, three, or four years.' 'The times are, in truth,' says Mr. Rickets, 'most critical. There is no hope of subscriptions to a six-per-cent loan; and to open a public loan on higher terms would be a most unjust and unwarrantable procedure towards the six-per-cent creditors; and yet, according to a statement just received by his lordship from Mr. Edmonstone, nearly three crore of rupees, in addition to our surplus revenues, will be required to meet the war extraordinaries up to the 30th of April, 1816.' 'Therefore,' says Mr. Rickets, 'unless you can enable me to rejoice his lordship by informing him that you have succeeded in getting another crore of rupees from the vizier, fifty lacs from the Begum, and fifty lacs from your monied men, we shall be in a very deplorable state.'—pp. 72—73.

We find further—

"Major Baillie, in reply to Mr. Rickets' demand, stated it 'to be expedient, if not indispensable, that a letter from Lord Moira to the Vizier, in answer to that which had made the offer of the crore of rupees, should be written to enable him to commence the negotiation for another crore.' Major Baillie then suggests a variety of excuses for his lordship to make; and he says—

"A letter of this kind, I am certain, would have a much greater effect on his Excellency than any representation on my part without such introduction on the subject. It would show his Excellency at once that the obligation which he has the means of conferring is to be conferred upon the Governor-General, and it would frustrate the mischievous designs of his Excellency's enemies and ours, who are strenuously labouring to convince him that it is the minister who, supported by me, is gradually robbing him of his money, with the view of obtaining for himself the approbation and support of Lord Moira, and of exhausting his Excellency's sources of independence and power, which those miscreants represent to him as consisting exclusively of his wealth.'

"Mr. Rickets instantly replied, 'His lordship is so sensible of your thorough knowledge of the Nawaub's character, and so confident in your judgment, that he has no hesitation in adopting the opinions which you may form of the mode best calculated to secure the object in view.' A letter was accordingly written; but what the contents were we know not; it does not appear upon record. It is sufficient that, in a few days, Major Baillie wrote, 'At length, my dear Adam, this most arduous and vexatious negotiation is brought to a happy conclusion; a complete crore of rupees is secured by the letter this instant received.' 'My dear

Baillie,' says Adam, 'I have little time to write; but I must congratulate you on the success of your efforts to get another crore from his Excellency. *It must have been a most ungracious* task.*'—pp. 74—75.

A somewhat similar repugnance to supplies from the treasury of the Nawaub Vizier of Oude was manifested more delicately by one of the "successive Governors-General," who, however, satisfied himself, among other schemes of praiseworthy economy, with merely quartering upon Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder any person whose claims might be inconvenient, or whose residence expensive at the Court of Calcutta. The enlarged intellect and commensurate wants of the Marquis of Hastings could act only upon a scale of grandeur: the peddling and narrow spirit of his successor lived to display itself only in minor cases and with a sedulous addiction to political economy. Painters, artists, and even publications of serious expense were recommended from time to time to the munificence of the native prince; and not to particularize the former, we shall merely allude to the edition of the great Persian historical poem of Ferdousi, which after thirty years, labour on the part of its learned and sagacious editor, Major Macan, saw the light only through the liberality or weakness of the King of Oude, when the Anglo-Indian government had refused to incur the expense!

The magnificent disclaimer of the present Governor-General, above cited, does not quite agree with all the facts, either preceding or subsequent to its publication. We refer to the order put forth by the British resident at Lucknow and published in the Delhi Gazette, February 21, 1838, as quoted by Captain White (Prince of Oude, p. 158, 159), respecting the levy of the auxiliary force in the dominions of that prince: the English thus are absolute masters of the country, though in the treaty signed by the Marquis Wellesley, 1801, it was definitively stated that, upon certain concessions then made, the British should advance no further claims whatever upon those dominions.

Lord Auckland is particularly unfortunate in his public documents, when he so loftily disclaims on the part of successive Governors-General any desire of aggrandizement. His lordship could not have had the following document before his eyes. It speaks for itself of the treachery we denounced in a preceding number (October, 1838), on the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings: and

* These italics are ours.

be it observed that this is the latter's own statement of his own conduct.

"There is, however, in India, a principle capable of superseding the most thorough conviction of interest, or even the strongest personal wishes. Certain acknowledged public obligations are held by the Native Princes so binding on what they call their Hormut, or plighted honour to society, that no consideration can induce them to palter with the constructive pledge. Among these were the professed, though antiquated dependencies on the house of Timour: the Sovereign of Oude was the nominal Vizier of the Mogul Empire. Perhaps the only pretence which any forecasting enemy can have imagined likely to awaken sensation would be the restoration of efficient rule to the house of Timour. While such a war-cry would have been a call on the fealty of the Sovereign of Oude as professedly Vizier of the Empire, the claim upon him would have had the additional force of an ostensible Mahomedan cause. To break ties which might eventually be so injurious to us, appeared to me to be of the highest importance. * * * * I had often ruminated on that chance. I thence eagerly availed myself of a mortification, which I could perceive the Nawaub Vizier felt acutely from its having occurred within my sight. Two brothers of the King of Delhi resided at Lucknow, supported by allowances granted partly by the Honourable Company, partly by the Nawaub Vizier; notwithstanding their partial dependence on the latter for subsistence, etiquette assigned to them in the street, [*sic*] it was incumbent that the elephant on which he was riding should be made to kneel, in token of homage. It was to an occasion of this sort that I have just alluded; I caught the opportunity of saying to the Nawaub Vizier, that to continue such demonstration of inferiority must rest with himself alone, for the British Government did not require the manifestation of such submission to the Delhi family, and *had itself dropped those servile forms*, with which it had heretofore *unbecomingly* complied. Having reason to think that this *instigation* would work upon the Nawaub Vizier's reflection, I directed the resident (Colonel Baillie) to watch and encourage any apparent disposition in that Prince to emancipate himself. The mode which would naturally suggest itself to the Nawaub Vizier, as being the only one sufficient to account satisfactorily to India at large for his rejection of future prostration to the house of Timour, was his assumption of the Kingly title. It was likely that he would distantly sound the Resident on the subject. I therefore instructed the latter, that were any supposition of the sort hypothetically thrown out, he should seize it, and bring it immediately to a distinct understanding; intimating his persuasion that the British Government would readily recognize such a title, if assumed by the Sovereign of Oude, provided it made no change in the

relations and formularies between the two states, or altered the manner in which British subjects, permitted by our Government to visit Lucknow, had hitherto been received. The expected procedure took place. The Sovereign of Oude's assumption of the title of King, was treated by the Court of Delhi with undisguised indignation. The offensive animadversions were keenly resented by the Court of Lucknow, and an irreparable breach between those two Mahomedan States is avowed."—*Pr. of Oude*. pp. 115—117.

We think nothing attributed to Russia or to France can equal, certainly exceed, this course of treachery and treason to an ancient and helpless ally, the Mogul Emperor: comment is superfluous.

Having been careful to select only such facts as are borne out by the confession of the parties themselves, or by official documents, we are the less disposed to concur with Captain White in the censures passed without such precaution. Thus, for instance, his allusion to the conduct of the late Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) is more than open to question, since at the time it occurred it was fresh upon the public mind; an attempt to throw a slur upon that conscientious functionary was preparing, but was met with so much promptitude of explanation and defiance that even the puny adversaries whose ignorance was equalled only by their malice, durst not bring forward the question. We need not therefore recur to it further than to wish that Captain White had used more caution in this case. We have in our hands the memorandum of a gentleman long since deceased, whose residence for twenty-seven years in India enabled him to judge, and whose own honour and integrity, acknowledged by the offer of three successive re-appointments after his retirement from thence by the East India Company in England, and still more unquestionably by the native as well as British residents in his own neighbourhood, and where he held one of the highest offices in the company's gift, is the surest guarantee, if any such could by possibility be needed, for the perfect blamelessness, the high worth, and anxious and pains-taking integrity of that nobleman. It was written long after interest could possibly actuate; long after the testimony could ever come to the ears of the exemplary deceased. It runs thus:—

"These gentlemen (the accusers) are anxious only to prove they know nothing whatever about what they are cavilling at. There never was a more honest, just, impartial, and strictly conscientious man than Sir John Shore; and the pains he took to

sift the question showed him desirous only to do justice to every-body."

We shall notice only, in favour of our argument respecting the flagitiousness of the proceeding, not yet, so far as we know, explained by Lord Auckland or the ministry to the British parliament, three opinions expressed by gentlemen in situations *subordinate* to the Governor-General, and guarded accordingly.

"MINUTE.

"I concur with the right honourable the Governor-General in the views stated in the foregoing minute, with exception of that part of it which disapproves of Lieutenant Colonel Low having taken the agreement (of which he has sent a copy) from the new King of Oude. The moderation which it will, *I have no doubt*, be the object of Government to observe, in any new arrangement with that state, will only be the more conspicuous after this occurrence, which I think calculated to prevent much intrigue, and perhaps painful discussion. It is also in my mind a matter deserving of high praise that the resident at such a moment should have shown himself so fully alive to the public interests; besides Colonel Low seems to have followed the rule similar to that which was ordered by Government on a former occasion; see Colonel Baillie's despatch of the 12th July, 1814, announcing the demise of the Vizier.

11 July, 1837. (signed) W. Morison."

Copies of the Minutes of the Governor-General, &c. ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17 July, 1838.—p. 14.

As this Colonel Baillie has already figured in our article, our readers may fairly suspect the value of his example; if indeed the allusion be not a covert satire upon his imitators, in the shape of special pleading.

"MINUTE.

"I concur in the sentiments expressed by Colonel Morison. Every allowance must be made for the hurry and confusion which prevented any deliberation as to the nature of the engagement required from the king; the more general the terms, the more was left for the Government to deal with the question according to its own views, while any specific conditions might have led to embarrassment.

11 July, 1837. (signed)
Idem, Ib. H. Shakspeare."

If the terms were so general that the Governor could deal with the question just according to his own views, we know nothing more illustrative of our opinions. A third minute is still more decisive, if possible.

"MINUTE.

"I do not feel prepared to give a decided opinion as to the policy of placing Nusseerood-Dowlah on the throne of Oude. If,

being the paramount power in India, we are responsible for protecting the people of Oude from the evils of bad government, the policy of the measure may be very questionable.

11 July, 1837.

(signed)

Idem, Ib.

A. Ross."

For the various particulars of the question of succession we refer our readers to Captain White's volume and to the able and judicious article in the very valuable periodical* we have quoted, displaying a sound acquaintance with the particulars and general principles of the case, and of Indian affairs at large.

Our remarks have run to so great a length that we regret that we have so little space to spare for the notice of a work of first rate importance to all who would wish to understand the real state of India. The character of the natives, of the English government, its political and judicial administration, its assumption of unjust powers and constant interference in the domestic concerns as well as the public sway of the native princes; the value of the territories held by the latter, the mode of their rule, and the oppressions they suffer, under the name of support, from the British government; in short every detail of any importance in the political system of Hindostan is here laid down with a bold and vigorous hand. The author, a younger son of the late Lord Teignmouth, and himself unfortunately removed by death from a sphere where his talents and hereditary judgment, his clear-sightedness and freedom of thought and language rendered him invaluable as a firm and resolute foe to abuse, has yet left to his native country a noble legacy in the work before us.† Amongst the advantages of high birth and station it is not the least that it creates a factitious feeling to aid and support the moral elevation of the mind, and if it does not altogether bestow, it at least cherishes this in the earliest stage of its existence: it is the very poetry of caste: not pride, but a nobler sentiment, a sense of in-born superiority to the sordid and grovelling portion of our nature, to the baser suggestions of want and accident, to the tortuous windings of sinister interests, to all that in the intercourse of life perverts and pollutes the fountain of Being, from its very source through every channel that might otherwise purify society. In some instances, it is true, it suffers deterioration, but not so frequently

* Oriental Herald for October, 1833.

† Notes on Indian Affairs. By the Hon. Frederick John Shore, Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of the District of Furrukhabad. In two volumes. London: Parker, West Strand. 1837.

as the envious would imply. In spite of the vulgar outcry against rank and title, against an exclusive race, and hereditary honours, these enshrine a spirit that cannot all mingle itself with earth; and dull and blind as utilitarianism can make it, must be the eye that cannot recognise in such distinctions a tendency of the mind, in even the rudest ages of society, to preserve its own aspirations undebased in the spirit of its children, through eternal generations.

The advantage strikes us with peculiar force in the present instance. The faults of the Indian system of government had been often railed at by those who were really, or were liable to the suspicion of being, prejudiced by accidental circumstances; and the very violence and often the hollowness of those complaints had induced a reluctance to give them any credit at all. But the writer before us was liable to no suspicion of low and interested motives; and the frank and polished tone of his animadversions has everywhere produced an effect that was, and would have been denied to angry vehemence. He was certainly one of those to whose efforts was due the praise of rendering the Anglo-Indian government amenable to reason; and though from our preceding strictures it will be seen that the change, even now, has not produced an Utopia, and under existing auspices may still be open to improvement, yet it is much to find with the author that

"A new era seems at length to have dawned upon this interesting country. Public attention has been much more directed, of late years, both in England and in India, to its concerns than formerly. The dislike of our rulers to have matters connected with the subject discussed, appears to have considerably lessened, and it seems to be the general opinion that the publication of temperate remarks, unexaggerated facts, and moderate suggestions of improvements, will be approved of by the public, and meet with attention from the constituted authorities."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. p. 1.

"Ten or twelve years since, had any man in India ventured to publish such strictures on the Indian administration, he would most undoubtedly have been banished the country; and even as it is, the cautious and guarded tone in which the first papers were written, displays a strong contrast to the openness and freedom of those which follow."—*Ibid. Introduction*, pp. vii. viii.

The sound knowledge of, and thorough acquaintance with the subject possessed by the writer are obvious in every page. He seems never to have dreamed, like some sages nearer home, that practice and expe-

rience are derived by intuition; and as his strictures, unlike the generality who have touched upon the subject, were evidently dictated by an honest dislike of measures alone, the very men who originated these were half disarmed of their resentment. We cannot, with our limited space and information, pretend to discuss any one of the questions started by so competent a judge, and on the spot, and we therefore confine ourselves to simple extracts such as may best illustrate the subject of this article.

"Notwithstanding the numerous proofs that have been, and can still be, produced to the contrary, the dissatisfaction of the natives with their own governments, and their confidence in, and approbation of ours, is still maintained. The expedition to Rangoon, during the Burmese war, was undertaken in the full conviction of the existence of this feeling among the Burmese. It was anticipated that no sooner should our troops be landed there, than the people would flock to their liberators, and supply them with boats, provisions, and other necessities, which would at once enable them to proceed to the capital. Yet what was the real state of the case? That to the last moment of our occupation of the enemy's territory, not until driven to it by starvation, did a single Burman hold any communication with our forces. The simple fact that they preferred their own government to ours, was too plain, and too mortifying to be admitted. It was necessary to soothe our vanity, and this was done by asserting that the whole population was driven off by the Burmese troops."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 150, 151.

"Nor are the Burmese by any means a singular instance in this respect. I have travelled in several independent native states; and I do most confidently assert, that the mass of the people deprecate above all things, their subjection to the British authority."—*Ibid.* p. 151.

"But it will be said, 'Oude is notoriously ill-governed; robberies and dacoities are of daily occurrence; troops are necessary to the collection of the revenue; and, in short, the people are groaning with oppression.' This is the point; by the help of the word 'notoriously,' the question is begged throughout. Let an impartial inquiry be made before it is pronounced that the frequency of crime is greater than in our own adjoining provinces. The fact may be strongly doubted. On the second point, is our assessment so light that no force is necessary for its collection?"—*Ibid.* pp. 154, 155.

"I will conclude by reminding my readers of the answer mentioned by Heber to have been received, by the British resident, from an inhabitant of Oude, whose opinion was asked as to the benefit they might expect from the occupation of the country by the British: 'Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that.'"—*Ibid.* p. 157.

"The prospect of a Russian invasion has been so often ridiculed as a bugbear, that few now allude to it. We boast of the strength and efficiency of our army, and triumphantly ask, What can Russia hope to be able to bring into the field to cope with it at such a distance from her own territory and resources? Were this the only question, we might safely treat with contempt any effort of Russia. Were we safe from internal commotion, we might indeed bid defiance to any external enemy. But this is *not* the only question; many other points are to be considered. What portion of our numerically large army could be concentrated on our north-western frontier? How many of our districts could we venture to leave without troops? What cavalry could we bring forward to keep in check the thousands of Persian and Cabul horse, whom the hope of plunder would induce to accompany them, and who, with a disciplined army to serve as a nucleus, would scour the country in every direction, destroying what they could not carry off, cutting off stragglers and foraging-parties, and intercepting convoys of provisions? Lastly, what force would be required to keep down the disaffected in our own provinces, who would be hovering round every detachment, killing every man who strayed beyond his pickets? Thousands and thousands of our own subjects would be employed in this way, and I have heard many intelligent men assert that, were a body of thirty thousand disciplined Russians to reach the Sutledge, and avoid an immediate conflict, we should not call a foot of ground in Upper India our own, but that on which our army stood; and that our troops would starve in their camps, or be destroyed in detail in attempting to procure provisions, or be driven by necessity to desert our standards; and that in a very short time the British power would no longer be known in India. I think there is ample ground to justify this opinion. The disaffection to the English government I know to be at a most alarming height; and with any prospect of success from external assistance, it would rise up with an overwhelming force."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 166, 167.

The half-exploded system of the Turkish Pachas has been carried on to great extent in India.

"Here every district (out of the limits of the permanent settlement) has been like an apple in a cider-press, while the collector turns the screw; and, when he has squeezed it to the extent of his power, makes over the handle to another; and he to a third; and so on. A collector is in various ways made to feel that his reputation and prospects depend upon his realizing a large revenue; and that a recommendation for a reduction in the amount of the assessment is only considered in the light of a register of his own inefficiency."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 171.

The sagacity that introduced the use of Persian in the law-courts and now would substitute English for it amongst the natives is satisfactorily disposed of.

"For what is proposed? Actually to attempt to teach a hundred millions of illiterate people (the greater part of whom are so poor, that labouring, as they do, from morning till night, a bare subsistence is all they are able to procure,) to acquire a foreign language; instead of obliging a handful of foreigners, all of whom more or less are men of education, and who, at the commencement of their career, have considerable leisure at their disposal, to learn that of the country under their authority."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 211.

The similar wisdom that would fain invent a European character for Asiatic language is no less fairly put down.

"They quite forget to take into consideration the inconvenience to which so many millions of natives would be subject, in being obliged to learn a strange character."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 216.

"What would an Englishman do in France, Germany, Russia, or any other country in which he had engaged in mercantile affairs? He might as well complain of the hardship of being obliged to transact his business in the language of those countries. It is the same in India. The number of English merchants and tradesmen (and there are no others) all over the country, out of Calcutta, amounts to a few hundreds. Who obliged them to come here? What brought them here?"—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 217.

The activity of justice under the old system is thus exemplified.

"From Almorah a case of murder was once referred to Government, for orders, and no answer was received for two years. The same occurred under a similar reference, at Assam, in which the answer was not received for three years. In October, 1829, two cases of murder were tried by the commissioner of the Furruckabad division, and referred to the Sudder Nizamut, from which court, up to the end of 1832, no orders had been received. It is often that several months, or even a year elapse before any orders are received in criminal trials referred to the Chief Court: indeed, it would appear, from their own proceedings, that such delay is not uncommon. In 1816, a circular order was issued to the circuit judges, directing them, whenever six months had elapsed without any orders being received, upon trials referred, to report the circumstances, and refresh the memory of the superior court. The same order was repeated in 1827. During all these delays, the *prisoners remain in gaol*. Since the establishment of the branch court, at Allahabad, however, a great improvement for the better has

taken place on this head.”—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. i. p. 256.

“In an official letter, already once quoted, Mr. E. Strachey, among other reasons for not writing a detailed report, mentions that he had 400 prisoners untried, and 1700 witnesses in attendance, whom he could not keep any longer from their homes.”—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 496.

Upon the constant and erroneous assumptions of ignorant persons we have the following, which may serve as a hint not to credit too lightly errors of higher importance than those as to usage.

“The constant misapprehensions and mistakes which are made by the English, from mere want of observation, are astonishing. For instance, the majority of the inhabitants of Bengal and Orissa do not eat meat. This has been ascribed to a religious precept against destroying animal life, and they have received abundance of praise from their admirers for their humanity. Yet almost all, of whatever caste, constantly eat fish. The probability is, that the custom of not eating meat had its origin in poverty, and has been confirmed by habit; which is by no means a far-fetched supposition. Many of their most rooted customs have no better foundation, or have arisen from accident. Many of the highest Rajpoots and Brahmins in northern and western India will eat goats, venison, and wild hog’s flesh, while they abhor that of sheep, or domestic swine. Some will eat the jungle fowl, (which in appearance is little different from a gamecock, except in size) who would think the touch of a domestic fowl pollution. Most castes will eat some particular kind of food, but refuse others; for which it is impossible to assign a rational cause. At Bickaneer, all Hindus profess a whimsical abhorrence of fish. In Kumaon, they will eat the short-tailed sheep of the hills, but will not touch one with a long tail. Many classes will eat bread baked by the people, who would lose caste if they were to touch boiled rice dressed by the same hands. Many tribes will allow a man to smoke through his hands from the bowl (chillum) which contains the tobacco, who would not allow the same person to touch that part of the hookah which contains the water. An earthen pot is polluted beyond redemption, by being touched by an inferior caste; a metal one suffers no such deterioration.”—*Ibid.* pp. 532—533.

The remarks on the subject of our interference with the native governments are, however, more germane to our immediate purpose.

“In India we claim to be the paramount power, and to exercise the authority which is usually conceived to be attached to it.

The maxim alluded to is the only possible plea on which we can found such a claim; for no one who has the least acquaintance with the feelings of the people, either of our own territories, or of the neighbouring states, can for a moment suppose that they would willingly submit to our assumption of such authority. Whatever may have been the notions formerly prevalent, late discussions have tended to bring to light the truth; and however unpalatable to our self-love such a conclusion may be, we have been compelled to own that we hold our own possessions not by the good-will or affections of the people, but by an overwhelming military force, which renders resistance hopeless.”—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 71.

“I cannot help here alluding to the feelings which seem to prevail in our view of the conduct of Russia towards Turkey and Persia. The ambitious projects and insidious proceedings of the former power form a theme for eloquent declamation among the English. It is strange that we should be so very sensible to the faults of others, and so blind to our own. The game which Russia has, for a series of years, been playing towards Turkey, is a precise counterpart of that which we have so long pursued in India.”—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 72.

“The following summary is quoted from an official memoir drawn up by Major Sutherland, and printed, but not published, by Government, in 1833:—‘There is no state in India with whose government we have interfered so systematically, and so uselessly, as with that of Oude. But this interference has been more in favour of men than of measures; and has apparently been utterly useless for the purpose of securing to the people of Oude any improvement in their institutions, or in the form of administering them. We at one time sent our officers and troops to enforce the payment of the revenue claimed by the Oude government from its subjects, without having the means of judging whether that claim were just or unjust; and we have lent our troops almost for the performance of the ordinary duties of police. We at another time supported a minister in his office, and, during our support of him, borrowed money from the treasury of the state, the interest of which we guaranteed in perpetuity to him and his family, though in lending it he was guilty of betraying the interests of his sovereign. We have at another time withdrawn our troops from the support of the minister, and left him to his own resources. We have on several occasions placed ourselves in the humiliating condition of debtors to the Oude government; we have shut our eyes to the extortions and oppressions which have driven its subjects into rebellion, and then we have lent our army to punish, and reduce them to obedience. But in the whole history of our interfer-

ence, there does not seem to be one measure calculated to produce any lasting benefit to the people of Oude."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

A note on this point further informs us that

"The right to interfere in the appointment of minister is openly assumed in a letter from the chief secretary to the resident at Hyderabad, dated 31st December, 1809."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 81.

"It has since appeared, by the publication of the minutes in council, that Sir Charles Metcalfe was the advocate of a free press, which he established as soon as he came into power; and that Lord William Bentinck was secretly proposing to keep it under the control of Government, while he was making speeches, and writing letters, professing to be a friend of freedom of discussion."—*Notes*, vol. ii. p. 83.

We find a strong corroboration of an assertion made in the course of this article by ourselves.

"In minor points, who does not recollect the member of our civil service who, after having been dismissed for malpractices, with a positive order from the Court of Directors against his future employment, was sent up to Lucknow with a recommendation from the Governor-General to the king, which the latter considered in the light of a command to give him an official post? Who does not remember the same influence exerted to procure employment, or, in plain English, a pension, for an English singer and his wife, from the unfortunate king of Lucknow? I have myself seen the influence of the resident at Lucknow exerted to induce the king to buy a French toy at a most exorbitant price. The resident himself exhibited the toy, and recommended the purchase; and when we consider the complete thralldom in which the government of Oude was then held by the resident, if this be not direct influence, I know not what is. The same authority has been exerted to induce the king to entertain English coachmen, gardeners, musicians, and all sorts of people whom he had no wish to employ. It is probable, that the convenience which has in this way resulted to men in authority—not even excluding the head of the Government—has been one cause that Oude has so long been suffered to remain an independent kingdom. Had it been annexed to the Company's dominions, all these sort of proceedings would have been annihilated; and whatever surplus existed, after paying the expenses of its management, must have been carried to the Government treasury."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

Is not this honourable to our forbearance? But the "auri sacra fames" is uni-

versal, from the Government to the revenue collector.

"When a defaulter has a daughter, a person of much lower caste than her family is selected as her husband, provided he be willing to pay a large price. The defaulter is forced to give his daughter's hand to this person, and the money realized from him is immediately seized on account of Government! Any overplus that may remain, after liquidating the demand, becomes generally the perquisite of the revenue officer (tuhseeldar) for his good offices. Such have been the modes in which the Government taxes have been collected in the upper provinces for the two last years."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

Speaking of the profligate folly of the late king of Oude, Mr. Shore well observes:

"The English government are mainly to blame for this state of things. How is it possible that native princes, who are kept in a state of pupillage, and almost treated like school-boys, should have any self-respect or proper independence of feeling? This has been the case with Oude for the last forty years. Had the British Government turned their supremacy to good account, by insisting on the education of the native chiefs, so as to qualify them for the art of government, this would have been a measure entitled to the highest praise; but so far from it, the interference of the residents has been almost always exerted for evil; indeed, so extremely difficult is it to discover the slightest benefit arising to any class of people from the establishment of residents at the native courts, that there is even ground for the supposition that the measure has been adopted and maintained for the express purpose of promoting misgovernment and confusion in the different principalities, so as to afford plausible excuses and opportunity for our taking possession of them. A species of interference such as that suggested in No. xxxix, would be a real benefit. Lucknow has not, at most, above three or four years longer to remain as an independent kingdom. By that time, the king, if he live so long, will have spent the remnant of his treasure; and as he will not have the sense to reform his conduct, borrowing and exactions will become the order of the day: disturbances will ensue; and the British will settle the matter by taking possession of the country."—*Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. ii. p. 276.

It is time for the parliament of Great Britain to look to this disgraceful proceeding, and probe it to the bottom if they mean to guard the national fame committed to them. What can other countries think of us, so loud in condemning, if we profit by this act?

"Heaven cannot abide it,
Earth will not hide it."

It would seem by these concluding remarks, that this fearless writer and independent functionary had the sagacity to perceive from afar the coming fortunes of Oude, which took Lord Auckland, or his superiors at home, so strangely by surprise. Mr. Shore, indeed, devotes a portion of his work to discuss the means of benefiting that country, when in British possession. He seems to have appreciated, no less correctly than Colonel Low himself, the exact degree of confidence due to "the defined and moderate views of the government." That two men so different as the Honourable Civilian and the *unwarranted* Colonel should both have so interpreted these views, and interpreted them wrongly, is a coincidence extremely singular, and unfortunate for the character of Britain; and the more so as it shows that the two extremes of opinion, the perpetrator as well as the reprobator of wrong, did, in common as we happen to know with all India, conceive the moderate views of the British Government, when defined at last, to signify simply, TREACHERY and USURPATION.

ART. VI.—*Histoire de la Littérature Allemande, d'après la cinquième édition de Heinsius.* Par MM. Henry et Apffel, avec une Préface de M. Matter. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

It is not very long since, in our 39th number, we noticed with approbation a work similar to the present in its subject and treatment; but the topic is so generally interesting, and the taste for German literature, as it exists at this day, is so widely spread and spreading, throughout our own land and through all Europe, that every notice of its progress in other countries, becomes more and more acceptable to the readers of our journal.

It can scarcely be surprising that the peculiar system of thought and study pursued in Germany should make but a gradual progress amongst the French, their very antipodes in almost every thing, but position. Yet it was the eager curiosity of our more lively neighbours for all that bears the stamp or even semblance of novelty, that at length produced the first overt act of acquaintance with German literature, and its first general introduction, through Madame de Staël, to

the notice of Europe. The beams of the rising sun had, however, penetrated long before through the misty atmosphere that envelops our own insulated comprehensions, when the Sorrows of Werter, the Robbers, and the criticisms of Heyne, excited so strong a sensation, and so much stronger a doubt as to the quantity and quality of reason as developed in the German mind. The rays that reached us were, to return to metaphor, deemed promising in themselves and indicative of considerable power in the planet that scattered them so far; but some doubts were entertained, and not altogether unreasonably, that the mists through which they struggled were not entirely those of English mental obscurity; and that a haze of no ordinary intensity dimmed and concealed the far greater portion of the rising orb of glory in its native land.

We are far from considering this suspicion erroneous; and however long and successfully we ourselves have toiled, with an almost German devotion, for the object of rendering German literature popular here, and transplanting to the best of our means the strongest shoots and fairest flowers of that soil, and importing the lavish wealth of its opened mines of learning to adorn and improve our national mind, we yet are tempted at times to think that the general feeling, and certainly on some points, has run of late too violently into this very extreme; that led and seduced by the labours and talents of some of our own most eminent writers and poets, we have given without due reflection into a species of Germano-mania, and transferred the praise due undoubtedly to their erudition and scholarship, into an indiscriminating admiration for every thing that bears the impress of Teutonic peculiarity of any kind.

That such a state of feeling is a serious error, we do not hesitate distinctly to pronounce. However profound or important a course of abstract thought or inquiry may be in itself, it cannot from its very nature be adapted to the general mass of mankind. It is no answer to say that this mass are not the parties for whose immediate benefit it is intended; and that the stream must first flow through the usual narrow channels of more cultivated intellects, before it can be made available for the world at large. A mental system which requires a long, so to say, chemical process of precipitation, sublimation, and combination with foreign properties before it can be turned to general account, must of necessity be generated by certain peculiarities of home growth: as shadowy, subtle, and meditative, it answers admirably for inhaling in the calm repose and contemplative philosophy of German universities and

abstract speculations ; but brought into contact with the coarser and bolder practicality of every-day life and action in England and the rest of the world, its very subtlety marks a degree of rarefaction unfit for common purposes.

The care that analyzes mental properties into hypothetical classifications and contrasts purely speculative and metaphysical, as if spirit were capable of being fully comprehended by human nature ; and indeed as if mind were utterly independent of matter, and did not exist except by combination with it ; is clearly a labour of excess : the linguist, the man of science who dives into the secrets of nature and the arcana of the past, and is satisfied to live for these alone, must also be satisfied to remain as the miner, the mere pioneer of a more popular and superficial research ; and the poet and the popular writer who constantly chronicles every act and idea that visits him in the retirement of his study and the unvarying routine of domestic life and intercourse, is apt, and with justice, to be regarded by the public at large as tedious or trifling and overlaid with puerilities. It is these qualities in excess that deteriorate the literature of Germany. Her writers are not satisfied unless their readers know all they have done and dreamed in the progress of their labours towards any one point : every portion of their course is held to be of equal importance ; every turn and gesture of the inner and the outward man equally deserving the reader's most anxious admiration : and thus the secluded sage, the man of the closet, comes forth before the world, and begs in the unsuspecting innocence of his literary vanity, that all shall respect his shuffling gait and his night-cap, the slippers and morning-gown he wears in public, because in his study they have been associated with the pen that has wrought so many marvels of intellect.

With these amusing peculiarities and positive drawbacks upon the real value of their elaborate researches, it will scarcely be expected by any but the most enthusiastic admirers of German authorship, that such can escape that strong turn for the ludicrous inherent in the mind of our Gallic neighbours, and not to a certain extent act as a preventive upon the continuous adoption and imitation of German habits of thinking and writing among them. With our own less mercurial and more kindred temperament these habits have largely affected a considerable portion of our writers ; and the very faults and excrescences of German taste have been urged as beauties, and expatiated and insisted upon to the utmost limit of our own reason and forbearance.

In thus unequivocally expressing our opinion as to the absolute defects of the German writers, we must distinctly repudiate any the slightest intention of depreciating the real value of a literature that has made such rapid progress in so short a period, and is daily becoming more important to Europe, having already possessed itself in undisputed sovereignty of the highest classic ground. The very faults indeed of German authorship spring, like all others, from the same source as their excellences ; namely, the peculiarities of their position, political and individual. The abstraction from practical life, that renders them ignorant of how much that each man considers to be his own immediate discovery, is, and has long been, thoroughly known to the world ; so much so, indeed, as to be always taken for granted and to require no announcement ; and the utter unconsciousness of the ridicule that, in more active states of society, follows the minute chronicler of intermediate shades of thought and infinitesimal puerilities of action or emotion, these practical defects also, and at the same time, engender, and are fed by, that insatiable hunger for knowledge, that unwearied labour of examining and exhausting every store of information, which amasses every heap of learning into one huge memorial, as mighty perhaps and scientific as a pyramid, but almost equally hopeless, isolate, and obscure. Digestion sinks in the universality of appetite.

This, the great error of German learning, is nourished by the more natural error of foreign ignorance. We wish to cast no slur upon the former, and little upon the latter ; and therefore, conversing the sarcasm, would say—

Un savant trouve toujours un moins savant qui l'admire,

and to this subject must address a few words.

The German language is in itself difficult, far more so than the French or Southern European tongues ; and its terminology is so various, so compound, and consequently so full of epithets conjoined, that it acts upon the mind through the ear somewhat as the Chinese does through the eye, forming at once in each combination a picture to the sense. But between these two modes a great difference exists : that which is actually pictured in lines acts directly, that which is expressed in words indirectly and through the understanding, upon the senses. The second, then, is a less simple process than the former. A language which admits these combinations of terms, admits also their production to excess ; and in all these the process of the thought that frames them is more

strongly displayed to the reader than the result of that process; as in English. The German gives all the parts, the English the undivided whole. And we cannot wonder at the partiality of learners and students for the former course in preference to the latter, for it brings the reader into the workshop of the writer's mind, not merely into his show-rooms, and has precisely the same effect that he who enjoys the landscape along the road feels, and advantageously, over him who merely travels it. But which more directly reaches the end? He whose mind is, however slightly, yet incessantly and eternally diverted from the right line, or he who proceeds in this simple sense?

It continually happens, too, that this very facility of hinting, rather than speaking out, of intimating imperfectly rather than being bound to definition, prevents the writer from closely attending to the accuracy of the thought, since he can dispense with the precision of the term. The former, in truth, he has only shadowed out, not determined; and hence, as in the Shemitic writing, there is always, doubtless, a meaning, but there is always also a doubt; and when a first-rate metaphysician or poet has written a word, each of his admirers writes a book to inquire what it means. Owing to the different formation of men's minds, every angle from which it is viewed affords a somewhat different combination; it is gold or silver for the tilting knights, and must be settled by the point of the lance; and Goethe himself was puzzled when his commentators proved to him how much he had intended which he never imagined.

This peculiarity of thought and words acts of necessity upon mind and language. The end is lost in the means in both cases: instead of a common tongue, each writer has his own secret alphabet; instead of seizing a thought, and stamping it into a perfect idea, a solid form of judgment obtained from casting down the previous fusion of fancy, we are presented but with the components: it is the analysis given for the result; the anatomy of the body, not the body itself, produced. And in proportion as the plastic power is imperfectly used, the results are likewise imperfect. Like the intellect, too, the language gains nothing definite; no new word, but fresh combinations only of the old: but this is less an advantage than a defect: it may remain essentially German, it never can become universal. It may be less profound than it seems, and it certainly becomes more difficult.

Yet it is this very difficulty that has, in our opinion, obtained for the tongue itself and the writers in it so ample a share of

admiration. Men do not like to throw away their labour; they do not like it to appear thrown away; and when the scholar of German, as of Sanscrit, feels that he has mastered the tremendous difficulties of its highest range, he is not only capable of an enjoyment denied to the many, but he is apt to overrate the new world into which he has entered, and which is the more enticing as it is more subtle and imaginative; ideality rather than substance. The basis of reason upon which life reposes, the practicality, that tests all things in the material world, are left behind him as he enters this dreamy sphere; and he takes the Mephistopheles of subtlety at his elbow for a judge, and the Will-o'-the-Wisp for his guide, and dances through the May-day night of the mountains with the rocky Hartz for the green-sward, and every mocking phantasy for his partner in the maze.

Now there is no occasion for all this: it may be very well for a pastime of the sage; and if our English literary Fausts are determined to do it seriously, let them remember where their prototype finally went, as Marlow and Goethe inform us. There, they may rely upon it, they themselves will follow, so far as this country at least is concerned. England is too practical in all her habits, too constantly kept by her insular position and political system in straightforward vigilance and bold existence, to allow time to any extent for metaphysical niceties. In her constant collision, forcible or friendly, with the whole world, all the currents of thought, all the fancies, cravings, desires, all the elements of material life and action are so unceasingly whirled together, combining and conflicting in the crucible of a positive chemistry, that the lighter vapours, the sublimations and sublimities of alchemical expectations float away into air, the caput mortuum is left at the bottom, and the general extract alone retained for practical purposes.

Nearly the same effect, though from widely different causes, obtains in France; and has prevented, and will probably prevent anything more than a passing mania for German and exotic mystification. It is to this and this alone we refer in our remarks, for it is simply the prevailing tendency to this in German feeling that robs its literature of the due consideration it deserves on many points. The genius of Germany is too vast to be exhibited by the microscope of one portion of its admirers, or puffed by the bellows of another into ballooning it through the clouds: it wants no mists and haze to exaggerate its dimensions; and if it means to meet the sympathies of

man, it must be not ideal but positive ; not confined to its own country by narrow peculiarities, but universal as the globe over which it would range.

The truth of our remarks is borne out in great degree, not only by the fate of those eager enthusiasts of German literature in England, whose praises are heard and suffered to sink in the mysticism that envelopes them ; but also among the Germans themselves. Their warm aspirations for political institutions after the fashion of England or France was the first symptom of the taste for the practical ; and when the leaven is once introduced, even if ill-judgingly at first, it gradually corrects and leavens the whole. An adoption of foreign terms, however few, and a disposition to act upon reasonings instead of abstracting them, is rapidly producing a change in the spirit of the Germans ; whose authorship we trust will soon, as its progress seems to announce, hold another empire than the air, and take its place in the field with England and France for all active purposes, as it has done in speculation.

With this distinct avowal of our opinions, and which if at all novel in print are more especially so in this journal, and yet, so far as we can see, they are fully borne out by, with some few exceptions, the general sense in England ; with this avowal, we repeat, we must couple a reservation in favour of some of the highest names in Germany. The question of classical or scientific literature, we do not touch upon in this paper. Our remarks in truth refer less at the moment to the range of intellect than to the medium of communication ; bearing in mind, however, the connection between the two, and which is so close that the one materially affects the other. Clearness and simplicity of thought will always induce with the least practice a corresponding clearness and simplicity of diction ; and according to the imperfections of the latter we can determine with sufficient accuracy whether the mind that puts it forth is turgid or verbose, confused, multifarious, and indefinite ; inert from indigestion of over-crowded reading, or thinking, or smoking ; elaborately heavy or elaborately light, pompous, dictatory, or finical : the merely superficial seems unknown in Germany ; but this we ourselves can amply supply. The froth and scum of English literature is easily thrown aside, but we cannot so willingly, or so lightly, dispense with the mass of information buried in German scholarship. But the last should bear in mind that all complication is coun-

teractive, and all simplicity energetic in its kind : the five hundred mirrors of the French mechanical experiment could not set fire to a boat at one tenth the distance effected by the single machine of Archimedes.

M. Matter remarks the fact that the southern languages of Europe came into notice long before those of the north. This circumstance was fortunate and was also necessary, as the result, if so alone, of geographical position. Wherever they spread, the northern nations were in earlier ages the predominating race ; and thus they preserved in so great a degree not only their original customs and feelings, but were also enabled to engraft, upon otherwise unvitiated modes of thought, in themselves simple, original, and forcible, the dark, wild, and gloomy grandeur of fearful superstitions, rugged manners, and solitary and undivided thought ; a fount of masculine and perennial freshness that at a late period invigorated and supplied with novel energies the exhausted and stagnating currents of literatures more feeble but more refined.

In France this error of weakness has been long apparent, and universally felt of late years, if not confessed, by the nation itself. To England, that had so often borrowed from her, France applied in her turn, and admitted with secret pleasure and obvious reluctance the gleam of "barbarian genius" that in Shakspeare and his descendants was enlightening the wakening intellect of the nation. That the first dislike was converted at length into an absolute mania, was no more than could be expected in the nature of things, and the nature, more especially, of French constitutions. But every passion exhausts itself ; every novelty tires at length ; and now the current has set in the direction of Germany ; though not yet with the impetus characteristic of Gallic emotions. It is, however, a movement not of whim but necessity ; an absolute want of oxygen in the exhaustion of the literary atmosphere of both countries ; M. Matter well observes :

"Yet the progress we ourselves have made has probably approximated us to the north as much as this has approximated towards us. In truth if our literary desires turn now to England and Germany, it is not a mere caprice of taste but a movement of intelligence. In these two countries moral and political studies have assumed so glorious a course, and we ourselves are in a social condition so analogous to that of our neighbours, and so different from the past, that our literary

sympathies are established by the force of circumstances, the community of wishes, the fraternity of all thought.

"With England we have been for more than a century united by the noblest labours of the human mind, those of legislation, philosophy, and general politics."

After remarking that for a long time these subjects were merely matters of speculation in France and are now become practical, and that her institutions and views of the social future are absolutely at present those of England, M. Matter observes that the difference now consists in forms and manners, and that these will be permanent, though the principles are the same.

With regard to the German, he notices and with justice, that it does not possess for his countrymen the same claims to attention, and is not for them in the same degree an object of study, though it offers for many classes of society a powerful interest. It presents to all advantages and inducements which the English has lost by having become familiar in France.

The German is not only the language of erudition and metaphysics, it is particularly the language of the moral sciences, the study of which is so important for us in the social state wherein we are placed by so many revolutions of manners and ideas. It is in fine the language of a million of Frenchmen.

"The German has also points connected with higher considerations. It is a language of astonishing variety. The English is bounded; the French can in future but exhaust itself. The German since it has become classical, is in its third phase, and seems susceptible of still farther transformations.

"Thus does the German daily gain ground amongst us."

And the writer conceives that it is destined to play a great part in the new epoch into which the French tongue is about to enter; that is, its struggle with the northern idioms, after having so gloriously sustained a contest with the languages of the south, and after profiting so well by the education bestowed on it by the ancient tongues.

From the language to its literature the transition is easy; and in regard to the German, a phrase of very common acceptance, namely, that its literature is but very modern, and of to-day, seems to require some explanation. It is not in truth very clear what is the received sense of this saying, at least if we are to view it in a different light from that of the literature of any other nation of Europe. All differ essentially in their modern from their ancient phases; and yet Herder, if we remember

rightly, seems to countenance the general opinion just alluded to, though only in part, when he speaks of the youth of the German muse in her race with that of Britain.

The writers of the volume before us do not appear to uphold the opinion in question in their general estimate; for they affirm of the German,

"This literature is, without question, one, of those deserving the most to be studied. It is ancient, it is original, it is rich, and little known out of Germany. Its especial distinction is great vigour of conception, a high degree of ideality, a sort of worship of nature imposed by profound sentiments of religion. Like the country which produces it, it forms a real transition between the literature of the east, of which it possesses all the gravity and mysticism, and the literature of Scandinavia, more pompous, more dry, and more severe."

According to the same authorities, its poetry, like its prose, has fused several kinds into one to form a novel style, commonly termed the romantic. This we are strongly tempted to question, though it is the general opinion; for did the romantic originate in Germany? Are not the ballads of the South a sufficient answer, and were not they the progeny of the proper East, and marked more distinctly with their present characteristics than imbued with the tints of the North? Germany has a rightful claim undoubtedly to her own peculiar romance, and this we would especially reserve; but for the epithet itself it is perhaps too general and indiscriminating to be referred so freely as by our authors to that one sole source. "It is thus," they tell us, "that in appreciating this literature we see combined at one time and confounded in mutual embarrassment, the devout and gallant spirit of the Provençal troubadours, the dreamy and mystical imagination of the Oriental poets with its pomp and dazzling splendour, and the sombre genius of the North, that lives in the tempests and presides at those gigantic battles where the bravest of warriors fight hand to hand with the gods themselves." Our readers are, however, aware that this form of romance is to be found, though in more polished shape, in the ancient pages of Hesiod and Homer, and the more modern tales of Ariosto. Whence then came all these? From the earliest East undoubtedly; and they are only modified, not created, by Scandinavian or Teutonic genius; more severe, more stern, more simple, and more shadowy in the latter; a different species, though the genus is the same: the drapery of classic grace or Oriental effeminacy was unknown or despised, and the genius of

the north robed his form but in the clouds of his own domain, or presented it, ample and bare, in the sole might of its colossal dimensions.

The History of German literature is divided by our Author into seven periods.

1st. The Gothic, from the earliest times when barbarism dispersed the remains of Roman civilisation, down to the reign of Charlemagne (768.)

2d. The Frank, or period before the Hohenstaufen, 768—1137, when the light thrown by Charlemagne sank in the obscurity of his successors.

3d. The Suabian; from the rise of the Hohenstaufen race to the origin of the German Universities, 1137—1348; the time of the Crusades, Troubadours, and Minnesangers.

4th. The Rhenane, lasting till the Reformation, 1348—1534; when science raised her head above literature; when the tourney and chivalrous combats disappeared, and Cologne, Erfurt, Leipsic, Rostock, Basle, Treves, Mayence, Wittemburg, &c. successively rose in imitation of Italian institutions; when Guttenberg invented printing at Strasburg; when knowledge became popular; and when, finally, Luther appeared on the scene.

The 5th, or Saxon period, embraces the school of Luther to that of Spitz, 1534—1625; the most important portion of the 16th century—the epoch of regeneration, of religious wars, of conquests in America and Asia. Literature flourished by the religious controversies; poets and men of genius cultivated science and the belles-lettres, or refined the Minnesanger lays into the strains of the Master Singers, amongst whom was the celebrated Hans Sachs. Luther, reforming religion, reformed also the language; by fusing, we should say, like Homer under a somewhat similar change, the two principal dialects in use into the type of the modern German languages.

The 6th period, Silesian and Swiss, comes down to Klopstock, including the interval from 1625 to 1750. Spitz, the founder of the Silesian school of classicists, then opened the way for foreign literature. France inundated the soil with new ideas and fashions of thinking and writing, literary societies were formed every where to assist or oppose the innovations, and from this conflict of principles sprung the new work of German classical literature.

The 7th period reaches from Klopstock down to our days; i. e. 1750—1838; when, as our author somewhat fancifully remarks, “the most illustrious pleiad that ever shone on ancient Germany appeared in Klopstock, Schiller, Goethe, Engel, Bur-

ger, Wieland, and so many others.” These last, unnamed, being too many for the constellation in question, form, we presume, the Milky-way; and it must be owned that some of them have supplied the world with that nutritive diet in rather larger quantities than accords with the matured state of European development; and, we speak it reverently, aided by one at least of the labours of Goethe himself, have raised a sort of bread and butter school, greatly relished in our infancy throughout the nurseries of Europe.

We turn from the Volume before us to notice with our warmest commendations, a work on the actual state of Germany by an English Scholar of deserved reputation. To those who seek to know more of that remarkable, and rising, but half undeveloped land than can be learned in a hurried tour, or inferred from the passing notices of newspapers, we would earnestly recommend this book,* where may be found the real position of Germany, its resources, political and industrial relations, its progress in the sciences and arts, and in literature, with all the details that are necessary for a thorough comprehension of the subject, and of the great political and moral question that is to be solved perhaps in our own days, by the prodigious advances of the German every way. To the work itself generally we can confidently refer our readers, but our more immediate business is with the literary portion of it; and the opinions in this department are so fair and so candid, that they give, better than anything we have seen, an idea of German literature as it really is.

We select amply from this part of the work.

“The early literature of Germany did not represent the national mind, nor did it tend much to enlighten nor to move it. It principally consists in treatises, more or less elaborate, on matters of theology, jurisprudence, natural history, physics and medicine, with no small sprinkling of alchemy, astrology, and metaphysics. These were almost all written in Latin, which appears to have been almost a second tongue, used familiarly in conversation, and still more familiarly in composition.

“The modern literature of Germany may be said to commence with Gottsched, who was born in the year 1700, and who died in 1766. He was educated at Königsberg, where he took the degree of Master of Philosophy in 1723. He was shortly afterwards

* Germany; the Spirit of her History, Literature, Social Condition, and National Economy; illustrated by reference to her Physical, Moral, and Political Statistics, and by comparison with other Countries. By Bissett Hawkins, M. D. Oxon, F. R. S., London, 1838.

obliged to quit Prussia, where his stature exposed him to the risk of being forced to enter the ranks of the king of Prussia's giant-grenadiers. He took refuge at Leipsic, and was elected professor at the university there, in the year 1730. Gottsched claimed the character of an universal genius, which he was far from being able to support. He attempted to play at once the philosopher, the grammarian, the critic, and the poet. But he survived his own fame, and is now consigned to a degree of oblivion which he certainly does not deserve.

"He did not occupy himself with style and form exclusively; he may be said to have founded the periodical literature: he encouraged numerous young authors, and placed the learned world on a better footing with the booksellers. With the assistance of a number of scholars, whom he had gradually gathered round him, he published a translation of Bayle, whose work, from its free and novel cast, produced a great sensation in Germany. Though a grave professor, he did not disdain to interfere with the theatre, and his criticism succeeded in driving away the Merry-Andrew (Hanswurst) from the stage. A Leipsic lady assisted his reforming career by the introduction of feeble translations from the French. The influence of the pseudo-classic rules of France on the German drama lasted till the criticism of Lessing demolished it at a blow, and rushed unfortunately to an opposite extreme. The period of Gottsched's glory was between the twentieth and fortieth years of the last century. He legislated for the literary world with a dictatorial air; but into the nature of man, where alone the laws of criticism are seated, he never deigned to cast a glance. Aristotle he misunderstood, and his imitation of the French was clumsy and imperfect. Goethe has left us a highly amusing account of the first visit which he paid to Gottsched. By mistake he was ushered into the dressing-room of the Professor, who, as he entered, clapped on his wig with great dispatch, then boxed his blundering valet's ear with one hand, and received his guest with the other. Gottsched's system of criticism is particularly open to the charge of superficiality and weakness.

Hagedorn and Haller were eight years younger than Gottsched; they were both born in 1708. In classing, then, these poets together, we only refer to some similar points in the character and tendency of their works. They commenced an indirect opposition to Gottsched, and as they overthrew him, without expressly aiming at him, they rendered his overthrow the more complete. The criticism of the Leipsic Professor was entirely negative. He had prescribed only sobriety of expression, and such poetical enthusiasm as could help itself just as well with prose as verse. Haller introduced the freedom of English literature into Germany. He, at first, took Pope for his model; but if

he excels him in depth and solidity, he is his inferior in point of style. Haller deserted poetry for physiology at thirty, and would fain apologize afterwards, for having devoted so much time to the Muses. It is a common prejudice that a man cannot distinguish himself eminently in two departments. The philosophic reputation of Haller has injured his fame as a poet. To his scientific eminence, he owed his professorship at the university of Gottingen. Here he was an active contributor to *Der Gelehrte Anzeiger*, at that time the most famous periodical in Germany. In estimating the comparative worth of Haller's works, we must never forget that he was without German models. He had the classics certainly, but their sphere is too remote for the imitation of a genial poet, who feels the necessity of giving expression to life as he breathes and feels it. Haller wrote odes, but in imitation of the French—of Bap-tiste Rousseau, for instance. These compositions instead of being poetical, are a collection of rhetorical rhymes. The criticism of our poet-philosopher is not of much value; for to criticise a literature which is without models is to thrash empty straw.

"Notwithstanding the exertions of the Swiss school, Leipsic continued, even after the expiration of Gottsched's popularity, to be the metropolis of literary Germany. In the middle of the last century, it was the residence of Gellert and Klopstock, of Kramer, Rabener, and several others, whom we shall not have space to dilate upon. But somewhat earlier than these, flourished J. E. Schlegel, who was born in 1718, and who died in Denmark, in 1749. He was the first who gave a character to the German theatre, and is, therefore, in his relation to German dramatic literature, especially worthy of notice. He commenced his career by translating some tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides into German rhyme. Though he abandoned the French school of tragedy, he was not quite free from its influence. The favourite plays of the æra we are now considering, were of the kind technically called characteristic, in which a character made up of extremes, whose vices might be either moral or mental, was put to all sorts of trials, through five tedious acts. Schlegel brought on the Copenhagen stage, 'The Dumb Beauty,' a rhymed comedy in one act, which is admirable of its kind. From this author, the influence of French taste on the German drama dates its decline; all subsequent attempts to modify French plays for that stage have been decided failures. If these productions are of any worth, it lies in their consistency and unity, which are destroyed as soon as they are altered."—pp. 78—85.

The fame of Shakspeare renders the following interesting.

"For some time after the period of which we are now treating, Shakspeare seems to have been unknown in Germany. Bodmer quotes him under the name of Sasper, and a

bibliopolist of those days tells us that he had heard a great deal about him, but that he had been unable to obtain any of his works."—p. 86.

We need only select a few passages in passing for our readers.

"Gellert is one of those authors, who by a prudent management of very little talent, earn considerable fame. The public has confounded the man with the poet; and his literary insignificance was forgotten by those who admired the goodness of his heart. Fame, however, seems now determined to vindicate its impartiality, and is consigning poor Gellert to undeserved neglect. His comedies are the weakest of his works; one finishes perusing them really without knowing what all the five acts have been about. His tales and fables are much too similar; he seems to have confounded the species. The 'Letters' of Gellert were received with great applause, and have survived, in general estimation, many of his works. But it is impossible that a book, the interest of which is but local and temporary, should take its stand amongst the classics of a nation.

"Klopstock came to Leipsic in the year 1746, when he had already commenced his great poem, 'The Messiah,' and was full of plans for its completion. It would be useless to deny, that in some parts of it he has imitated Milton, but on the whole he pursued an original path.

"Klopstock had no ability in rhyming; his muse was neither docile nor pliant. On this score, he was at first considerably embarrassed, being far from decided as to what measure he should choose for his verse. He intended, at first, to write in rhymeless Alexandrines—the worst form he could possibly have chosen. Fortunately, he hit upon the hexameter, in which his success was signal and complete. The first cantos of the Messiah were published, 1748, in a periodical which issued from the Leipsic press. The effect which it produced upon the public cannot be measured, even by the greatest possible sensation which a work can now create.

"In speaking of the Wieland of this period, we must not confound him with the Wieland who dazzled Germany in the year 1763. They are one person, it is true; but the one person underwent a complete metamorphosis. At this period, he espoused the cause of Plato against that of Epicurus, and wrote a poem to refute the "De rerum Natura," of Lucretius. Besides this, he composed Scriptural epics, in unwieldy verse; as, for instance, *Der geporfte Abraham*. Sulzer was the scholar of Bodmer in poetry, and of Leibnitz in philosophy. Or, rather, the creed which he professed, and which was very popular just at that period, was an amalgamation of all possible systems.

"Kleist's 'Spring,' is an imitation of the 'Seasons' of Thomson, which is composed of a series of pictures drawn with truth and feeling, but in no definite form, and with no

general spirit pervading the whole. He has all the faults, and, it cannot be denied, all the beauties of his model; but poetry is not entirely a descriptive art. The works of Kleist were disfigured by the corrections of Ramler; and it is only lately that they have been published from the original manuscripts. Ramler has the credit of having tamed whatever was original and energetic in the poetry of his period down to his own standard of correct mediocrity. In his old age he versified the Idylls of Gesner, which had never possessed great merit, but which he deprived of all they had. Gesner, after having been educated in the principles of the Swiss school, came to Berlin about the year 1750, to learn the trade of a bookseller. Disgusted, however, with this occupation, he took to painting, for which nature seems to have intended him. He had received no instruction in the art, and he painted, at first, a number of landscapes with common oil, so that they would not dry. It was his distress on this account, which led him to seek and ask the advice of the Professor of Painting. The talent of Gesner was now soon recognised, and his landscapes have always been very justly praised. Unfortunately, we cannot say as much for his literary publications. His Idylls are landscapes, as far as he could make them such with pen, ink and paper. His characters are like those of Ossian,—speaking spirits and shadows, drawn on a coloured horizon, and sweeping along luxuriant ground."—pp. 86—90.

We cannot, we confess, discover the similarity or aptitude of the last illustration.

"Herder was a critic, and in the best sense of the word,—one who was fonder of dwelling upon beauties, than of searching out defects. He was of a pliable, plastic, susceptible nature; at last, perhaps, he verged towards the undecided and indefinite; and even in his best years, we too often miss in him the strength and acuteness of a master-mind. He first gave to German literature that cosmopolitical tendency, which has increased since his time to such a degree, as to have become its peculiar boast. Herder was a poet, but not a philosopher;—rather a literary than a learned man. He had the faculty of happily divining where he could not see very clearly. Though acquainted with many languages, he had not a thorough knowledge of one. His researches on the subject of popular and legendary poetry seem to have led him to the conclusion, that the Muses can only be successfully cultivated by their rudest votaries. But this is a grand mistake; Art is natural to man, who cannot, even in his wildest state, be lost to a love of it; and why should poetry be deprived of its aid? We do not disgrace the heavenly guest by clothing her in a costly dress; we rather heighten the variety of her beauties, and of our own enjoyment."—p. 103.

We take some portions of the remarks on Goethe.

"In his first works, Goethe was the advocate of that which he felt to be Nature, against that which he thought to be Art. His 'Götz von Berlichingen' was written in defiance of all the old dramatic laws; and in 'Werter' he would seem to have aimed at the abolition of the conventional and artificial, and at the recognition of what was called the voice of nature in their stead.

"A year after Götz, appeared 'The Sorrows of Werter,' which produced an incalculable effect upon the public, by whom it was tumultuously received. This book is a singular mixture of truth and fiction; to a certain extent the author identified himself with his hero, and then superadded the misfortunes of a young man named Jerusalem, whose suicide, the consequence of an unfortunate passion, made at that time considerable sensation. As far as the sentiments and feelings of Werter are concerned, we may take the identification to be complete; though how far the author was conscious of it at the time of writing is uncertain.

"Of the attacks which this work met with at the hands of the critics, Goethe took no notice; but he subsequently added one to their number, in his 'Triumph of Sentimentality.' With this latter word, 'Werter' was the first to make us acquainted; great as is the part which it has played in our time, we may search for it in vain before the days of Goethe. The feeling, though now naturalised in Germany, is of foreign origin. The *Nouvelle Heloise* of Rousseau first perfectly incorporated it, and is composed of little else; it is more artificial, but less morally objectionable than 'Werter.' In England, Sterne had touched the same chord, but with a steadier hand and healthier result. The work, however, which mainly contributed to establish the fashionable feeling in Germany, was the 'Ossian' of Macpherson, in which the morbid refinement of the moderns is pictured to have existed at an age, and amongst a people, where no refinement whatever was known.

"'Stella' he entitled a tragedy for lovers, but a good tragedy cannot be usurped by any class; it addresses itself to mankind at large. The hero is a worthless character, who is subject to every feeling, and faithful to none. Discontented with ordinary felicity he sets out in search of something more than happiness. After deserting his wife and daughter, and uniting himself to the innocent and lovely heroine, without any diminution of his passion for the latter, remorse seizes him on account of his treatment of the former, and he hits upon the convenient idea of arranging the matter so as to be able to live with both, in a way of his own, somewhat repugnant to conjugal institutions. In these plays, Goethe allows all emotions and feelings to have their course, without disturbing them by even the mention of morality; but such a system undermines all strength of mind, all dignity of character, and instead of having a right to our sympathy, it demands our contempt.

"Shortly after the publication of these dramas, a metamorphosis began to take place in the literary character of Goethe; he recognised his errors, and was one of the few men of his time who rescued himself from the influence of his works; he withdrew to study and self-examination, and all that was heard of him for some years, was an indefinite report of his being engaged in the composition of 'Faust.' In 1785, he published 'Egmont,' the most theatrical of his tragedies, in which he is no longer true to his theory of the natural, for the language, instead of being the prose of common life, rises often to the poetical.

"At this period Goethe made a deep study of the Greek tragedy, and recognised the poetical foundation on which Shakspeare's world is built; the result of this is to be traced in his 'Iphigenia in Tauris;' and 'Egmont' is a sufficient proof of the progress he had made in the comprehension of the English dramatist. The idea of making Tasso the hero of a play, occurred to Goethe during a journey through Italy. His drama of this name has a certain incidental interest, inasmuch as it doubtless, to a certain extent, describes his own situation. The love of a poet for a princess, and the embarrassing circumstances with which it is accompanied, were subjects with which he was not unacquainted. The elegance and correctness of diction in this poem, cannot be surpassed; but it had faults which no one had anticipated in Goethe: it was too cold, too artificial. He had not only undergone a change, but he had passed to the opposite of his former self.

"In 1794, Goethe published his 'Wilhelm Meister,' which was received by the public with indifference; the literary world, however, prepared its ultimate success by enthusiastic laudation. The style of this work is admirable; the clearness and depth of thought it displays, are alike remarkable, but it has the one great fault of its great author—it is an imperfect whole. It does not solve the problem which forms its foundation; it is but an introduction, a beginning without an end.

"During the early part of his career, Goethe had paid but little attention to versification, though some of his most durable fame rests on the versified productions of his youth—his ballads and songs, which for melody and depth of feeling, are truly singular. He now, to exercise himself in the composition of hexameters, composed an excellent version of Reynard the Fox, in that form, of which he shortly afterwards showed himself a master, in his 'Hermann and Dorothea.' This work regained for him, in a great measure, the favour of the public; its genuine warmth of feeling, and poetic truth, were universally applauded.

"The tragedy of 'Faust,' was one of Goethe's earliest and latest labours; the first part was published in 1790, and it was not finished till 1831. This is one of the most genial works of the greatest German poet, but it is not a philosophic whole. It displays dramatic talent, but its different scenes, the

force and beauty of some of which are perhaps unequalled, were nevertheless not composed with any determinate view of their ultimate position. The idea of finding a philosophical system in this poem is ludicrous, and the volumes which have been published with that intention are only valuable as curiosities.

"Goethe did not shine in a critical capacity; he prescribed to all artists a strict imitation of the ancients; but this is at once a narrow-minded and discouraging doctrine, for every age, unless it be worthless, must have a character of its own.

"Goethe has almost invariably been described in the language of unqualified panegyric, and his character as a man is little known to foreigners. Menzel, in his '*Deutsche Literatur*,' has done some service in probing thoroughly the pretensions of Goethe; perhaps he has been somewhat rough in his manipulation. Genius is a gift of nature, but the use which we make of it is our own, and for this we may justly be brought to judgment. Goethe possessed more *influence* than any writer ever enjoyed; idolised by his countrymen, caressed in palaces, and sung in the cottage, he might have done something more than amuse. No one was ever improved by his works, none ever became less sensual, less worldly, less intriguing, less profane. Although he has touched every string of literature, nowhere does he rouse to patriotism, to religious reverence, to the domestic duties: one almost confounds the notion of right and wrong in reading his works, all seems blended and confused—amusement and the fine arts, theatres and critics, the passions and the cleverest modes of gratifying them, appear the great object of life. Let one short trait suffice: when Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph, Müller wrote a Discourse in French (*De la Gloire de Frederic*), in which he compared the Conqueror to the old Prussian hero; Goethe translated it into German; and at another time, wrote an Epithalamium for this evil genius of his country."—pp. 104—109.

Of Schiller we learn with much fairness,

"Nothing could possibly be more galling to a mind like his than the arbitrary regulations of the military institution at Stuttgart, in which he was educated. Here he wrote his Titanic poem, '*The Robbers*,' which indicates sufficiently the wild force of his character, and the despotism of the circumstances which had almost driven him to madness. This work is worse than '*Werter*,' because more unnatural: with loud pretensions to originality, it bears prominent marks of imitation.

"Francis Moor is a prosaic Richard III., exciting equal hatred, but demanding no admiration. The fame which this play obtained for him freed Schiller from the shackles of his situation, and he now was appointed to a post in connection with the theatre, at Mannheim, where he published his '*Fiesco*' and his '*Cabal and Love*.' Perhaps the peculi-

ar feature of the former is its political bearing; which forms its chief claim to originality. '*Cabal and Love*,' abounds in convulsive demonstrations of passion. To his first career of enthusiasm succeeded, with Schiller as well as with Goethe, a period of self-examination and study. His next production was '*Don Carlos*,' of which the outline is good, the plot powerful, and the execution a manifest improvement on his former works. Its versification, however, is indifferent throughout: the style keeps a middle course between his former extravagance and the lofty rhetoric of the French; the political philosophy which pervades it, is as foreign to the century which it represents, as it would be to the most distant we can imagine. It professes to be an historical picture, but it is, in fact, a work of invention; and the rude features of the poet's former muse, break everywhere through the more civilized mask he had now attempted to assume. A year after the appearance of '*Don Carlos*,' Schiller published his fragment on the history of the insurrection of the Netherlands; a subject which he had not studied very profoundly, and which he did not know how properly to treat. The duty of the true historian is, if the expression may be used, to reflect events, and not to reflect upon them. Our author now essayed the '*History of the Thirty Years' War*,' and showed that he had made considerable improvement as a historical writer; indeed his whole life was a series of improvements.

In 1798, appeared '*Wallenstein*,' a play in three parts, of which the first is not connected with the others, of which the second has no end, and the third no beginning. About this time, Schiller avowed himself a disciple of Kant, whose terminology imposed on the public to such an extent, that it was thought that he had found a key to all the difficulties in the arts and sciences. Our author's philosophical disquisitions were more than ordinarily successful, because he was, at any rate, either intelligible or elegantly obscure; but he was too abstract and refined to produce any more than a temporary impression. The negative axioms of Kant's philosophy were true, though the positive were shadowy and unsatisfactory; indeed, his whole system was sceptical, though his followers long persisted in boasting of its constructive powers.

"After the publication of '*Wallenstein*,' which was enthusiastically received both by the reading and the theatrical public, Schiller devoted himself more exclusively to the drama; and he now struck into a path which was to be intermediate between the classic and the romantic, though, in fact, it was only situated between both without being allied to either. Of his subsequent plays, '*Mary Stuart*' is one of the best; its representation is very effective, though partly at the expense of historical truth. In his '*Maid of Orleans*,' considering the romantic view which he took of the character of his heroine, the colouring of the execution was too

faint; for Schiller, though of a bold and uncompromising nature, was timid and misgiving as an artist.

"The 'Bride of Messina,' and its preface, may be looked upon as a confession which Schiller was at the trouble of making of his own imperfection; and from the latter, which betrays a complete confusion in his ideas respecting the theory of the drama, we may gather that he understood the classic principle which he sought to imitate, no better than the romantic which he wished to avoid. It is impossible to imagine a costume for this play. The chorus differs from that of the Greeks, in being divided into two interested parties, who do every thing but come to blows for their leaders. But the Greek chorus is essentially an impartial whole; and represents the ideal, contemplative spectator of the drama.

"Even the last and best play of Schiller, *William Tell*, is not free from a trace of his love of tragic antithesis; the murder of the emperor Albert is something quite foreign to the liberation of Switzerland; and it is evident that the murderer is merely introduced for the purpose of being contrasted with Tell. The local truth of this drama is extraordinary, particularly when we recollect that Schiller had never been in Switzerland: he was indebted for it, in a great measure, doubtless, to the admirable history of John von Müller.

"The lyrical poetry of Schiller has been eminently successful, both at home and abroad; and his ballads have been held up as perfect models. But in truth, this is his weakest side, and his ballads are among the worst which we possess. All his works are more or less imperfect, but these are glaringly faulty; for everywhere, even in the simple legends of old which they profess to revivify, we are troubled with his philosophic reflections and the discord of a modern nature. Had he lived longer, it is uncertain how far he might have been successful in correcting all his faults; some of them appear too deeply rooted to have been ever thoroughly eradicated. But let us conclude justly, by remembering to praise the candour which rendered him alive to his defects, and the genuine modesty which always restrained him from great pretensions."—pp. 111—114.

We cannot conclude our notice of this part of the subject, and of men so celebrated as the writers before us without entering our protest against the excessive exaggeration of praise that has followed the name of Goethe wherever it has been pronounced. If encomium from all quarters is a proof of excellence it must be a free and unbiassed encomium; but we deny that such has been the case in this instance. Of the plaudits of Germany there can be no question; and as a German writer we are happy to allow Goethe all the praise he can obtain at home. As a delineator of nature, manners, senti-

ments, opinions; as the first great reformer of the rugged style of the older poetry; as a man of vast acquirements in any or all departments of knowledge, even as a man of very high genius, we concede him every possible admiration. But we must be distinctly understood to refer to these, and any other points on which he really merits our sympathies, with a positive reservation. He is national, not universal; exquisitely elaborate rather than overflowing, the trace of study appears in every step: a giant perhaps, but in national peculiarities; a genius certainly, but of artificial life; an artist of nature, not her worshipper, that must make and fashion her image before he could adore it.

We pass over the dull, unsympathizing obscenities that disgrace some of his works, written it would seem, for their especial display: we pass over, and with sorrow and shame, the utter inability, incapacity to comprehend one single trait of delicacy, decency, and morality, that is obvious to every eye but his own. In manners and morals every nation has in its writers occasionally violated the proprieties; but all these, all worth noticing at least, were conscious of the wrong: when they lead astray their reader it is by turning him out of his direct course, into some nook or corner, and raising the veil that covers for him and them the form of corruption: the light they throw is artificial, and passes through a medium coloured by the passions, in order that he may not by the presence of purity be reminded of grossest impurity, by unsophisticated calmness of feelings of their most atrocious perversions: the pulse of shame is not extinct in their breasts, that they can rely upon the reader's callousness as confidently as on their own. We would ask, is this so with Goethe? Is not the very basis of some of his works the very theme most avoided by other writers? Does he ever hesitate to picture depravity? Has he ever shown that in painting it he was aware that the picture could not be hung up in open day, nor exposed to the public eye? What maid, what wife, what woman of all the sex could be so lost to even conventional forms as to hear the outline even of these elaborated infamies? What man, deserving the name, does not feel his judgment insulted and his pride of honour debased by being asked to dwell upon these loathsome carcasses of putrifying abomination, these nauseous public gloatings and laboured delineations of vice, so fondly dwelt upon by this spiritual dotard of sensuality.

We must avow with sincere satisfaction that the first blow has been struck at this system by a periodical of the highest rank in

England. The notice there given of the "Elective Affinities" may be fairly extended, and we have the less occasion to pollute our pages with reference to them. But if we do not envy the intellectual construction of those who can wade through the degrading mixture of filth and sluggishness, insipidity and grossness, that in such works debases the name of one born, we could have hoped, for better things; and if we are to excuse them, as alone we can, by libelling his whole nation in supposing they could possibly afford him prototypes for such displays, what are we to think of those who, in evil hour for their own name, have sought to pander to England and Europe by praising and translating those works?

And what is the atonement for these! In what does Goethe so far excel the world as to claim from them its worship for him who could "call evil good and good evil?" If the obliquity of his moral sense was such as to turn early puling into matured abomination; if seduction through the medium of the senses was his desire in youth, could the sentimental sage find a happier parallel in warping feelings into crime than by converting pathos into puerility? his love of another's wife shared with love of bread-and-butter, while the tragic muse weeps over an out-of-elbows' coat! glories shared with our own Liston in his personation of Werther.

But we are reminded of FAUST.

In what does the marvel of this consist? In what is Goethe's claim borne out to the title of the German Shakspeare? We utterly deny the epithet's correctness in the usual sense, unless the term German is to be understood as a modification. Shakspeare ruled the heart and swayed the sympathies of mankind. His thoughts lay open the intellectual world of man; his aspirations ennoble the mind. The most that Goethe does is to surprise: where he talks of feeling, it is to drone or to sneer; his powers

are fantastical, his imagination half cold. The scenes of nature, actual or imaginative, the pulse of the heart, the yearnings of emotion, all are merely elaborately beautiful; all are perverted from simplicity to artificial life.

We are far from denying a high degree of merit to this poem; but we contend it is not so pre-eminent as it has been made to appear by injudicious praise on the one hand, and weak consenting credulity on the other. We are well aware of the praise of real judges as bestowed on this performance, and of none more than Mr. Hayward, a scholar, a critic, a man of unquestioned taste and genius. But though our Journal has been warm in commendation of the Faust, we must admit that there are material drawbacks; to the eulogiums we ourselves would bestow much has been added by others, and much too that requires serious modification. We have already stated that artificiality is Goethe's forte; and however repugnant we must feel to strip, even if able, one leaf of laurel from the Mighty Dead, and such in truth he is, our task, since we have undertaken it, must be done, so far as our space will allow in the present paper.

We shall take, too, our own version, since the close and spirited translation of Blackie is not before us, and that of Tracey is at times, though not often, an improvement, may we say it, on particular passages. As to Anster's, so constantly praised, it is one half at least the translator's own; an absolute paraphrase, and a very excellent one in general, but still a paraphrase of the original; some of its passages running to nearly, and sometimes more than to, double the length of the German. Thus substituting beauty for conciseness.

Nothing can well be more beautiful than the original dedication. The man of genius and the artist are both at the summit of their craft in this.

DEDICATION.

"Again ye swarm around me, shadowy train!
Once wont in youth this sorrowing gaze to meet;
And will ye now, for my behest, remain?
Still shall my heart's forgotten pulses beat?
Ye throng me round—well, rule me once again,
Since thus thro' mist and gloom my soul ye greet:
While drinks my breast again, with youthful bound,
The magic breath your presence breathes around.

"Ye bring with ye the forms of other days
Where many a cherished image glads my eyes:
And still, like faded, half-remember'd lays
Past memories of love and friendships rise.
Each pang renewed, each plaint recalled, betrays
What labyrinths wandering life supplies;
And mourns the loved of brighter hours, o'ercast
And shorn of bliss, who leave me, here, the last.

" They hear no more these closing notes of song,
 The hearts for whom I waked its earlier lay ;
 For ever cold that sympathizing throng,
 And ah ! th' applauding echoes died away.
 My sorrows mourn a stranger-crowd among,
 Whose very praises sadden and o'erweigh ;
 And all to which my strains had gladness borne
 If yet surviving, far asunder torn.

" And now my soul unwonted yearning owns
 For that still calm, the spirit's phantom-reign :
 And float and fall in undetermined tones
 My feeble numbers, like th' Æolian strain.
 A cloud comes o'er me ; tear on tear bemoans,
 And yielding manhood's pride of soul is vain.
 All that is left me, distant seems to be,
 And all I've lost,—my sole reality."

We take the next passage as an instance of the artificial : the Poet here speaking is not, we should say, a Poet in the best sense of the word. He speaks artistically, and beautifully doubtless, but he is the mere craftsman throughout the speech : a sense of nature pervades the whole ; but the er-

ror, and this reigns in every line, is that, unlike the real poet, the true man of genius, he converses the order of things and perverts the real feeling ; for he everywhere turns nature into the artificial, while true passion and genius turn the artificial itself into nature.

THE POET.

" Oh tell me not of that detested throng,
 The scattered senses flee their very gaze :
 But hide me from the crowd, that bear along
 The soul reluctant in unending maze.
 No, bear me where beneath unchanging Heaven
 Untainted joys alone the Poet sate :
 Where love and friendship to the heart have given
 The Godhead's power—to summon and create.
 Ah ! all that gushes from the spirit's deeps ;
 All that the lip's low-murmured ordeal tries ;
 All it rejects perchance, and all it keeps,
 Too oft in some unguarded moment dies.
 Oft too for years th' unformed conception sleeps,
 Then waked to full perfection meets the eyes.
 The brilliant for the passing hour is made :
 The pure remains, thro' ages undecayed."

This, it may be answered, is in character ; it is so, but this is our proposition ; it is too much in character for the truth of genius : and it is the mere artist alone that looks on Nature only with an eye to art.

The next extract is liable to precisely the same objection. Again the glory of nature sinks down after the tenth line to the pathos of art ; and though the skill of the writer elevates the subject to the close of the specimen, it is only to the praise of THE ART.

Nor can it be efficiently objected to us, we conceive, that it represents art as triumphing over nature : because the former is ever compelled to work by means of the latter ; its only power is to detect the powers of the last, and to bring at best one of its forces to direct another. As a whole, nature must be more grand than art, for it includes art. To pass from the first, then, to the second, is to lower the tone.

THE POET.

" Begone and seek thee out another slave—
 What, shall the Bard his proudest duty wave !
 The sacred right of man, by nature lent,
 Resigning basely to thy will's control !
 How rules he every subject soul ?
 How does he govern every element ?
 Is't not that harmonies, his breast o'erflowing,
 Sweep the world back with them when homeward showing ?
 When nature her eternal length of thread
 Spins heedless on, to keep the spindle going :
 When Being's inharmonious mass is spread
 Confused, rude discords only throwing ;

Who portions out the ever-flowing strain,
 Infusing soul, with rhythmic art restored ?
 Who bids each bosom own the general reign
 Of consecration, in one proud accord ?
 Who bids the storm with mortal passions rave,
 The sun-set dyes in sacred feelings glow ?
 Or heaps the lovely flowers spring largely gave
 But in the loved-one's path to throw ?
 Who from the green unmeaning leaves has given
 A wreath that every merit well repays ?
 Who grasps Olympus ? who unites with Heaven ?
 'Tis Man—whose might the Poet's soul displays."

Our next extract is far more strongly illustrative of the same tendency. The Poet does not feel as other men would : it is again not nature that swells in his bosom, but the sacrifice of this to his craft. Every man but Goethe would have made the native feelings the first and leading object : with him it is the second. He is the mere artist and forgets the "celare artem," the concealment of his object. The man would have recalled the crowd of pulses, the artist only could have talked of them as a crowd of songs. The burst of youth would never have done this ; still less the remembered enthusiasm of after-life, that would have felt how poor and cold and vain and artificial were even the most impassioned themes, in comparison of the overflowing gush of feelings that struggled, and how vainly do they struggle ! for utterance even then. The close is far superior, and confessedly so, for it returns to the one mighty impulse.

THE POET.

"Oh ! give me now once more the days,
 Th' enlarging senses youth bestowed ;
 When from their fount th' o'ercrowding lays
 In one unbroken freshness flowed.
 When the world lay in mist concealed ;
 Each bud with marvel-promise sheening ;
 And I the thousand flow'rets gleaning
 So richly decking every field.
 Nought then was mine ; I wanted nought ;
 Truth my sole wish, a dream in every
 thought !
 Give all th' unbounded pulse to rove ;
 The ecstasy, o'erwrought to pain :
 The strength of Hate—the might of Love—
 Oh, give me now my youth again !

Of the charm of these passages in the original, (any more than of our own feebleness in rendering them) we can entertain no doubt ; they are beautiful, they are artistical, but to the breast of man they should have been UNIVERSAL.

The next passage is elaborately gorgeous : but if the wonders of Creation were the theme, why confine it to the mere terrestrial phenomena ? The opening would indicate the necessity of more : but it opens so only to disappoint us. The planetary and other

systems were known fully at the time this was written, yet they are not referred to.

RAPHAEL.

"The sun prolongs, with wonted force,
 Thro' sister-spheres the choral song ;
 And, circling his appointed course,
 He rolls in thunder-sweep along :
 The angels hail th' inspiring sight,
 Nor strive to scan unfathomed sway ;
 Thy mystic works proceed in might
 Supreme, as in their earliest day."

GABRIEL.

"And swift, beyond conception's range,
 Swift-circling whirls the glorious earth ;
 And paradisaal splendours change
 To night's deep glooms and phantom-birth.
 The foaming ocean's boundless flow
 Heaves the fixed rock and depths profound :
 Yet rock and ocean onward go,
 Borne on the sphere's eternal round."

MICHAEL.

"And rival storms, from earth to main
 From main to earth contending hurled,
 Weave, in confounding strife, a chain
 Of giant ferment o'er the world—
 And devastating lightnings glow
 Before the thunder's fated way ;
 But, Lord ! with Thee thy servants know
 Alone the calm of changeless day !

ALL.

"The angels hail th' inspiring sight
 Tho' none shall scan thy viewless sway ;
 And all thy works proceed in might
 Supreme, as on their earliest day !"

There is nothing here like the grandeur of

"The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,"
 even of Shakspeare's age, and still less of his genius.

We have only room for Margaret's song, exquisite in its simplicity, elaborate, and perfect throughout. We will not ask, Is simplicity so simple as never to rise in the breast of enthusiastic devotion to anything beyond the idiomatic phrases, matchless as they are of the kind, which Goethe has selected ?

MARGARET — alone.

"My peace is gone
 My heart weighs o'er ;

I regain it never,
Never more.

When he is not near
My grave seems here :
And Earth, and all
It offers, gall.

My wretched head
Is agony :
My drooping spirit
Sinks in me.

My peace is gone ;
My heart weighs o'er ;
I regain it never,
Never more !

From the casement sole
My glance would greet him :
And out I wander
But to meet him.

His stately tread ;
His bearing high ;
His mouth of smiles ;
His might of eye ;—

His voice, entoning
Music's bliss ;
His hands' soft touch ;
And oh ! his kiss !

My peace is gone ;
My heart weighs o'er ;
I regain it never,
Never more.

For him my bosom
Will fondly glow :
Then could I clasp him,
Embracing him so ;

Still kissing him
How fain would I,
Lost in his kisses
Die, oh die !"

We cannot go further now. But the distinction between Shakspeare and Goethe is boundless. Great as he was in art, great in German niceties and peculiarities of feeling, Goethe was the great artist after all: his very May-day night contains nothing beyond this; it refers to life rather than to nature, and by preference. His simplicity, delicacy, and skill are wonderful, and his sweetness and mastery over his own language perhaps unsurpassable: but his various studies, niceties, and affectations of universal learning, and of universal wisdom dropping hourly from his mouth, overlaid the real powers of the German. He could not contain every thing in one. Goethe was only the Shakspeare of artificial life; and Germany we think will surpass him yet.

ART. VII.—1. Schneller. *Geschichte der Oestreichischen Monarchie.* (History of the Austrian Monarchy.) Freiburgh, 1831.

2. Kombat. *Authentische Actenstücke aus den Archiven des deutschen Bundes.*—(Authentic Pieces from the Archives of the German Confederacy.) Leipzig, 1838.

3. Garnier. *Der Berliner Congress.* Lond. 1836.

THE recent treaty between England and Austria as concerns the commerce and navigation of both countries is one of the few recent political measures which bear in themselves the germ of happy consequences. It places the vessels of both countries on a perfectly reciprocal footing. All Austrian trade-ships coming from the ports of the Danube, are admitted into British ports on the same footing as British vessels, as regards their cargo; and, on the other hand all English vessels, arriving in Austrian ports are exactly on the same footing with Austrian ships, the same privileges from all foreign countries being accorded to them; so that our merchants are allowed to transport the produce of foreign countries and colonies direct from the native country of the produce to Austria. England has at all times derived the most important advantages from her commercial treaties; and we are glad to perceive in this case, as well as by the treaty recently concluded between England and Turkey, that the maxims by which we attained to our national greatness are not altogether neglected and forgotten.—We would not withhold this frank approval of a measure effected by those whose political opinions are opposed to our own; nor are we by any means inclined to deny the prosperous consequences derivable from the Austrian treaty; though we cannot consider that treaty as a full compensation for the numerous failures and losses suffered both commercially and politically during the administration of our present ministers. We cannot, in truth, regard it as a sufficient compensation for the series of disgraces and disappointments brought upon us by the constant labours of French and other diplomacy, which has succeeded in continually duping the English cabinet for years, and rendering it a kind of political Georges Dandin, contributing to his own disgraces and applauding those who degrade him.—Further, we cannot see in the Austrian treaty a sufficient compensation for the important losses which have been inflicted on our eastern trade, especially since England has so much neglected her interests as to permit a misunderstanding with the Shah of

Persia to grow up into complete defiance and prohibitions of the produce of our industry in the Persian dominions; for they are virtually prohibited, whatever may be asserted to the contrary.

The Austrian treaty is not more efficient, as we noticed before, to compensate for the losses we have experienced by the commercial league of Germany: and as the organs of the ministry have often boastfully inquired, "What will the vaunted commercial league do now?" we shall endeavour in the course of the present article to give a sufficient answer to the question. We need not abuse the patience of our readers with enumerating the voluminous register of mistakes and failures committed in the course of a few years, and for which the Austrian treaty is to prove a compensation; in avoiding this we but imitate the discreet silence of its noble author upon those questions, when, himself stooping to imitate the greatest orator of Rome upon his return from his Sicilian proconsulship, he praises his own merits with becoming eloquence through his own honoured organs of the ministerial press. We do not object to this; for, undoubtedly, the best applause a man can receive is from his own conscience, *i. e.* himself.—Still greater praise is due to the noble secretary for doing good in secret by adopting, without acknowledgment, the regulations of his predecessors as the general ground of the treaty—a proof of political sagacity, too, fully borne out by the fact that the only material deviation from preceding conventions, the only thing new and original, is a clause that savours of impracticability at the moment. In truth the principle which prevails in this last treaty was established between England and Austria in that of December 21, 1829. There are, however, in the present treaty some new points introduced, concerning especially the introduction of products from countries which belong neither to the Austrian nor the British dominion. The reader may best judge of these by the text of the whole treaty, as follows.

"ART. I.—From the date of the ratification of this present treaty, British vessels arriving in, or departing from, the ports of the Emperor of Austria, and Austrian vessels arriving, or departing from, the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and those of all the possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, shall be subject to no other or higher duties or charges of whatsoever nature they may be, than those which are actually or may hereafter be, imposed on national vessels, on their entering into, or departing from such ports respectively.

"ART. II.—All productions of Austria, in-

cluding the said productions which may be exported through the northern outlet of the Elbe and the eastern outlet of the Danube, and which may be imported into the ports of the United Kingdom and the possessions of her Britannic Majesty; and also all the productions of the United Kingdom and possessions of her Britannic Majesty which may be imported into the ports of Austria, shall enjoy reciprocally, in all respects, the same privileges and immunities and may be imported and exported exactly in the same manner, in vessels of the one as in vessels of the other of the high contracting parties.

"ART. III.—All commodities not the productions of the two respective states, or their possessions, and which may be legally imported from the ports of Austria, including those of the Danube, into the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, of Malta and Gibraltar, and other possessions of her Britannic Majesty, in Austrian vessels, shall be subject to the same duties only which would be paid on these same articles if they were imported in British vessels.

"Her Britannic Majesty extends, by this treaty, to Austrian navigation and trade the full benefits of the two British acts of Parliament passed on the 28th August, 1833, regulating the trade and navigation of the United Kingdom and British possessions, as well as all other privileges of commerce and navigation now enjoyed, or to be hereafter granted, by existing laws, by orders in council, or by treaties to the most favoured nations.

"ART. IV.—All Austrian vessels arriving from the ports of the Danube as far as Galacz inclusively, shall, together with their cargoes, be admitted into the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the possessions of her Britannic Majesty, exactly in the same manner as if such vessels came direct from Austrian ports, with all the privileges and immunities stipulated by the present treaty of navigation and commerce. In like manner, all British vessels, with their cargoes, shall continue to be placed upon the same footing as Austrian vessels, whenever such British vessels shall enter into or depart from the same ports.

"ART. V.—In consideration of British vessels arriving direct from other countries than those belonging to the high contracting parties, being admitted with their cargoes into Austrian ports, without paying any other duties whatever than those paid by Austrian vessels, so also the productions of the soil and industry of the parts of Asia or Africa situated within the straits of Gibraltar, which shall have been brought into the ports of Austria, may be re-exported from thence in Austrian vessels directly into British ports, in the same manner, and with the same privileges as to all manner of duties and immunities, as if these productions were imported from Austrian ports in British vessels.

"ART. VI.—All commodities and articles of commerce which, according to the stipulations of the present treaty, or by the existing laws and ordinances of the respective

states, may be legally imported into or exported from the states and possessions of the two high contracting parties, whether under the British or the Austrian flag, shall, in like manner, be subject to the same duties, whether imported by national vessels or by those of the other state; and upon all commodities and articles of commerce which may be legally exported from the ports of either state, the same premiums, drawbacks, and advantages shall be accorded, whether they are exported by the vessels of the one or by those of the other state.

“Art. VII.—All commodities and articles of commerce, which shall be imported, placed in depôt, or warehoused in the ports of the states and possessions of the two high contracting parties, so long as they shall remain in depôt or warehouse, and shall not be used for internal consumption, shall be subject, upon re-exportation, to the same treatment and duties, whether that re-exportation shall be made in the vessels of the one or those of the other state.

“Art. VIII.—No priority or preference shall be given, directly or indirectly, by the government of either country, or by any company, or corporation, or agent acting on its behalf, or under its authority, in the purchase of any article the production of the soil, industry, or art of either of the two states and their possessions imported into the ports of the other, on account of the nationality of the vessel in which such articles may be imported, it being the true intent and meaning of the high contracting parties that no difference or distinction whatever shall be made in this respect.

“Art. IX.—Grants the privileges of the most favoured nations to Austrian vessels trading with the East Indies.

“Art. X.—Restricts the coasting trade of both states to national vessels.

“Art. XI.—Confers on the commerce and navigation of the two states the privileges enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and provides that neither power shall ‘grant any favours, privileges, or immunities whatsoever, in matters of commerce and navigation, to the subjects of any other state, which shall not be also at the same time extended to the subjects of the one or of the other of the high contracting parties,’ on the same terms.

“Art. XII.—Confirms Article VII. of the convention of Paris relating to the commerce of the Ionian Islands.

“Art. XIII.—Provides that this treaty shall remain in force for ten years, till the 31st December, 1848.

“Art. XIV.—This treaty to be ratified.”

With regard to the condition of our national trade and commerce, we do not believe that this treaty will exercise any material influence upon it. No doubt it will give new life to our intercourse with the Austrian provinces, and direct attention towards the branches of commerce peculiarly connected

with that intercourse; but such changes happen very often in the commercial world, and they are often modified by circumstances of a very inferior description: so that the Austrian treaty, however deserving our acknowledgment, offers, in this point of view, nothing very remarkable. A very different effect, however, presents itself with regard to the influence of the treaty on the *Austrian* trade, and on the *continental* commerce at large. All vessels under the Austrian flag, coming from the ports of the Danube down to Galacz, are to be admitted with their cargoes into our ports on an equal footing with British vessels. This stipulation, if ever it becomes practicable, will give a novel and most important character to the navigation of the Danube. This newly-found commercial road, extending almost 2000 miles in length, (from Ulm to the Black Sea,) is of high importance to the *Eastern trade generally*, and becomes, with regard to that great division of commerce, what the Rhine is now for Western Germany. The privileges bestowed by the treaty on the ports of the Danube will prove a sufficient impulse. Austria will contribute, by all means in her power, to favour the navigation of that river, for the benefit of her industry in general, and for the purpose of promoting the trade of Hungary in particular. Hungary is the most precious jewel of the Austrian crown. The extreme fertility of her soil and the abundant variety of her produce; the advantages of her numerous rivers and lakes, forming natural canals from all parts of the country to the Danube; and, above all, her geographical position, as intermediate between the European and Eastern nations; all these qualifications of the kingdom of Hungary render her highly deserving the efforts made by Austria to rouse the slumbering powers of her industry, and to raise her to that distinguished place in the mercantile world which she ought to hold, for her own interest and the advantage of Europe. The free admission of vessels coming from the Hungarian ports of the Danube into British ports opens the market of the world to the produce of Hungary; and this circumstance will be sufficient to call forth the industrious spirit of that country, which, possessing the most ample resources, has wanted nothing but such an impulse to begin a new era of social existence.

It is of little consequence that the Hungarian territory does not immediately border on the sea; for the opportunity afforded to navigation of the lower part of the Danube renders the countries situated on its banks as open to maritime intercourse as if they were on the sea; and the ports of the Da-

nube, (*Donau-Häfen*;) from Vienna, or rather from *Ofen* down to the Black Sea, (as *Pezth*, *Temeswar*, *Peterwaradin*, *Senlin*;) may be regarded as *really* sea ports. It is true that Hungarian industry, in agriculture as well as in manufactures, occupies still a very subordinate degree; it is, however, well known that the culture of grapes and tobacco, the manufactories for furriery and colouring materials, (crap,) and those of fire-arms, (in *Ofen*, *Pezth*, and *Temeswar*,) are marked points, and will go far to establish the prosperity of that country. We do not say that this prosperity will be an immediate result of the treaty; but it will result in time from the impulse given by that treaty to the intercourse on the Danube.

Austria has extended, with our consent, the reciprocal advantages of the treaty likewise to those ports of the Danube which are below her own territory, and belong to the dominion of *souzerain* princes, tributaries indeed to the Ottoman empire, but who govern their own provinces with sovereign authority. The Austrian government has, doubtless, previously satisfied itself with regard to the ratification of these princes; but there is little fear of contradiction on their part, since they are all acutely aware of their own interests, as connected with their share in the conditions. Austria has, however, given a proof of her sagacity and foresight, in stipulating that the Danube ports, down to *Galacz*, (*i. e.* to the Russian frontiers,) shall be included in the treaty; for by this stipulation she has foreseen and provided for a future connection of the commercial relations founded upon her own treaty with England, and those resulting from the recent treaty between England and Turkey. She has, at the same time, attained another object, in imposing upon the above mentioned *souzerain* princes of the Sultan a certain obligation which hereafter will become the link of a closer intercourse. Among those princes may be specified Prince *Milosch* of *Servia*, who wants nothing but a more extended dominion to approach nearer to a comparison with the *Czar Peter*. He has created the nucleus of a future state, which may, perhaps, rise to unexpected greatness, should circumstances favour its intended development. The prince's efforts to civilize his people and prepare them for future prosperity deserve the highest praise.

Servia, a *terra incognita*, is growing up with silent but astonishing rapidity, and, with *Dalmatia*, into high political importance. *Servia*, which, twenty years ago, was, with regard to its intellectual and industrial culture almost barbarous, has made immense progress in public instruction, administrative

order, and industrious activity. Doctor *Münster*, of *Augsburg*, has been engaged to come to *Servia*, in order to establish schools and other institutions for public instruction. The administration of justice has been highly improved by dividing the country into districts, and providing each with an administrative and judicial tribunal, controlled by a central authority. Encouragement has been given to commerce and industry: and Prince *Milosch* has sent agents to the different continental capitals, and likewise to *London*, in order to establish commercial connections between *Servia* and other countries; a considerable transaction, for instance, took place a year ago, between a *Servian* agent and a *London* company, concerning a quantity of materials for ship-building.

If the results of these efforts have not yet been sufficient to place *Servia* high in the political and commercial world, they have nevertheless deserved and obtained the attention of several cabinets of Europe. *Russia* and *Austria* have struggled for the prevailing influence with Prince *Milosch*; but it would appear he has succeeded in maintaining his independence, and enters into no special obligation with either of these powers. But however he may have been induced to favour *Russia* in particular cases, in order to avoid dangerous collisions, the interests of *Servia* are rather connected with *Austria*. The aim of the former must be to obtain an independent position as regards the Ottoman empire, and to become, with the aid of time and circumstances, of some, though but minor importance, in the diplomacy of Europe; this can only be obtained by the aid of *Austria*.

The position of the other principalities, *souzerains* to Turkey, is very similar to that of *Servia*; they are all in a state of semi-barbarism, and in their political and social infancy; they all aspire to a higher degree of civilisation and political emancipation from Turkey. But though *Servia* is one of the smallest of these states, and less important with regard to her actual forces, she is the only one that makes visible and consistent efforts towards her objects, and it is for that reason we have mentioned her above the other, more extended, and with regard to their present state more important principalities. The latter offer few substantive features, and we need only add that all these last principalities are in a condition which renders the epoch of the Austrian treaty a regenerative moment in their social life; as, in virtue of Art. 4 of that treaty, they are for the first time concerned in a formal commercial transaction, which turns the attention and the interest of England—the queen of commerce—towards them.

Undoubtedly so shrewd and active a politician as Prince Milosch will do all in his power for the purpose of attracting the mercantile navy of Austria and obtaining his share of the advantages resulting from Art. 4 of the treaty; a share which, with time and opportunity, may become very material. The importance of Servia will strongly affect Greece. But the encouragement of the navigation of the Danube, resulting from the Austrian treaty, will exercise its principal influence upon the condition of German commerce and industry. The dominion of the Danube and its dependent streams comprises the most industrious provinces of Germany; Suabia, a part of Franconia, Bavaria, Tyrol, Steyermark, Carinthia, and the Archduchy of Austria.

We trust to explain in the course of this article the actual views of Austria, to unite the commercial interests of all these countries and direct their intercourse towards her own dominions. The fact that many of the countries bordering on the Danube are now bound by the Prussian League, cannot form an obstacle to her views; for the advantages which she will be enabled to offer them are far more important than those resulting from the League, and they will in consequence probably withdraw from it at the earliest opportunity: this is not far distant, as the first term of its existence is at hand. It is evident that all the efforts of that Union to become an independent power in the commercial world, and to satisfy the industrious wishes and wants of its members, will be vain and unsuccessful so long as the League cannot succeed in uniting with its territory the countries which border immediately on the sea-coast. The Prussian ports on the Baltic are so far distant from the commercial and industrious movement of Germany that they by no means obviate the want of an immediate contact with seafaring nations. The League remains therefore in a state of dependency upon those countries which have the advantage of immediate communication with the sea; and these last, standing in no want of the services of the League, whilst this needs their concurrence for admission to the sea-ports, are entitled to prescribe the conditions of that admission, to which the League is obliged to yield. The principal ports of the German Ocean, Hamburgh, Bremen, the whole coast of Hanover, have to this day resisted the Union; and they will always resist, because their dominions possess such great advantages over those of the latter. It is only with their permission that the League can take a share in the maritime and universal trade, and without

their assistance it would be confined almost to its own frontiers. This is indeed but a state of half-existence for a commercial institution; and the industrious countries which have formed the League are so fully aware of this great advantage, that they are above all desirous of an opportunity to obtain a free admission to the sea, and, consequently, to universal commerce.

We may notice, by the way, that these remarks tend to illustrate the double position in our last number; namely, that the commercial policy of Prussia in the case of the League, was essentially erroneous and selfish; and that though it did for a time, as we noticed, aid the commerce of a part of Germany, yet that commerce was artificial in its origin, and therefore probably will be contracted in duration. Our own opinion of the countries in question seeking to share in the bolder scheme presented under Austrian auspices is shared by the able correspondent of a morning paper high in the confidence of government, who, however, assails our last article with no measured warmth of language: *tantæne animis celestibus iræ?*

But whether the League be dissolved, or permanent, hereafter, we would observe that neither case affects the question of arresting in the outset the acknowledged injuries it has done to our commerce hitherto.

To return: Austria having established, by the treaty in question, her intercourse with the country which presides over the navigation of all nations, can offer to the states alluded to advantages which they have looked for in vain from the League. She can open to them the Mediterranean through the port of Trieste; she can open to them the Black Sea through the Danube; and the ports of the latter being entitled, in virtue of the treaty, to a free and unrestrained intercourse with the ports of Great Britain, are for the German States gates opening into the domain of universal commerce; the more so, as the water-road of the Danube is accessible for almost all Germany; the range of the Danube and its dependent streams being not only extremely extensive in itself, but comprising also the countries situated in the neighbourhood of the Elbe; since a railroad from Budweis to Linz has brought these two rivers into intimate connection.

Such are the general and principal views which the Austrian Treaty opens to the continental trade. We shall have an opportunity of developing some of these more particularly in the course of our article; but we repeat that the treaty, however advantageous in itself, will not exercise a *great*

and *immediate* influence on the commercial and industrious state of England.

The ministerial organs in truth have not only much exaggerated the commercial and industrial importance of the treaty itself, but they have endeavoured to present it in a point of view which utterly misstates the political condition of Austria. It has been boldly and broadly intimated that the treaty is the result of a victory won by Whig policy in its conflict with the conservative spirit prevailing in Austria; and that the latter, filled with panic terror by the revolutionary events in France, Belgium, and the Peninsula, and by our own former liberal tendency, had now been *reassured*; nay, that she has been converted to somewhat of Radicalism by the able diplomacy of our agents! "Our own liberal policy and reforms (these are the authentic words of a semi-official periodical,) had alarmed Austria and thrown her altogether into the arms of Russia; but now Austria having recovered from that panic-horror of revolution into which the events of the last ten years had thrown her, Prince Metternich and his sovereign have both become alive to the encroachments of Russia beyond the Danube, and our diplomatists have taken the earliest and best advantage of their feelings to conclude a treaty defending the joint interests of Austria and England."

These words, apparently trivial, are no less extravagant than unjust. They are intended to exaggerate, at the expense of Austria and her ministers, the talents and merits of our own; but this language serves only to compromise our national dignity and provokes ridicule in the continental cabinets. We have always regarded Austria as the most solid and estimable of the continental powers; and a close and intimate alliance with her has ever been considered the most powerful basis for maintaining the political and social interests of England. But there is little hope that such an alliance between England and Austria as now formed can be permanent. A deadly contradiction and discordance exists between the leading principles of Whig government and the political system of Austria; and the great statesman whose genius rules the Austrian empire will never consent to compromise his *conservative* principles.

Nothing in truth can be more false or erroneous than the impression indirectly sought to be introduced into the official interpretations of the treaty; namely, that the Austrian government in concluding it had made some concessions to the political opinions of our diplomatists, or that it had in the slightest degree relinquished its ancient

maxims of conservative policy. Those maxims have been for several generations the basis of her governmental system, and to them she owes her greatness; with them, as with a spiritual tie, she has linked together the various nations and countries forming her empire, uniting them in one powerful organic system, by which she has become the arbiter of European politics. The Austrian treaty might indeed have been, under different circumstances, the first step towards the future establishment of an intimate and more important alliance of the political as well as commercial interests of both countries.

But in considering the real nature and origin of the treaty before us, a single glance on the political position of Austria will be sufficient to show the error of representing her as agitated by panic-terror during a period when she most strikingly displayed her superiority to such emotions. Far from trembling or throwing herself, as pretended, into the arms of Russia or any other protecting power, she has continually exhibited, during the agitations of Europe, a dignity and moderation inseparable from the consciousness of real power and greatness. The behaviour of the Austrian cabinet with regard to the political agitations which since 1830 have taken place in Germany, is in itself sufficiently interesting to deserve a careful consideration.

Many circumstances then contributed to complicate the task of the Austrian government in the case of the political convulsions of Germany: she had not merely to resist the anarchical efforts of the German demagogues;—this was indeed comparatively easy,—for German spirit is always adverse to the naturalization of that exotic poison, denominated revolutionary propagandism. The Germans are essentially gifted with a methodical and reflecting disposition, which unfits them for becoming tools to the ambitious schemes of demagogues. Those who had been infected by the revolutionary contagion remained isolate; and as their projects found no sympathy with the people, the little chance they had of success could create no serious uneasiness in the mind of Austria. But much more difficult and delicate was the position of this power with regard to her ambiguous ally and rival Prussia. The cabinet of Berlin, far from assisting the efforts of Austria for pacifying the territory of the German confederation, did, on the contrary, all it could to raise difficulties in the way of that pacification; and whilst Prussia dissembling in the German Diet as well as in her conferences with the Austrian cabinet, pretended great zeal for

the maintenance of the Austrian system in Germany, she was actually endeavouring on the other hand, to flatter the adversaries of that system by a display of mock liberalism, and by the arts of political coquetry towards the spirit of innovation rising in Southern Germany. Besides these difficulties, from a quarter from whence she ought to have experienced the promptest assistance, Austria was obliged to deal with the whims of the king of Bavaria, who, having been formerly deeply compromised in the political intrigues that tended to overthrow the confederative constitution of Germany, still retained many reminiscences and connections of that period; and, jealous in maintaining the show of sovereignty, often crossed the most important measures for the mere purpose of satisfying his vanity. The most difficult part, however, of the obligations of Austria during the period in question was, the maintenance of her political system in the legislation of the German confederacy, which was exposed to continual attacks and threatened with mortal encroachments on the part of the legislative chambers of Southern Germany, where the spirit of unprincipled innovation, and a wild tendency to destroy the ancient foundations of social and political organization prevailed. Austria obtained success without any display; she protected her own territory and the dominion of the German confederacy against the revolutionary contagion by moderation, prevention, and energetic resolution. Public opinion in Germany has judged with equity between the conduct of other governments and that of Austria. The discontent and disaffection created by the interference of governmental authority with the anarchical or innovating tendencies of political parties have manifested themselves exclusively against those, whilst the Austrian cabinet, having always maintained its dignity, is regarded with esteem and even affection; for the ancient ties of loyalty and mutual regard, which, during the period of the German empire, linked the interests of the House of Austria with those of the German nation at large, are not yet forgotten; that feeling of ancient fidelity, with which they regarded the emperor as their feudal sovereign and supreme chief, still lives in the hearts of the German princes and nobles; and neither the machinations of scheming rivals, nor the mania of innovation in the democratic parties, can eradicate it; thus the interests of Germany at large are intimately connected with those of Austria. By her influence also several new institutions have been introduced into the German confederacy, and all of them have the

unquestionable tendency of doing justice towards all classes and parties. We take as an instance, the Arbitrary Court of the German Confederacy. This was created, October, 1834, in order to give to the subjects of the constitutional states protection against every abuse of governmental power, and to settle lawfully and peaceably any difficulty arising between the governments and the legislative chambers.

By a system of equal policy and moderation Italy has been to some considerable degree reconciled to Austrian supremacy, especially by the temperate conduct of the latter power in the last revolutionary movements subsequent to 1830. The states more immediately under her sway thus conciliated, and particularly by the well-judged amnesty of the present emperor, the neighbouring countries also have been satisfied to consider the Austrian power as the arbiter of their differences and difficulties.

Such is Austria, uniting under her immediate dominion some of the most flourishing countries of Europe, with a population of more than thirty millions, and ruling over the destinies of two great nations besides her own proper dominion; her dignity and influential authority established and maintained in every cabinet of the world, her alliance solicited even by those who cannot conceal their dislike, and her power feared by her enemies. Such is Austria, the chief and foremost of that political system which is called conservative, because it aims at preserving the natural and organic development of the life and of the destiny of nations and countries.

Prince Metternich manifested his opinions concerning commercial leagues in general, even at the time of the conferences at Vienna in 1820; and especially explained himself most decidedly with regard to the project of Prussia, as to a commercial league between the members of the German confederacy; declaring without any ambiguity, that he considered it by no means advantageous to the confederated states. The Austrian cabinet has always remained adverse to that union; for it has ever been the prevailing opinion at Vienna, that Prussia has created it for the purpose of increasing her influence in the interior affairs of the smaller states of Germany, and of counterbalancing, by cunning and intrigues, the open prevalence of Austria.

It is in the most complete accordance with our convictions concerning the Austrian policy, to consider the treaty as concluded on the part of Austria in order to oppose to the system of commercial leagues or unions, such as it has been established in

Germany, a system of commercial *treaties*. The most striking difference exists between these two. The former (that of leagues) is founded upon the principle of ruling, by confederative laws, all the commercial affairs of every country comprised in the league; it binds all the members of the league, with regard to their national intercourse, and obliges them to confine their commerce and industry within the bounds of the confederated legislation; it compels them also to bar, by duties and difficulties, the produces of other countries from their frontiers. But the worst consequence of the system is, that it aims unavoidably at ruling, besides the commercial affairs, the politics also of the members; commerce and politics are in a necessary and natural reciprocity; and as the more powerful member of every union has always the advantage over the weaker, the commercial leagues tend directly towards a system of commercial and political tutorship, exercised by the more powerful over the rest. It is quite otherwise with the system of commercial treaties, which, founded on the principle of leaving to every country the free and independent management of its own affairs in commerce and politics; and exacting only a reciprocity of free intercourse between the contracting nations; it remains at the disposition of each of these to conclude with foreign countries as many similar or other treaties as they find convenient. Whilst commercial leagues are only conducive to emulation, jealousy, and discord, commercial treaties are to be regarded as the direct steps towards universal intercourse.

It was not, however, our own intention to intimate that the conduct of Prussia had politically no tendencies whatever to the general benefit of Europe. Anxious always to increase her influence, so cruelly crushed for a time, she took advantage of the treaty that had wrested from Austria the actual sovereignty of Germany, and as the states previously under the influence of the latter grew and strengthened in their novel independence, Prussia, by adroitly seizing the new-born desire for commerce and manufactures, has certainly converted the league, not only into a commercial but a political engine also to aid her resolves of emancipation from Russian influence; and, as we have already stated in a previous Number (Oct., 1838,) her policy has been completely successful. She has on all occasions resisted the attempted encroachments of Russia, whether to steal into the German confederacy as sovereign of Courland, or to extend her already enormous and ill-gotten

sway over Poland; as she formerly refused, in spite of the family connection, to assist Russia in the campaigns against Turkey. "The emperor relies on your majesty's support," said the Russian intriguer, "because he is your son-in-law." "That is true," replied Frederick William, "but I do not give it because I am his imperial majesty's father-in-law."

The object of Prince Metternich in the renewal or formation of the treaty, is doubtless in part to strike a blow at the union itself.

A more than sufficient compensation would be found for several of the states included in it if they could be included in the Austrian treaty with England. Such is especially the case with Bavaria, the most powerful of the German states after Prussia. Every one at all acquainted with the trade and commerce in Eastern Germany, and especially with the particular nature of the Bavarian industry, will perceive at a single glance how seductive such a temptation must appear to Bavaria. The advantages she derives from the union are not to be compared with the important consequences obtainable if she could send her produce through Tyrol and the Adriatic seaports (Triest, Venice, &c.) to every country which wants them. The example of Bavaria would be in itself an inducement for the smaller states; the latter could be induced to prefer a treaty with Austria and England to their union; especially those smaller countries which are bordering on the Baltic and the German Ocean.

We regard the approaching term of the Prussian union as affording ourselves the opportunity of forming a treaty with Prussia upon equal terms. We can never too strongly reprobate the fatuity that, under the enlightening influence of liberalism, induced the whig government of a former day, under the inauspicious theories of Mr. Huskisson, to open our colonial ports to the nations of the continent unreservedly. The consequence has been that Prussian vessels have imported into them the cottons and tobacco of America and their own manufactured goods, at little cost, to the injury and destruction of the colonial interests of Great Britain. In Wurtemberg, where ten years since the natives were emigrating in crowds, the manufactures are now flourishing and all hands busily employed at home. Bavaria is similarly advantaged by the same cause: and while the genius of universal philanthropy, whatever that may be, rejoices in the improvement so effected, she (or he, for we know nothing of the existence of this

very sympathetic personage,) must not be allowed to forget that it is effected at the expense of our own suffering countrymen.

So long indeed as this unlimited freedom is given her, Prussia may safely smile at the treaty of England with Austria as regards herself. The inconveniences of secession from the League would be visited by her upon the seceding states, and a permission to import her corn from the Polish provinces would far outweigh any loss that could accrue to her from the treaty in question.

Her anxiety indeed upon this last question is great, and there is in it one material consideration ; namely the opening, though indirectly, the interior of Poland to English trade, and consequently inducing a tolerably close connection of interests between the latter country and Great Britain ; but this is a purely political question.

On the mooted point, whether the abolition of our corn laws would be fatal to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of Prussia, as asserted by one party, who are desirous of the continuance of those laws, considering the high price here to be favourable to the development of Prussian industry ; while their opponents contend that a moderate price would become permanent by the abolition demanded, and benefit industry proportionately by bringing more money than at present into the market, since consumption would rise in proportion ;—we need not dwell at any length here, as the question is settled for a time. But with regard to Germany it has been said, if we allow a free importation of corn, the Germans will be able to take more of our manufactures in return. They may undoubtedly be able, but the difficulty is, will they be willing, and with the asserted hostility as regards Prussia, will they be permitted ? Our own opinion is, that if the Germans were enabled, by obtaining a larger profit from their corn, to expend more money in the purchase of manufactured goods, they would purchase those of their own country in preference to those of England and Scotland, the cheapness of which no longer allures them as it used, now that they are aware of their want of durability, of the deceitfulness of the gay colour, which disappears at the first washing, and of the fraudulent practices employed to give them an appearance of value which they do not intrinsically possess.

Our Glasgow merchants could doubtless explain all this, if they would.

Brunswick and Hanover, boasting little beyond the produce of the Harz mountains, and too poor for a port, yet rely upon the

single support of Hamburg, itself an eyesore to Prussian combinations, and threatened with extinction by Prussian jealousy. The two countries first named, though they would most unquestionably be great gainers by joining the Confederation of the League, have yet stood firm to the interests of Great Britain ; the latter too, fortunately, under a sovereign connected so closely with the British crown, and indured from infancy by birth and station with British patriotism. The attempts that have been made, therefore, in certain quarters, to sever the connection of the two states, might, if successful, have had the effect only of injuring ourselves.

France also, and with reason, complains against the German Commercial League ; for by its influence she greatly suffers in commerce and manufactures. From 1828 to 1832, (previous to the establishment of that system) her exports to Germany increased from 36 to 49,000,000 francs ; but subsequently, that is to say in the year 1837, they fell to 36,000,000 frs., according to the latest published result of that year. The transit-trade of produce or manufactured goods through French ports and by land carriage amounted in 1834, to 4,000,000 frs., and was reduced in 1837 to 3,000,000 frs. Her uneasiness, therefore, cannot be wondered at. Meantime, the commerce of Holland with Germany by the Rhine has increased so much, that it now employs 82,000 tons of craft.

With regard to France, we cannot but consider the conclusion of the Austrian Treaty as in some degree a mark of English feeling, roused at length with our ministry, at her eternal evasions and insincerity on every point, and, not least of all, her conduct in the affair of the Quadruple Alliance. We should also throw out a hint upon a matter well deserving the most serious consideration, and far more important than it seems to have been hitherto considered. We mean the competition existing between France and Austria respecting the transit of English steam communications. Austria is by nature and position our ally, and still more firmly than ever under existing circumstances, now that she perceives the good sense of the nation exerted to stop the progress of those baneful measures that since the unhappy era of the Reform Bill, have offered a means of turning England, and through her, half Europe, into anarchy and republicanism. Austria is now reassured ; and her own necessities and those of England in the Eastern question link the interests of the two countries into one permanent bond. The outcry raised formerly, by Whigs

and Revolutionists equally, in England against Austria seems to have subsided the instant the policy of her able statesman became known. His extraordinary talents and profound caution have saved his country from a formidable revolutionary crisis, and preserved to her the happiness of her people, proverbially the happiest in Europe. After the wild and unmeaning abuse so long showered by one portion of our countrymen against this unrivalled statesman, it is a strong indicative of returning reason to perceive our ministers grasping the hand of brotherhood with him whom they had so long abused.

Of France we need say little ; her political jealousies are known ; her shameless abuse of treaties and good faith towards England in particular, are borne out more than ever by recent events at Buenos Ayres, the particulars of which have not yet come to full light ; but they seem intended to overturn the British influence and interest there. It ought not to be forgotten how anxiously she has toiled in the same path for years. Buenos Ayres seems her especial object ; for we must recall to the mind of our readers how an intrigue, having for its object the destruction of British interest in that very country, was brought to light some years since by one of the numerous revolutions that occurred there : the papers were published, and it was found that they were signed by the French Foreign Minister, Decazes, if we remember rightly. The discovery reached the English court the day before the arrival of that very minister as ambassador to the king of England, to whose ministry, too, he had been making the most solemn protestations of good faith and French honour, upon that very subject, immediately before quitting the bureau of foreign affairs.

The questions of Egypt, and of India, are of no slight importance to France ; and if the English mails are to go through her dominions, who can answer for the integrity of those communications ? Did not an unfortunate error throw, some years since, the letters of various southern refugees, entrusted to a well known English wandering and political character, into the hands of the French Government ? That the letters themselves were of very questionable tendency there could be no doubt, and so far the act was justifiable. But what has caused the recent stoppage and detention of the English messenger, and the abstraction of the English mail from him for two days, in the south of France by the authorities ? A mistake no doubt ; for so it has been explained and apologized for ; and John Bull

is to believe it and feel very happy. But France never makes these mistakes without deriving all she wants to gain from them, and such mistakes occur whenever they would be convenient to her objects. Witness the mistake of the Mexican affair made by the Prince de Joinville owing to inexperience ! Is France so heedless of her navy just now as to trust it to inexperienced hands ? Or is the son of the astute, able, and accomplished Louis Philippe,—is a French prince, of the blood-royal of France, brought up usually in such ignorance of the law of nations as would disgrace the humblest gentleman in France !

We strongly, therefore, urge attention to the very suspicious “mistake” of the English letter-bags ; and if some difficulties were to arise to-morrow in the East, or with Egypt, who would guarantee that another opportune mistake might not be made ? Are not the practices of secret information in France notorious ? Where agents of the police mingle with the guests at the tables d’hôte, and report the conversation of guests, as we have means of knowing, or visit with false keys the trunks of the traveller during his temporary absence from his chamber. Throughout France the dissatisfied complain more of the system of espionage than of all else ; and are British communications to be rendered liable to this, when Austria is open to us ; Austria, whose faith has never been denied or doubted ; Austria, the most open and honourable government of the continent ?

We are happy to see that the trade of Austria, already in a certain degree flourishing, is receiving a new impetus from the effects of the Treaty, and from the wise efforts of her government to raise a mercantile navy, as a supply, should occasion require it, for a larger naval warlike force than she has ever hitherto had occasion for.

“The number of merchant vessels belonging to Austria at the end of 1838, was 498, with a total of 122,844 tons ; the number of steamers was 15, total 5,114 tons.

“Out of the 498 vessels, 155 were employed in trading to ports in the Adriatic, the Levant, and the Archipelago : 147 in the Black Sea, the sea of Azof, and the Danube ; 167 in the Mediterranean ; 12 in the Atlantic ; 4 in the Northern Seas and the Baltic ; and 13 to America.”

The consideration of a nursery for seamen is of the greatest importance, as Austria, now becoming, what she has long desired to be, to a certain degree a mercantile power, must from her connection with Italy, if pushed to the extent she herself designs it, as Protectress of a Confederation, be prepared to support her authority there as well

as in the face of foreign nations, by a command of the sea as of the land. To what extent this can be done remains as yet a question; but the progress of her trade with Turkey, &c. through the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, will impose new duties as it forms new rights. And it is clear that her government did not adopt the present system without a full determination to act up to it on all points, as is shown in the introduction into the treaty of that condition which requires the concurrence of Turkey to render it available. Cautious as the Austrian Government has ever been in all its foreign measures, more especially as regards the latter power and Russia, it is obvious that considerations for this last do not now interfere to check her favourable disposition towards the Ottoman Empire. Time will show whether this is not something more than a mere commercial compact.

With regard to Russia, as the question is chiefly political, we refer the reader to our article on the subject in another part of our Number.

ART. VIII.—*Del Brittiska Riket i Ostindien.* (The British Dominions in Hindostan.) By Count M. Bjornstjerna. Stockholm. 1839.

SINCE our two last Numbers were published so formidable a crisis has arrived and passed from our Oriental possessions and connections, and the first impression of relief from perils apparently imminent has naturally produced so strong and corresponding a confidence in a state of repose, as obtained at least for a time, that whilst the former occurrences have in their rapid succession mocked in appearance at all calculation, they have also enhanced our disposition towards present indifference. This last, in truth, is not altogether surprising under the actual circumstances; for if dangers can thus approach and vanish, and changes so swiftly succeed each other, as though effected by an inexplicable power and the wand of a magician, they must have in their nature a considerable affinity to phantasmagoria, which assume such menacing forms and yet prove, to the very eyes they have threatened, absolute exaggerations conjured up by art.

It is not indeed in the nature of things to avoid this obvious conclusion; for if such dangers were apprehended where so little ground for alarm exists at the moment, there must have been exaggeration some-

where: not wilful, probably, but incidental to the discussions and resolves arising out of real occurrences happening at a distance; of which, too, no certain or regular information could be had, even at our nearest eastern settlements, by the public; and whose consequent incertitude and anxious doubts, still further perplexed by perpetual contradictory rumours, magnified each object of contemplation seen through its haze. By these imperfect channels came our only supplies of intelligence, and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, if our ideas were confused and our judgment misled. Equally distant from the theatre of events and the sources of our information, it has scarce been sufficiently borne in mind by the English public, that those two points formed the base of a very extensive isosceles triangle, the lines of both whose sides were constantly rendered vague and indistinct by their prolongation across such vast distances, to their apex in Britain.

Since, then, the difficulties which seemed so immediate have vanished, even without contact, we need hardly repeat that our estimation of them must have been incorrect; and that this incorrectness must have arisen from miscalculation of the powers or objects acting in opposition to our interests. There is no escape from these conclusions. Either Persia was less hostile, or else less strongly supported by circumstances on the one hand and by Russia on the other: and this latter power, consequently, was less able, and, not impossibly, less willing, than she had been supposed, to employ violence against British power in the East. The exposure that has taken place of the weakness, and, however originated, the pacific dispositions of Persia, has also exposed, as distinctly, the weakness, if not the pacific dispositions of Russia in that quarter: and it is a strong argument against those who insist on the matchless foresight and skill of this last power, if she has urged on her ally schemes so daring, and developed openly in herself ambition so vast as imputed to her, with such paucity of means to support it. The attempt, if really made by the Russian government, was the grossest of errors of infatuation and cupidity; and the recoil of failure, however produced, has humbled and degraded her as much as it has exalted her rival: this, too, not only in Europe but the east: not merely amongst nations capable of appreciating facts, but also, and worse, amongst barbarian tribes, who have neither means nor intellects to judge of any such questions except by the immediate success.

For a power so strong as is asserted of Russia to have failed so soon and so signally

on a point upon which she had set her hopes and her interests, is a problem the solution of which requires us to cast our eyes back upon the events of these few months. Our last article on this subject (NO. XLIII.) distinctly pointed out the peculiar position of Russia, both internal and as regarding foreign nations in past and present times: and we argued that the very circumstances which made her existence aggressive, precluded her also, like the gigantic monsters of former periods, from a power of rapid locomotion, destructive to the world. Every defect of her internal and external position which we then noticed, has actually been proved in the rapid interval of scarcely three months. The commercial coldness and political suspicions of Prussia; the conspiracies in Lithuania and the whole line of Russian Poland; the distinct working of Austrian opposition; the rallying energies of Turkey; the indomitable hatred of Circassia; the disaffection of the South-Russian Cossacks; the explosion of hostility in the Caucasus; the imbecility and intestine dissensions of Persia, and her doubtful faith; the superior prowess and ultimate success of the Affghan and Turcoman tribes; and more than all, the rebellious state of her native armies; all these have been exemplified incontestably of late, and all have shown that Russia possesses no energies for a distant field, if only common care is taken to embarrass her on every point of her weakness.

If we quoted against one portion of our opinions the military opinions of Marshal Marmont, we also supported our own by that of an equally able military judge; and the Marquis of Londonderry had this advantage over his gallant rival, that with an admitted power of military *aperçu*, a clear scope and keen eye as to the real position and value of warlike circumstances; qualities which recommended him, as ambassador to Russia, to the unquestionable penetration and honesty of the Duke of Wellington;—he has been on the spot, and witnessed the financial weakness and unwieldy dislocation of the Russian empire; defects which required the efforts of the government to be devoted to internal consolidation. The very failures in the east, noticed at our outset, are evidence of this and assist the solution of the question, How has Russia, with so much power and so much skill, so signally failed in a darling object? The obvious reply, which would refer this to common weakness, is manifestly derogatory to her imputed tact, skill, and foresight. And yet these she certainly possesses.

The real solution of the question, we conceive, lies somewhat deeper than the bare surface, and may be found in the composition of the different parties that sway the interests of the country as their alternating influence points.

There are in Russia two sets of antagonist principles, to whose motive we have made some allusion in our preceding article, but which we propose to consider here at somewhat greater length.

The antagonisms we have referred to are, first, of the so-called Russian and German parties; and next, of the monarch and his ministry.

The Russian party, which, as its name denotes, consists entirely of natives, is jealously vigilant of its rivals, and, for the most part, entertains the strongest antipathy towards anything like foreign intervention or dictation in the concerns of the empire. It is subdivided into various classes.

The great nobility, proud of their wealth, influence, and domains, holding themselves as the actual guards of the sovereign and the real rulers of the state, though under the thinnest of possible disguises:—they hold themselves, so to say, accountable for the acts of the court, if not of the government, towards their own nation on the one hand, and towards foreign states on the other; and, whatever may be their mutual rivalries, always agree on the one point, that the government of Russia should be less monarchical than oligarchical. Confident in their former glories, and their present influence and real weight in the empire, they are ever disposed to look upon their sovereign but as the nucleus and motive power of their own will, and the source from which lustre is derived for themselves; in short, the mere basis of their own elevation and stability; to which last, however, every thing else, the sovereign included, must become a sacrifice when necessary. These families, who have always played a conspicuous, and always, too, a fatal part, in the lifetime of Catherine and in the deaths of the Peters, Paul, and Alexander, even too in despite of their personal attachment to the last, have felt not less astounded than mortified and degraded at the bold hand with which Nicholas grasped the reigns of power; when with a skill and decision for which history has but few parallels, he arrested and compelled the elements of discord into one firm and compact mass, and held it pressed so sternly beneath his foot that they who had calculated on restraining at least, if not rivalling and directing his course, durst not even show their heads at the moment above the station assigned

them. The least whisper of combination and the offender would have been crushed at once. They sunk, therefore, from an oligarchy to courtiers; but retain in their subject state their ancient failings and aspirations—for supremacy at home and foreign refinements.

The Boyars or Agrestic nobility, on the other hand, remain attached to their ancient usages and barbaric magnificence: foreign manners and luxuries are abhorred, and the word Russian is with them the sole designation for all that is desirable. They love their monarch because he is a Russian; adhere to old customs because they are Russian; treat their boors or slaves in the Russian manner; and think Russia the arbitress and exemplar of the world. Their regard for the sovereign would be devotion, if he did not employ and encourage foreigners in his service; but this is a serious objection to him.

The Army contains an ample portion of the foregoing parties; considerably modified of course as to the oligarchy of the one and the isolation of the other class, but with causes of discontent peculiarly its own; and arising from the perpetual contrast between the severity and privations of their own service, the absolute destitution of distant stations and hopeless absences, with the comparative luxuries of other lands of which they have more or less an actual and a traditionary knowledge. The rustic officers are proud, ignorant, independent; the scions of the great nobility restless, enterprising and ambitious; extravagant in their habits, and impatient of the control to which these are subjected: they are brilliant, thoughtless, dissipated, presumptuous, embarrassed; and hence, revolutionary.

The army is confident in its numbers and recent successes abroad; in its sympathetic organization at home: constant correspondence is kept up between the various regiments; and this correspondence is materially aided and promoted by the nobles, who look upon it as their future tool, and a present counterpoise to imperial authority.

The large class of Civil employés in the Russian service is in its lower grade selfish and brutal, in its upper dexterous and artful, half educated and intriguing. Poor, and anxious to amass fortunes, they are universally corrupt, and eager to attract notoriety, because this leads to eminence and comparative wealth. There is nothing, consequently, within their range of sight, that they do not strive to grasp; and, like all semi-barbarians, believing their own land to be the only one, are universally strenuous in their efforts for

national advantages as the sure path of private interest. Every family of the smallest standing has connections in this class. They love Russia beyond every thing, but themselves.

These men, too, hate England for her commercial riches, and scarcely less for her reputation.

The Russian boors are a simple, happy, hardy, ignorant feudal race, who hold the Emperor as God, and regard the cudgel as his especial revelation.

On the other hand, the foreign or German party, as it is called, is distinguished for honesty and fidelity to the sovereign, the source of their honours, means, and hopes. They are his Prætorians—in the best sense of the term. Anxious for his interest and their own, they are ever ready for active service, which is opposed by the national party out of jealousy to them alone. Hence arises a continual vacillation of councils within the empire, though the despotic form of the government prevents its being often perceptible without.

We now proceed to the second antagonism.

The ministry is an intermixture of characters of the first and third classes of the native party, with a small proportion of the foreign—they are the oligarchs of place, not of birth, and fain to control the sovereign rather than be controlled by him: they are intriguing, adroit, ambitious, and vain glorious: possessing the true employé spirit, they are ever scheming for national and individual advantages. Hence they are constantly acting independent of the sovereign, and of each other, but all uniformly busied in every species of foreign intrigue.

No one who has approached the Emperor can doubt his character or talents. Amenity and kindness, frankness and affability, joined with a high will that never stops at half measures, but exerts and declares itself almost too unreservedly. Nicholas may be a master of concealment and artifice, but those who know him best do not pretend to have discovered it, and consider simplicity his characteristic rather than reserve. Abilities and intellect of the first class, and station so high as to have left him no cause for stooping, seem to vindicate this opinion. The subtleties of Alexander's character were the offspring of an extremely difficult position, and the reverses of his foreign policy; yet even he, though artful and ambitious, was affectionate in spirit, and true to his engagements. He left Nicholas no difficulties to contend with, except we call such the imperfect cohesion of the different parts of the empire, and the management of his ministry.

It is, however, unquestionable that the conduct of Russia has been of the most doubtful faith during his reign ; and that changes of principle have taken place, and opposite lines of conduct superseded each other, to the just scandal of the Russian policy ; but the defect is in the system, and not in the personal character of the Emperor.

Though the native and German party both agree as to the expediency of foreign acquisition and aggrandizement, they differ most widely as to the means and instruments ; and each would rather sacrifice the end than see it obtained through the medium of the other. Hence supplies have failed, provisions been wasted, the wounded have perished, commanders been paralyzed, and armies reduced to corps, because the leaders' political opponents were entrusted with his supplies ; thus Wittgenstein was thwarted and disgraced ; and thus Diebitsch, who covenanted for his own party before he would undertake the Turkish campaign, was ruined in Poland by his adversaries being in power. Thus, too, the changes and fickleness in the negotiations with Persia originated in the choice or displacement of a minister anxious chiefly to discredit his predecessor. The silence of a despotic system concealed the cause, and often rendered the baseness of an individual apparent only as the perfidy of the government.

But if this struggle of parties refers more especially to less recent times, the events of the present day take their origin in the antagonism of the Emperor and his ministry. Willing as we are to give Nicholas credit for generosity of private character, and openness amounting at times to even furious vehemence, we should be the last to deny that the steps of Russian agents have not exceeded in perfidy, fraud, violence, and baseness of every kind, all that is related in history. Where indeed can a spot of British possession be pointed out, in which they have not been sowing the seeds of future discord and disaster ? What neighbours and allies have they left untried to detach from British connections and British interests ? What arts of falsehood, insinuation, corruption, perjury, and forgery, have they omitted, to raise enemies to England in the very bosom of friendship ? Is there one spot of the British empire which they have not carefully surveyed and reported ? Is there one of the British dominions where traitors have not been courted or bought ? Is there one inch of coast in the Mediterranean where treasonable correspondence has not been established ? Is there one Asiatic power not tempted by promises, flatteries, bribes, and vaunts, to

become, though but secretly, the enemy of England ?

These, too, are not the acts of petty and obscure and unnoticed agents alone ; of men whose base and sordid station in society might excuse, if any thing could, their wanton and foul disregard, not merely of the political duties, but even the personal decencies of feeling and gratitude. It is not only such men as these :—high names and dignitaries of the Russian empire, distinguished noblemen and veteran warriors ; counts, princes, generals, admirals, public functionaries, or retired from service ;—some of them, too, greeted by Britain with confidence or rewarded with grateful favours ill deserved, have carried on for years this series of machinations ; not unknown or unaided, at least by individuals, in the Russian embassies of London, Paris and Vienna.

What can England, what can Europe, what can the world say or think of conduct so flagitious and faithless as this ? Is dishonour inherent in a whole nation so entirely, that the very men whom its sovereign selects and relies upon to uphold its faith with a foreign power should be the voluntary agents of treachery, abetting treasons and wars in the very countries where they themselves are received on the faith of character ? Will the envy of some millions of trade, the jealousy of strong fortresses and fleets, and the hatred of a proud reputation for arts, arms, and independence, crawl through the filth of infamy to strike the assassin blow ? But if England could be undermined and robbed of her station, on whom would the mantle of her glory descend ? Could it fall upon a race that has thus steeped itself in baseness, and branded the characters of indelible shame on its own front ? Could the glory of Britain descend with her power to blazon ignominy or consolidate usurpation ! Are not national faith and honour the sole basis of stability—the heart's blood that flows through the limbs, regulating their health, and confirming their existence ; while dishonour is the first stage of decay ?

The policy of the Emperor himself, is, as we have stated in the article already referred to, far less grasping than that of his predecessors, though far also in itself from being destitute of ambition. But it is the ambition of preservation more than acquisition ; that of consolidating his power at home, and establishing it firmly in countries obtained through whatever means by his predecessors, and which he regards simply in the light of inheritance. There is no artifice or concealment on this point with him. On the contrary, it is carried to a length that often

defies opinion in its undisguised and imperious vehemence. Nor is this a passing ebullition. So strong, indeed, is the feeling of the Emperor on these matters, that there is nothing he would not risk to uphold his actual position on every the slightest point, even against the opinion of his court and ministers. Whilst appeals to his clemency and better feelings are promptly met and responded to in the kindest spirit, whether from subjects or strangers, and acts of generosity are freely elicited on these occasions; the appearance of any thing like pertinacious opposition, though in favour of the best rights, in any portion of his established dominion, goads him to fury, not merely political but personal. Could Poland, for instance, consent to forget her claim to the rank of a nation, her gallant though exaggerated spirit of independence, and her high renown; could she sink down into the condition of a peaceful province of Russia, her individual interests would meet with an even paternal care; but Nicholas has no room in his heart, nor sympathy, for the struggles of bondmen burning to be free.

The antagonism of the Emperor and ministry is consequently two-fold; for whereas, as in the case of Poland, the views of the sovereign are determined towards peremptory and unyielding despotism, some amongst his ministers are in favour of a far milder system. And as hopes and intimations of this nature have been repeatedly held out to the least vehement of the Polish patriots, many of them men of undoubted integrity and real patriotism, a belief in these hopes and a desire to repress the wilder and more hopeless outbreaks of impatient subjugation, have procured for these milder counsellors, though most undeservedly, the name of traitors from their more ardent countrymen.

On the other hand, the Emperor is far from coinciding with the restless system of foreign intrigue carried on constantly and openly, and in despite of him, by the ministry and their agents, with the aid of their friends of the acquisition party. And as all place, power, and influence is in the hands of these; as the system itself is in fact thoroughly Russian, changes of place and person have never done any thing more than altering, at most, the mere means of proceeding. Thus the outworks of other states are sapped, and the foundations, as far as possible, undermined; intrigue is systematized, and corruption introduced every where; foreign powers are irritated, soothed, and countervented, until they take the alarm; the Emperor, when appealed to, or made aware of it, peremptorily discourages and openly disavows the course, of all but the outlines of which he is kept in ignorance by the min-

istry of the department, until too late; and he is at times borne along with the stream, even in defiance of his own peremptory commands at the outset. The system assuredly is not that of the government, but it assuredly is that of the whole Russian nation.

With a full understanding of these points, on which we have dwelt at considerable length, as the true basis of the system which eats like a cancer into the very frame of political society, we shall be enabled to comprehend the real position of foreign states with regard to Russia; where the aristocracy, eager for an oligarchical rule, and connected with the ministry on one hand, and the army on the other, bear along with them the sovereign, more or less easily, but in despite of his personal character, feelings, and wishes.

The intrigues in the East, which are certainly in contradiction to the individual views of the Emperor, were then in any thing like their extent probably unknown to him, and to him alone, in the whole empire. The powers which would have been requisite to sustain them effectually could not be obtained without his consent; this appears to have been withheld; and the intrigues themselves, though carried on with the full concurrence of the ministers and the nobles, whose course is more hidden, though unchanged from that of former times, failed and fell away at the first breath of approaching contact.

Such is the clue to the recent explicit disavowal made by the Emperor Nicholas of the acts of his ministry, in answer to the spirited requisition of the British Foreign Minister; and this likewise explains the previous declaration of Lord Palmerston in parliament, that there were governments that attempted every thing and disavowed every thing. The Emperor can but work with the means in his power; and from the general bias of the nation it must be confessed that if aggrandisement is no longer the principle of Russian policy, it is still its tendency.

In the question before us, too, one very material consideration appears to have been kept nearly out of sight; namely, the relations of Persia. In judging of the conduct of a power it is not enough to know that its own course has been prosperous at the expense of its neighbours, without also knowing how far these may have provoked the quarrel, and what is their general character.

Various statements as to the progress of the Russian dominion in the east have appeared before the public, and we select the following particulars as offering a clear outline of the proceedings; purposely rejecting such as bear, or seem to bear, a decided partizan character in narrating the transactions.

We begin with the earliest period of Rus-

sian encroachments, when the exertions made by Peter the Great to extend the commerce and influence of Russia in the East, brought that power into immediate contact with Persia. In pursuance of his scheme to open a trade with India, he sought every opportunity to mix in the affairs of the intervening nations. In 1717, Prince Bekevich was sent on an embassy to Khiva, and directed to seize the gold mines which were supposed to be in that country; he was provided with a military force. This expedition completely failed, and the Prince and his men were cut to pieces.

In 1719, the descent of a body of Lesghees from the Caucasus on the Province of Shirvan, where they put to death all the merchants, amongst whom were 300 Russians; the inability of Sooltan Hoossein (besieged in his capital by the Affghans), to punish the offenders; and his repeated embassies sent to the court of Persia to implore the aid of Russia,—afforded Peter an opportunity to establish himself in the countries lying to the south of the Caucasus.

In 1722, he sent an army, ostensibly for the purpose of punishing the Lesghees, and entered the Persian territories, with professions of entire friendship for the Shah. In August of the same year, he took possession of the fortress of Derbend, the gate of the Persian provinces on the Caspian sea, and besieged Badkoo. He induced the Persian Envoy in his camp to sign a treaty, by which Persia ceded to Russia the provinces of Gilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, with the town of Shamakhoo, as soon as it should be recovered from the Turks. On his return to Astrachan in the same year, he sent troops to occupy Gilan and ordered the siege of Badkoo to be prosecuted. The fall of this place, and the cessions made to him by the treaty of Ismael Beg, gave to Russia the whole coast of the Caspian, which belonged to Persia, and which it was an object of Peter's ambition to possess. Shah Tamasp, however, refused to ratify the treaty, and sent a force against the Russians, which, at least, prevented them from pursuing their advantages.

In 1727, Catherine the First concluded a treaty with the Porte at Constantinople, which fixed the boundaries of Russia, Turkey, and Persia, with the greatest precision, and gave to Russia all that had been ceded to her by the unratified treaty of Peter. In a few years afterwards, however, Mazanderan and Astrabad were restored to Persia, by a treaty concluded at Resht in Gilan.

This treaty was renewed in 1735, with Nadir Shah, who cultivated, by every means in his power, a good understanding with

Russia, while engaged in expelling the Turks from their conquests in Persia.

Georgia, with other provinces south of the Caucasus, not in possession of Russia, had for a series of years been dependent on the crown of Persia; but the Wallee (as the Prince of Georgia was styled) and the other chiefs, availed themselves of the opportunities offered by the dissensions which weakened the empire of the Shahs, to rejoice in a temporary independence.

In the reign of the last Princes of the Suffoveeah dynasty, the northern and western parts of Persia had been overrun by the Turks as far as Hamadan and Ardebil; and the Wallees of Georgia, with the chiefs of the neighbouring provinces, had submitted to the Ottoman Porte. Nadir Shah, by a succession of victories, drove the Turks from all the ancient northern possessions of the Suffoveeah Kings, in which were included Georgia, Imeretia, Mingrelia, Shirvan, Shekkee, Ganja, and Erivan. The places belonging to Persia, on the shores of the Caspian, so treacherously seized by the Czar, were recovered; and all her original dependencies on the side of the Caucasus once more acknowledged the authority of Persia. The ancient family of the Wallees of Georgia was raised to the dependent throne of that country, and Nadir, by dividing it into two kingdoms, weakened the power of its princes, and was enabled to reward the services of Heraclius, who had accompanied him to India, with one of the crowns. The other was given to his father, Tamaras, the representative of the family.

After the death of Nadir Shah, the kings of Georgia, harassed by continued attacks from the mountaineers, whom they were unable to control, made a simultaneous application to Russia for assistance, which was granted. This, about 1752, may be considered the first step towards the separation of Georgia from Persia; Russia from this time pressed with persevering activity her intercourse with these Persian dependencies.

About eight years after this occurrence, Heraclius drove his father Tamaras from his kingdom, and united it to his own. In 1768, he was called upon by Russia to co-operate with General Todlevin, who invaded Turkey from Imeretia, and whom the Wallee joined. But he had not yet openly cast off his allegiance to Persia, nor had any formal engagements been contracted between him and the Russian government. Russia had, however, manifested her readiness to connect herself with Georgia; and the Princes of that country took advantage of the troubles which engaged Kerreem Khan, to prepare a safe renunciation of their connection with

Persia by more intimate intercourse with the Court of St. Petersburg.

In 1781, a treaty with the Oss, or Ossetians, a pagan tribe of the Caucasus, who commanded the defiles leading into Georgia, opened to Russia the passes to that country; and two years afterwards a treaty was concluded at Georgiefsk, between the Wallee and the Empress Catherine II., by which the former recognised the paramount sovereignty of Russia, for himself and his heirs; and the latter engaged to afford protection not only to the Wallee's present possessions, but to any he might hereafter acquire, and to guarantee the kingdom to his heirs for ever.

In 1785, General Potemkin carried to Teflis the ratification of this treaty, and constructed a causeway across the Caucasus. A pension of 60,000 silver roubles annually was granted to the King of Khartlee (the Wallee of Georgia), to maintain an army, and to defray such expenses as he should be called upon to make by the Russian commandant.

Georgia had, therefore, become a dependency of Russia, and had been received by that power under its protection, without any regard to the allegiance due by the Wallees to the sovereigns of Persia. Field-marshal Prince Potemkin and General Goodovich received unlimited authority to accept the submission of any nations that may desire to become subject to Russia; and the latter was informed, that the Khans of Badkoo and Derbend might be admitted vassals of the empress. Both these places were dependencies of Persia.

After the death of Kerreem Khan, 1779, it was not until Aga Mahommed Khan triumphed over all his antagonists, and cut off the last hopes of the royal family of the Zunds, that he found leisure to turn his attention to Georgia, and punish the revolt.

In 1795, he assembled a considerable army at Teheran, defeated Heraclius near Teflis, and entering that city before General Goodovich, who commanded the Russian troops of the Caucasus, could arrive to oppose him, committed horrible excesses.

The Empress Catharine II., shocked and irritated by the vengeance which had fallen on Georgia in consequence of its having transferred its allegiance to Russia, immediately declared war against Persia; in the following year, Count Zuboff marched upon Derbend early in the summer—took that fortress, and received the submission of Badkoo, Coobba, and Shirvan; wintered in Moghan, and had taken Anzelee, Lankeran, Ganja, and Saree, when Paul ascended the throne, and recalled the army.

Aga Mahommed Khan was at this time employed in Khorassan, and on hearing of Zuboff's successes, hastily returned to oppose him; not in the field, he openly declared, but by cutting off his supplies, harassing and obstructing his movements. The plan was sagaciously laid, but before he could reach the scene of action, the Russians had already abandoned almost all their conquests. He had only been a few days at Sheesha, when he was murdered by some of his menial domestics whom he had threatened to put to death; and the late Shah, who succeeded him (1798), was too much occupied in establishing his authority to be able to pursue the bold policy of his predecessor.

In the same year, 1798, Heraclius died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and fifty-second of his reign, and left his crown to his son, Georgeen Khan, or the Wolf, a cruel and brutal prince.

In the year 1800 the Emperor Paul incorporated Georgia with the Russian empire, and in the year following Georgeen died, and Paul was put to death. The Emperor Alexander on his accession confirmed his act, and in 1803 sent General Zizianov as governor and commander-in-chief into Georgia. In the same year Mingrelia submitted. In 1804 Zizianov took Ganja, and having been invited by Mahommed Khan Kajar, then governor of Erivan, to advance on that place under a promise that it should be delivered up, proceeded as far as the Three Churches, when he encountered the Persian army advancing. This was the first action in which the Russian and Persian armies had come in contact in a general action. The Persians were defeated. Zizianov then invested Erivan, which Mahommed Khan refused to surrender; but the Russian general was obliged to raise the siege from want of provisions, the desultory attacks of the Persians, and the sickness of his troops.

In 1805 Karabaugh voluntarily submitted to Russia.

The war was continued with various success till the year 1814, but Russia added little to her territorial acquisitions after the death of her first governor.

Such is the first portion of the outline we lay before our readers, and must pause to observe that the Georgians themselves, always in revolt against Persia, always assigned the dreadful tyranny they suffered under from her as the reason of their abhorrence of this power. We need not go into details; but from and including the time of Shah Abbas the Great there has been no question of this fact amongst his-

torians, with the single exception of Kerreem's reign ; and the incorporation of Georgia with Russia was avowedly in consequence of the expressed wishes of the former.

When we refer to the instances of horrible cruelty of which the immediate successors of Kerreem were guilty at home,* we can scarcely wonder that the more distant provinces of the empire, through the tyranny and avarice of subordinate agents, were in a far worse state, and anxious for any change of condition and allegiance. This fact will serve as a clue to much that is otherwise unexplained.

* To instance this, and show the insecurity of life and property we begin with the greatest of Persian sovereigns.

"When Abbas the Great was hunting in this valley, he met one morning, as the day dawned, an uncommonly ugly man, at the sight of whom his horse started. Being nearly dismounted, and deeming it a bad omen, he called out in a rage to have his head struck off.

"Your crime, said the king, is your unlucky countenance, which is the first object I saw this morning, and which had nearly caused me to fall from my horse. Alas ! said the man, by this reckoning, what term must I apply to your majesty's countenance, which was the first object my eyes met this morning, and which is to cause my death ? The king smiled at the wit of the reply, ordered the man to be released, and gave him a present, instead of taking off his head."—*Malcolm's Anecdotes of Persia*.

Of Aga Mahommed Khan more particularly we enumerate a few cruelties.

"Mustapha Kauli Khan, his brother, he deprived of sight ; and he inveigled the brave Jaffier Kauli Khan, another brother, by protestations of affection, and oaths of safety, to come only for one night to Tehran. But that night was fatal ; the unsuspecting guest was despatched by assassins posted in a new palace, which he had gone to visit at the tyrant's desire. Yet with a mockery of piety or timidity of superstition, which it is hard to comprehend, he kept with the dead the oath he had violated to the living, by removing the corpse that very night beyond the city walls."—*Fraser's Hist. of Persia*.

"We cannot relate the brutal indignities, torments, and mutilations, which the victor inflicted upon his captive (rival), before death, in the year 1795, released him from his misery. Still less shall we dwell on the atrocities committed in the city of Kerman in revenge for the assistance rendered by its inhabitants to their legitimate prince. The place was depopulated ; all the full-grown males were murdered or deprived of sight, and turned out to wander in helpless blindness. A horrid tribute of human eyes, amounting to a certain number of mauns, was exacted ; and the women and children given as slaves to the soldiers."—*Ibid*.

The following act of meanness is ludicrous :

"Riding out with some courtiers, a mendicant met the party, to whom the king, apparently struck with his distress, ordered large alms to be given. The example was of course followed by all, and the beggar obtained a very considerable sum. That night the sovereign's impatience betrayed his secret : 'I have been cheated,' said he to his minister : 'that scoundrel of a mendi-

We now proceed to notice that the first connection of England with Persia may be said to have commenced with the mission of Sir John Malcolm to Tehran in 1800 ; and the first fruits of the alliance were the commercial and political treaties concluded by him in 1801. The latter engaged Persia to attack the Affghans, who then threatened our possessions in India, and to exclude the French from the Gulf of Persia.

In 1805 the Shah, finding himself unable to cope with Russia, addressed a letter to Napoleon, requesting his assistance, and desiring to form an alliance. So little was at that time known of Persia in Europe, that the

cant whom you saw this morning, not only promised to return my own money, but to give me half of what he should receive through its means from others.' Horsemen were instantly ordered in pursuit ; but the fellow took care not to be caught."—*Ibid*.

He seems always to have acted on this maxim, suppressing violence only for the sake of interest, and selling immunity to the worst criminals under sentence, to fill his own coffers.

Sir John Malcolm gives us the reason for the long prosperity of that able minister, Meerza Buzurg, as explained by himself.

"I never," said he, "accumulate money or property ; I have a small inheritance in land, which has been in my family for centuries ; this cannot, in accordance with usage, be confiscated ; and as to everything else I spend it as I get it. This principle is known ; and the king," he added, "often laughs, and says, 'I should not gain one piastre by the death and plunder of that extravagant fellow Meerza Buzurg.'"—*Malcolm*, v. i. p. 188.

And this was even in the moderate reign of the late Shah. Haji Ibrahim, too, the minister to whom he owed his crown, was blinded on suspicions, false as they afterwards proved.

Of Persian faith we give the following anecdote :

"The Persian ministers and governors are in the habit of using particular seals, which nullify the contents of their letters ; they also use oaths in affirmation, which they consider they may safely break. Old Shaik Nessr, at Bushire, was accustomed to swear by the head of his father—generally considered one of the most sacred and inviolable oaths that can be offered. Now his father happened to have been a Sunni, and he was convinced there was not the least harm in heaping perjury by wholesale on his soul, which he believed was in hell already, and therefore could not be made worse. A great many years ago I had some business of consequence to transact with him, and he kept pouring out oath after oath by the head of his father. I asked him to swear by his own, and he refused, saying he thought it very wicked to do so. Not long after, in the course of the same business, he made use of his own head for an oath, wishing to secure my credence. I said coolly, now I trust you, Shaik. It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, in transacting business with the Persian ministers, to know what the seals and what the oaths they use are exactly worth. I was lucky enough to be taught these secrets of Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen ed dowlah, by my good friend Meerza Buzurg."—*Letter of Sir H. Jones*.

court of Paris were even ignorant whether the person who had addressed those letters was really entitled to the rank he assumed, and M. Jaubert was sent to Tehran to ascertain the condition of the country.

On the return of M. Jaubert in 1806, Meerza Reza was sent by the Persian government on an embassy to Napoleon, whom he accompanied to Tilsit, and with whom he concluded a treaty, ratified by the emperor in May, 1807.

In the same year Mahommed Nebbee Khan was sent on a mission to the British Government in India to claim assistance against Russia; this mission was unsuccessful, and Persia, losing all hope of support from her old ally, had no alternative but to throw herself into the arms of France.

The possessions of Great Britain in India had become so important, that it was believed her power in Europe might be affected by an attack on her eastern dominions; and Napoleon, therefore, turning his attention to Asia, gladly seized the opportunity which was afforded him to establish a connection with Persia, which he justly considered a necessary preparatory step to his projected invasion of India. General Gardanne was charged with a mission to the court of the Shah; and the failure of the application which had been made to India for assistance, the readiness with which the French had entered on the alliance, and the promises which were made by the French ambassador, combined to secure to him a distinguished reception.

But the success which attended the mission of Gardanne forced the British government, here and in India, to take measures to counteract the views of France. Simultaneous missions, of great splendour, were sent to the court of Persia from England and India; no expense was spared, and no exertion considered too great to secure her alliance. The favourable reception of the mission of Sir Harford Jones in 1808, and the consequent expulsion of the French agents, laid the foundation of an alliance between the crowns of Great Britain and Persia, which was confirmed by a preliminary treaty in 1809.

We give a portion of this--

"Art. 3. His Majesty the King of Persia judges it necessary to declare that from the date of these preliminary articles every treaty or agreement he may have made with any one of the powers of Europe becomes null and void; and that he will not permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia, either towards India or towards the ports of that country.

"Art. 4. In case any European forces have invaded, or shall invade the territories of his

Majesty the King of Persia, his Britannic Majesty will afford to his Majesty the King of Persia a force, or in lieu of it a subsidy with warlike ammunition, such as guns, muskets, &c., and officers to the amount that may be to the advantage of both parties for the expulsion of the force so invading; and the number of these forces, or the amount of the subsidy, ammunition, &c., shall be hereafter regulated in the definitive treaty. In case his Majesty the King of England should make peace with such European power, his Britannic Majesty shall use his utmost endeavours to negotiate and procure a peace between his Persian Majesty and such power. But if, which God forbid, his Britannic Majesty's efforts for this purpose should fail of success, then the forces or subsidy, according to the amount mentioned in the definitive treaty, shall still continue in the service of the King of Persia as long as the said European force shall remain in the territories of his Persian Majesty, or until peace is concluded between his Persian Majesty and the said European power. And it is further agreed, that in case the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in India are attacked or invaded by the Affghans or any other power, his Majesty the King of Persia shall afford a force for the protection of the said dominions, according to the stipulations contained in the definitive treaty.

"Art. 5. If a detachment of British troops has arrived from India in the gulf of Persia, and by the consent of his Persian Majesty landed on the island of Karrack, or at any of the Persian ports, they shall not in any manner possess themselves of such places; and from the date of these preliminary articles the said detachment shall be at the disposal of his Majesty the King of Persia, except his Excellency the Governor General of India judges such detachment necessary for the defence of India; in which case they shall be returned to India, and a subsidy in lieu of the personal services of these troops shall be settled in the definitive treaty.

"Art. 6. But if the said troops remain by the desire of his Majesty the King of Persia, either at Karrack or any other port in the gulf of Persia, they shall be treated by the governor there in the most friendly manner; and orders shall be given to all the governors of Farsistan that whatever quantity of provisions, &c. may be necessary shall, on being paid for, be furnished to the said troops at the fair prices of the day.

"Art. 7. In case war takes place between his Persian Majesty and the Affghans, his Majesty the King of Great Britain shall not take any part therein, unless it be at the desire of both parties, to afford his mediation for peace.

"Art. 8. It is acknowledged that the intent and meaning of these preliminary articles are defensive. And it is likewise agreed that as long as these preliminary articles remain in force his Majesty the King of Persia shall not enter into any engagements inimical to his Britannic Ma-

jesty, or pregnant with injury or disadvantage to the British territories in India."

At that time there were two objects of importance to be effected at the court of Tehran,—the abrogation and dissolution of the alliance newly formed between France and Persia—and the prevention of further encroachments by Russia on the territories of Persia: both these objects were accomplished by offering Persia a subsidy, for which, however, the British minister had neither instructions nor authority.

In taking, therefore, this responsibility on himself he felt it his duty to word the terms of the subsidy as indefinitely as possible: nevertheless there was a secret understanding between the plenipotentiaries on both sides, that the subsidy should not exceed 160,000 tomans, or about 128,000*l.*; and this, as to the form and shape in which it was to be given or afforded, was left to the British government.*

In 1811, Sir Harford Jones returned to England, and the Persian ambassador, who had been sent to London with the ratification of the preliminary treaty, returned to Persia, accompanied by Sir Gore Ouseley in quality of ambassador extraordinary from the King of England. The subsidy payable to Persia, which had been fixed by Sir H. Jones on a smaller scale, was raised to 200,000 tomans annually. A definitive treaty was concluded on the basis of the preliminary engagements entered into by Sir H. Jones, and immense presents were lavished on the Shah and his courtiers, to keep alive the friendly feeling which had been excited.

In 1813, by the mediation of the British ambassador, a treaty of peace was concluded at Goolistan, by which Persia yielded to Russia all her acquisitions south of the Caucasus, and engaged to maintain no navy in the Caspian; while Russia became bound to aid the heir to the crown of Persia against all competitors. The terms of this treaty were extremely indefinite.

Sir Gore Ouseley returned home in 1814, leaving Mr. Morier in quality of minister plenipotentiary at the Persian court; and in the same year Mr. Ellis was sent on a special mission to modify the definitive treaty concluded by Sir Gore. Great Britain was by this document bound to pay to Persia a subsidy of 200,000 tomans annually: to maintain troops in the event of her being attacked by any power at war with England; and should she be attacked by any

nation at peace with England, we engaged to use our mediation towards an amicable adjustment of their differences; should it fail, to pay the subsidy. Persia, on her side, engaged to obstruct any power seeking to pass through her country for the purpose of invading India. The treaty is exclusively defensive, as declared in the document.

Hitherto England and Russia had not come in contact at the court of Persia; but at the time of concluding the treaty of Goolistan, a hope had been held out, that through the good offices of England some of the countries ceded by the Shah might be restored by the emperor. An embassy was therefore sent to St. Petersburg with the ratified treaty, and with instructions to press the Russian government to admit the good offices of England, and to fulfil the hopes raised by the Russian plenipotentiary and the British ambassador.

The good offices of Lord Cathcart and the solicitations of the Persian embassy were unable to procure from the emperor the retrocession of one foot of ground, but they obtained a promise that General Yermoloff, ambassador to Persia and governor-general of Georgia, would discuss the matter with the Persian ministers at Tehran.—When General Yermoloff came, he would restore nothing; and thus all the acquisitions of Russia were permanently confirmed. An insidious proposition made by Russia to supply officers to discipline the Persian army, was rejected, and the *chargé-d'affaires*, whom the general left in Persia, was directed by the Shah to station himself at the court of Abbas Meerza. In the meantime our minister plenipotentiary had been recalled, and Mr. Willock, British *chargé-d'affaires*, was left to maintain the interests of his government; in opposition to the splendid mission of Russia backed by all the weight of the chief authority in Georgia and an army of 40,000 men.

Under these circumstances, it was obvious that Persia was not likely again to seek a war with a power, who, under the most unfavourable circumstances, had been able to seize and keep possession of her most fertile and valuable provinces; and also, that though we might have something to fear from her too ready and obsequious acquiescence in the views of Russia, there was nothing to dread from her desire to renew a contest in which she had already suffered so severely.

Russia seems to have adopted this opinion, and to have made it her policy to push herself by imperceptible advances into the exercise of an habitual influence over the councils of the prince royal. But the treaty

* A Letter on the Present State of British Interests and Affairs in Persia, addressed to the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, K. G., &c. &c. by Harford Jones Brydges.

of Goolistan had not defined the line of frontier so distinctly as to leave no room for cavil and dispute, and the appointment of commissioners to effect the final demarcation was delayed on various pretexts.—When commissioners, therefore, were at length appointed, numberless disputes arose; and these gave rise to angry discussions, conducted on the one side with the bitterness of wounded pride, and, on the other, with the insolence of conscious power. Various lines of frontier were successively proposed by one party, and rejected by the other. Commissioners met and parted, without having advanced one step; agents were sent by the prince royal to Teflis, and instructions transmitted to the Russian chargé-d'affaires at Tabreez, without any progress being made towards the accomplishment of this object.

At length all appeared arranged, and a proposal made by the Russian chargé-d'affaires was accepted by the prince royal, who was charged with the affairs of the frontier. But the Russian agent had exceeded his instructions, and General Yermoloff refused to ratify the engagements which M. Mozarovitch had contracted. Once again a formal engagement was entered into by an agent of the prince royal at Teflis; but this the Shah refused to sanction.

In the summer of 1825, M. Mozarovitch came to the Shah's camp, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain his majesty's ratification of the terms agreed upon between Futteeh Allee Khan and General Yermoloff at Teflis; but his majesty distinctly refused his consent to the arrangement. In the autumn of the same year M. Mozarovitch left Persia; and the government of Georgia, acting on what they called the treaty of Futteeh Allee Khan, though unratified, occupied with a military force the lands which would have become theirs had this treaty taken effect.

One of these portions of land was an uninhabited stripe called Gokchah, which borders on the lake of Gokchah or Sevan. To the remonstrance of the prince royal against the military occupation of this part of the Persian territory, General Yermoloff had replied, by admitting the justice of the prince's remarks, and concluded by offering to withdraw the detachment. Yet, after all this, Russia, on the strength of an unratified engagement, concluded by the agent of a deputed authority, took permanent possession of this ground and retains it. As soon as the occupation of Gokchah was known to the court of Tehran, an envoy was sent to Teflis to remonstrate, and to propose that the Russian detachment should

be withdrawn until time should be given for an appeal to the emperor. But this was refused; and in answer to the letters which the Shah had written to the governor-general of Georgia, he was informed that Gokchah would be given up by Russia if the lands of Kapan were immediately evacuated.

Kapan had been, from the conclusion of the peace, in possession of Persia; but within a few years a claim had been set up by Russia, and it remained one of those points upon which it would have been the duty of commissioners to decide. The claims of Persia were, at least, as well supported as those of Russia; and some of the Russian official maps had marked Kapan as belonging to Persia. It was, therefore, an obvious injustice to seize an undisputed possession of Persia, and demand, as the price of its evacuation, the abandonment of claims, probably just, to another portion of territory.

At this time (Dec. 1825) the death of the Emperor Alexander was announced, and the discussions suspended; but as soon as the power of Nicholas was established, Persia prepared to send an embassy to St. Petersburg, to congratulate the new emperor on his succession, and to conclude with him the definitive settlement of the frontier. Before arrangements could be made, it was announced that Prince Menzikoff was on his way to remove the causes of difference between the governments of Persia and Georgia.

The court of Tehran had begun to believe that Russia was firm in her purpose to act with a total disregard to justice. All recent representations had been treated with neglect, or replied to in an arrogant and insulting tone by the Government of Georgia. Opprobrious terms had been applied to the prince royal, in letters to his servants, and every thing seemed to indicate a determination on the part of General Yermoloff to drive Persia to extremity. At the same time it was whispered that the tranquillity of the Russian empire had been disturbed, that a civil war was carried on in St. Petersburg, and that the tribes of the Caucasus were already in arms to assert their independence.

It was known that the misrule of the Russian authorities in Georgia, and their wanton interference with the religious prejudices of their Mahomedan subjects, had produced a feeling of serious discontent. Proposals had even been made to Persia by the heads of the tribes and chiefs of districts to co-operate with her in a war against Russia. Letters had been written by the Mahomedan population of all the Russian

provinces bordering on Persia, to the head of their religion, imploring his interference in their behalf; and he had come from the sanctuary of Kerbela, expressly to urge the Shah to take up arms in defence of his insulted religion. The ecclesiastics of Persia joined their leader, and the mosques were filled with persons of all classes, lending a willing ear to the inflammatory orations of their Moollahs, while the Shah was threatened with the curses of the faithful, and even with everlasting perdition, if he failed to take up arms in the holy cause.

In the midst of this ferment, Prince Menzikoff arrived in the royal camp. He was treated with honour, and even with distinction; and a calm and temperate negotiation was opened, with a sincere desire on the part of the Shah to see it terminate in an amicable adjustment of all the matters in dispute. Sanguine hopes were entertained that everything would be satisfactorily arranged; and if there were some who, for private ends, wished to hurry Persia into a war, there were other and the most influential of her councillors who anxiously desired to avoid it. The king himself was of this number; though he had been induced to give a solemn pledge to the Moollahs that if Gokchah was not restored, he would agree to make war upon Russia. But in answer to all the demands for the evacuation of Gokchah, the Russian envoy replied, that he had no instructions regarding it, and was not empowered to agree to its evacuation. It was proposed that it should remain unoccupied by either party, until a reference could be made to the emperor. This he was equally unable to comply with; and he put an end to the discussion by repeating that his instructions extended to nothing beyond some trifling modification of the unratified treaty of Futteeh Allee Khan.

Those who had been clamorous for war now called upon the Shah to redeem his pledge or forfeit his hopes of heaven. The Mahomedans of some of the Russian provinces were already in arms, and even the Christians of at least one of these had made overtures to Persia. The troops had been excited to enthusiasm by the Moollahs, and the war was commenced. Sir H. Jones states:—

“As far as I know, there might have been faults on both sides in causing this affray; but the events of the war were most unhappy for Persia; and to me it appears surprising that our influence with the Shah should in so short a time have fallen so very low, as to render our minister not able to prevail on the Shah to avoid so ill-judged a contest; or even before engaging, not to accept, if it was of-

fered, our mediation to accommodate matters. Such mediation, I conceive, we are fully authorized to offer under a clause of the fourth article of the preliminary treaty of 1809.”—p. 29.

Even after the forces marched to the frontier, had Prince Menzikoff been empowered to evacuate Gokchah, they would still have been countermanded, and the war would not have taken place.

It commenced suddenly, and on the part of the Persians: they massacred all the Russian detachments and garrisons that could be overpowered. The Prince-royal, in July, 1826, took the field with an army of 40,000 men, about 12,000 of whom were regulars, together with a few companies of foot-artillery. The Muscovite troops on the south of the Caucasus were estimated at the same amount, including 6000 Cossacks. The opening of the campaign was favourable to Persia, and Gokchah, Balikloo, and Aberan were recovered.

But the hopes thus awakened were speedily dissipated. On the 14th September, Mahommed Meerza, son of Abbas, sustained a repulse at Shamkora, and, on the 25th of the same month, the prince himself, having rashly engaged Paskewitch in open field near Elizabethpol, was defeated with the loss of 1,200 men. He fled, and his army dispersed after plundering his own camp.

By great exertion another army was collected, with which, however, little was done; and during the winter several ineffectual attempts were made to accommodate matters by British mediation. The war recommenced in the spring; Erivan was invested by General Benkendorff, who, however, raised the siege on the approach of the Shah towards Khoi; but the prince sustained a check before Abbasabad, and the surrender of that town, by treachery, soon followed.

The defeat of 4000 Russian infantry and 2000 cavalry, with twenty field-pieces, at Aberan, in August, 1827, again encouraged the hopes of Abbas; but the advance of Paskewitch, with strong reinforcements and a battering train, put an end to the delusion. Prince Eristov entered Tabreez on the 16th October, and Erivan was taken on the 19th. In January, 1828, the king accepted once more the aid of the British minister at his court to procure peace; which the enemy did not decline. The terms proposed by the latter were humiliating enough; and the ineffectual remonstrances and reluctance of the Shah and his ministers protracted the negotiations until the 21st February, 1828, when a treaty was signed at Turkmanchai.

By the first article the treaty of Goolistan was annulled for a new arrangement. By the third, Persia ceded the Khanats of Erivan and Nakshivan. By the fourth the boundary line was drawn from that of the Ottoman States, passing over the summit of the Lesser Ararat, and down the lower Karasu to the Aras; then proceeding, in the bed of that river, to Abbasabad and Yedibouloob; traversing the plain of Mogan to Adina Bazaar, ascending the current of that name to its source, and thence running along the west of the Elborz Mountains to the source of the Ashtara, which it follows to the sea; thus ceding the greater part of Talish to Russia, and including all such islands of the Caspian as fall within its direction. No ships of war, except Russian, were allowed on the Caspian Sea. The sixth article stipulates for the payment of ten crores (500,000 each) of toman's by Persia, as indemnification for the expenses of the war; and a variety of provisions for commerce, the government of the ceded provinces, and the management of the migratory population, with other precautionary clauses, follow and conclude the treaty.

On this treaty Sir H. Jones very justly observes,

"With a British ambassador on the spot, Persia seems to have been delivered bound hand and foot, to the court of St. Petersburg. There is one clause, which as a commercial and a naval nation, we never ought to have allowed to be extorted from Persia. 'No ships of war except Russian to be allowed on the Caspian Sea.' Our justification for such interference might have been firmly based on the concluding sentence of the eighth article of the preliminary treaty.

"And it is likewise agreed, that as long as these preliminary articles remain in force, his majesty the King of Persia shall not enter into any engagement inimical to his Britannic Majesty, or pregnant with injury or disadvantage to the British territories in India." —p. 52.

The moderation and even the justice of the new Emperor were soon called upon for their display, or else the catastrophe which occurred at Tehran in February, 1829, might have furnished an excuse for further exactions. In that month Mr. Grybyadoff, the Russian envoy at the court of the Shah, and forty-four individuals belonging to his suite, fell victims to the popular phrenzy excited by the treaty, at which the nation was greatly indignant. The Russian party were massacred at the official dwelling. The Shah, equally shocked and alarmed at an outrage he could not prevent, despatched a mission charged with explanations to the court of St. Petersburg, which was gra-

ciously received, the provocation admitted by the Emperor, and harmony has since been preserved.

This has been chiefly owing to the able and moderate management of Prince Dolgorouki in the first instance, who was sent to Persia to arrange for the above mentioned act of violence, and whose conduct entirely changed the Persian feeling favourably for Russia. General Bezac his successor acted, for a short time, as consul, previous to the arrival of Count Simonivitch, the present minister.

We must now turn back to observe that after the conclusion of peace between Persia and Russia by the treaty of Goolistan in 1814, the British Government justly felt that the integrity of the Persian dominions would be best and most effectually secured by the preservation of amicable relations with Russia; since that period, everything which could be viewed in the light of a competition for ascendancy in the councils of the Shah appears to have been avoided. We seem to have come to some tacit understanding with Russia on this subject—to have made it our study to avoid coming in collision with her in Asia, and to prevent, if possible, any subjects of discussion between the governments from being permitted to arise out of the proceedings at the court of Tehran; in short, to have considered Persia as neutral ground.

This was, perhaps, the most obvious policy which could have been pursued; and, so long as it could be preserved, and was faithfully adhered to, by both the courts and by their servants, was perhaps as well calculated as any other to answer our purpose, while it had the obvious advantage of being liberal, fair, and just. But it had also the disadvantage of being most favourable to the party who should observe it with least exactness; and it is, therefore, important to inquire, whether Russia or England is most likely to be led by circumstances, or by the tone of her general policy and the manner in which she conducts her relations with Persia, to press her influence, and attempt an appropriation of the neutral ground, which we have supposed to be considered such by mutual agreement.

We must notice, however, that this policy, the result of necessity, and arising out of the recent events, though perfectly adapted for the time when it was resorted to, by no means necessitated an adherence to it when circumstances were materially altered. It will be observed that the 4th article of the English Treaty in 1809 specified a subsidy to Persia in the case of an invasion. Assuredly Prince Abbas Meerza

relied strongly upon this, and without it would never have engaged in the contest he provoked, we are bound in justice to say, and we say it on good authority, wantonly and in defiance of the feelings of the Persian government and king. But though Persia had fairly executed all her share of the Treaty in question, the English minister when called upon to fulfil this condition, hesitated, hung back, negotiated, and delayed under every possible pretext, while he could not deny the faith or the claim of Persia. It was clear, however, to all the parties that Mr. Canning only sought a means of escaping the fulfilment of the stipulations. He was hard pressed by the reluctance to engaging in a war with Russia, represented as too probable by the minister of that power at the British Court, and by the dexterity of a first-rate female diplomatist, to whom indeed the management of the matter was fairly confided by the Russian Court; and whose influence was fatally effective in this and the Turkish questions. In affecting to adhere simply to the policy of his predecessors, Mr. Canning forgot the immense difference and disgrace of refusing the fulfilment only at the time when, and because, the need was urgent. He could not foresee that Persia must become, if further humbled, the tool of Russia against the East; if he had, no earthly power would have balanced against his duty. He did not even perceive that the crisis to Persia had arrived; and contented himself with a double sacrifice to vanity, in assuming to arbitrate against a sovereign Prince, and hearing his praises resounded by the lips of successful beauty.

The avarice of the Shah, Futteeh Allee, had left the whole burthen of the war upon the shoulders of the Prince and the province of Azerbaijan; the Shah had yet a strong hankering for the subsidy, on the receipt of which he would certainly have entered into the contest; but Mr. Canning decided that the *casus fœderis* was not clearly established. Sir H. Jones is most certainly mistaken in referring this decision to love of money in the British Minister. He had not the free command of it at the time, it is true, but Mr. Canning was above mercenary considerations. Not so the late Shah. Sir Harford informs us,

‘In his difficulty, the Monarch of Persia applied to the late Sir John Macdonald, who proposed to purchase the erasure of those two articles from the treaty which bound England to pay the subsidy. Negotiations for this purpose were opened, which terminated in the Prince receiving 200,000 tomans, and a promise

(*Sponsio*) on the part of the Envoy to represent the case favourably to the home authorities, in the hope of obtaining an additional sum. Remember, the treaty of subsidy between England and Persia was signed by a gentleman with power from the Crown, was ratified by the Crown, was, it is presumed, inserted in the body of the definitive treaty, and was under the authority of the Crown augmented from tomans 160,000 to 200,000. It was virtually annulled by a gentleman only accredited as Envoy from the Governor-General.

“The very attempt to purchase the erasure of the two articles in the treaty of subsidy evinces, that Mr. Canning did not place much confidence in his decision of the *casus fœderis*; for if he could have proved that decision would hold water, there was no occasion to throw away 200,000 tomans; and if he could not prove that, I must be permitted to think the whole transaction was *dishonourable and unjust*.”

We have never heard of a different opinion being entertained by any one not interested in the transaction.

From the time of this sacrifice of our duties and our honour, it cannot be supposed that England has ever retained much influence in the councils of Persia, in spite of the efforts of our Envoys to that power. The fault, then, is our own alone; and it is the narrow policy of money-matters that has induced England to play the game of Russia.

But to return: there can be no question that the general policy of the latter power, from the days of Peter the First, uniformly pointed to the extension of her frontier on the side of Persia, and more particularly to the acquisition of the coast of the Caspian Sea. It is difficult to imagine a stronger or better marked boundary than that which formed the frontier between Russia and Persia. The Black Sea on one hand, and the Caspian on the other, connected by the chain of the Caucasus, seem to have been designed by nature for the limits of some powerful nation against some great power. The views which induced Peter to pass this barrier, and establish himself beyond it, must have had some ultimate object. He, however, restored it to Persia.

Catherine long after took Georgia under her protection, and directed Potemkin to receive the submission of any nation which might be inclined to offer it. General Goo-dovich was instructed to receive the allegiance of two Persian towns; Zuboff was sent into Persia to seize the provinces adjacent to Georgia, as a retaliation for the attack on Teflis; and Russia became bound to protect not only the present possessions of the Wallee, but also any he might here-

after acquire. This was but pursuing the policy of Peter, and following the same views, without the same due sense of its extravagance correcting the ambition.

When General Yermoloff proposed to supply Russian officers to discipline the Persian troops at the cost of his government,—when missions were subsequently sent to Khiva and to Bokhara, and when Persia was bound to maintain no navy on the Caspian, which amounted to a total abandonment of that sea to the power of Russia,—it was but a steady pursuit of the same purpose.

But at a more recent period, Russia pressed with warmth the establishment of a commercial agent at Resht in Gilan, a province notoriously ill-affected to Persia, and General Yermoloff pushed the Russian troops beyond the line of frontier defined by the treaty; but the cabinet of St. Petersburg, having now altered its views of aggression, sent to its governor in Georgia repeated and positive instructions to conciliate Persia, and to make no exertion to obtain a paramount influence in her councils, or to press her to a rupture with Russia. It is plain that these orders have been ill attended to, and we lose the security which we should otherwise have derived from a confidence in the moderation of the Russian government through the ambitious zeal of its agents.

England, on the other hand, comes in no way in collision with Persia. Her trade with that country is established on well-defined grounds of reciprocal advantage. Her political connection with Persia is confined to watching over her interests, and aiding her in her difficulties. She has no frontier to cause dissensions, and no objects opposed to the interests of Persia to pursue. But there is a strong and urgent demand upon her to maintain the integrity of Persia, as the best security she can have for the tranquillity of her Indian empire,—and every attempt which Russia may make to trench upon the power of Persia, must be considered a step towards bringing her in collision with England in Asia, and towards loosening our hold on our Eastern possessions.

The question then is, How far has Persia been trenched upon by Russia? and, How does the Russian influence there endanger the possessions of England? It must be obvious that the second point can only be answered with direct reference to the first; i. e. by answering this: and that a wide distinction is to be made in the senses of the first. A large portion of Persia has been torn from her rule, and united to the Russian dominion. There are many different narratives of Russian progress in the East;

and in proportion to the lawlessness they charge upon the conduct of that power, follows the conviction that it must be felt and resented, though not revenged, by the suffering party. Nations, as a late eminent statesman well observed, have no political gratitude; but they certainly have a political resentment; and anything that tends to render their power less great or imposing, would wash out all other recollections. If such is the principle of nature, and we suppose this cannot be questioned, it must be the case in Persia. The Persians of the north care little, generally, for the English beyond any advantages reaped from the English trade: the reason is that they know little of them otherwise, and have nothing to fear from them. But they do know the Russians, for they have been conquered by them, and fear them. No one loves what he fears. It is unquestionable that Russia is not popular in the north and north-west of Persia; and a proof of it is, that her trade there is lessening, while that of Britain is increasing at its expense. It having been discovered in those provinces that the Russian goods are scarcely cheaper than the English, and not so durable.

If, then, Russia trenches upon Persian power by privation, her influence is lessened by the act, and her trade suffers, and has suffered, diminution. The only other sense of the term is that of swaying Persia, and this again must be divided into two points; the Nation and the King. We have shown that the former are not, and cannot be, favourable in the north, or they would not reject the trade for that of England. It is clear also that the sea-coast, to which Russia has little nominal access even, is decidedly favourable to the English; for Farsistan and the other provinces repeatedly demanded their succour against the king, and were in insurrection, before the English expedition proceeded to Karrack.

But the power and influence of Russia are great with the court. With a part of it they undoubtedly are, and this the portion attached to the present king, with whom they are all-powerful. But admitting to the utmost that for their own sake alone they persuaded that weak prince to undertake the expedition to Herat, and this we utterly deny; (see Number xliii, Article, *Russian position and policy*;) independent of the gallant resistance opposed by the fierce, abhorrent scorn of the Affghans for the Persians, which no one will doubt; even with a population of not less than 12,000 of the latter nation resident in Cabul, what did the assailing hosts effect? That the talents of Lieutenant Pottinger so aided the defence,

is only admitting the worthlessness of the besiegers : and these men themselves were starving—limited to the scantiest supplies, without pay for days together, and always without arrears. The finance department is worthless there also. But what, more than all these causes, produced the failure, and even these drawbacks on the possibility of success ? The king found that his nobles, both in the camp and at home, were decidedly against the war, and, had it been prosecuted, would have flown into open rebellion in the latter, as they were in actual insubordination in the former.

The north-east of Persia, where, and where alone, the Russians from the Central-Asiatic trade were favoured by the inhabitants, is now left to judge, as so barbarous a race must judge, of the power of Russia by the failure of her reputed schemes : now, every writer and traveller in the East knows success to be there, as indeed everywhere, the chief measure of merit.

Of the king we shall speak presently ; but must observe that the power of Persia has been greatly overrated, as Mr. Frazer, no incompetent witness, so justly observes. Without roads, often without rivers, but amply supplied with mountainous defiles and barren wastes, the true strength of Persia consists in her formidable irregular cavalry, and her chief treasures may probably turn out to be her mines. Some provinces are fertile, but generally, we might almost say universally, communications are difficult throughout the country ; and hence with a variety of conflicting interests, and no one real bond of union, Persia has constantly found ample work for her own sovereign, and never been retainable by an invader. Her peasantry, too, are happy, much more so than that of Poland or Russia ; therefore not so easily persuaded to turn marauders. It is then only when the Russian finances shall be flourishing, and the Persian, an even more hopeless case, tolerably supplied and tolerably managed—and this is a very bold hypothesis—that a combined army of Persian horse and Russian foot and regular cavalry, can make any impression upon neighbouring countries and territories.

Persia, as we anticipated in our last view of the subject, has really solicited the Russian emperor's intervention : and we have reason to believe that M. Franchini's mission has for its principal object the internal pacification of Persia ; as well as the intention to hold her as a counterpoise to Turkey and a check upon her movements : such being the condition of the assistance to be now afforded.

Thus then the influence of Russia may

be great for a time, and with the prince ; but it cannot be lasting with the people. If Russia, as we have stated, as facts show, and she herself well knows, is disliked and feared in Persia, what formidable danger is to be expected from her influence ? She who has confessed to the Shah that she has no money to support his claim to the throne ; and whose offer of a military force for this object was declined, by preference for English aid, on the part of the Persians themselves.

Whom then have the latter, and England herself, to thank for the paramount influence of Russia in that country ? Undoubtedly the refusal of Mr. Canning in the first instance to observe the stipulations in existence ; and secondly the act of his ministerial tail, who by the battle of Navarino procured, not one, but a series of, "untoward" events for Britain, for Turkey, and for Persia also. That battle gave Varna to Russia ; and Varna purchased the Balkan and Constantinople. The treaty that excluded armed English vessels from the Black Sea was the consequence ; and Persia, thus excluded from our naval support, was thrown into the arms of Russia without reservation ; and the only remedy left, as discovered by the sagacity of certain Radical sages, was, to have undertaken a war in order to prevent one !

Russia, however, has effectually broken the Persian power, never very formidable for any length of time ; and constantly divided against itself. She would undoubtedly be glad to push her trade by that quarter into Central Asia, but if she creates commotions in the latter she destroys the chances of commerce. If Persia could conquer any or all of those countries, would Russia obtain them ? and if she did, could she retain them ? The fancies of tens of thousands of her troops perambulating the wilds of Tataria were doubtless very interesting, to the readers of Tatarian tales at least. But, if Russia was so anxious and so able, as asserted, to assist Persia in this very shape, how came it she sent no force there ? or, if she did, what became of them ? Surely the sands have not swallowed them all : and if they have, Great Britain has in them the best of allies, one who needs no subsidy : in this case too we cannot wonder that the far-seeing economy of Lord William Bentinck was, as asserted, the first to find them out.

If we are determined to attribute a Machiavelian policy to Nicholas, we might at least give him credit for not cutting his own throat with it ; diffusing trade by the gentle medium of the bayonet, marching armies to lose them after the fashion of Cambyzes in the deserts, and conquering impracticable coun-

tries by proxy; and this too on the faith of Persia! Would it not be more reasonable to suppose that he wished to divert her attention from his own acquisitions, by finding her a rope of sand in the East wherewith to bind a new empire? Surely no conquest of the Kuzzilbash could serve him half so effectually in the shape of injury to our Indian dominions, as this rumour of war, since it has had the disastrous result of rousing the good Lord Auckland into permanent action of any kind.

But the irregularity of Asiatic nations had long since compelled the adoption of a suitable policy to ensure, so far as practicable, security for kingdoms, by leaving a waste between them: and such, it is our own opinion, is the object of Nicholas in the present case, by rendering Persia helpless and chaotic, and incapable of receiving assistance; a barrier between Russia and Hindostan. And we do not hesitate to say that he has more to dread from the power of England in that quarter than she from him.

Though Russia has pushed her conquests eastward below the parallel of the southern coast of the Black Sea in order to secure it as a lake, enlocked within her own dominions, and without an armed competitor on its waters: and though she has followed nearly the same course with the Caspian, can we wonder at her dread of British enterprize and her prohibitory duties, daily increasing, when we notice the loss her commerce has sustained from British competition?

Her annual exports of woollen goods across the Caspian to Persia rose between 1824 and 1829 from 150,000 to near a 1,000,000 roubles; and since then they have fallen down to 140,000 roubles yearly. The sale of the same to the Nomade tribes rose from 700,000 roubles in 1824 gradually to 3,000,000 roubles; they had sunk in 1834 to 2,200,000 roubles.

Of silk goods across the Caspian she now disposes only to the amount of 50,000 roubles, and by Georgia considerably less. The Turcomans and Khirghis, who in 1828 bought the sum of 700,000 roubles, now have sunk down below 100,000 roubles.

The linen purchased by the hordes formerly amounted from 250,000 roubles to 400,000 roubles; it is now 100,000 roubles.

Iron sent across the Caspian in the above interval increased from 70,000 poods, to 258,000 poods in 1829, and 276,000 poods in 1830; in 1834 it had declined to 244,000 poods. Iron-ware by the same route amounted to 287,000 roubles in 1829; it is now reduced to one half.

To take the trade comparatively:

Russia in 1833-4 exported to all Asia goods to the amount of 17,000,000 roubles or 2,750,000*l.* sterling—

- 1,000,000 of which was for woollens.
- Great Britain in 1832 exported to Asia, exclusive of China, goods to the amount of 3,700,000*l.* one-half of which was woollens.

Russian goods thus have sunk before the English; and their price is raised in the hands of the Armenians, who take long credit and charge a high per-centage; costing from 50 to 80 per cent. more at Teflis than at Novogorod.

The repeal in 1829 of the ukase of 1821 giving the fur trade to the Georgians has been most injurious, according to the statement of Professor Eichwald; and there, as well as in Persia and Circassia, in spite of obstacles, British competition has left little for Russia, who has been almost driven out of the markets.

With such statistical facts before us, we have surely nothing to fear for our commerce—but on the contrary we can easily understand that the steady efforts at prohibition on the part of Russia arise from her dread of ourselves. We know from every person who is acquainted with the subject, the indefatigable activity of the Russian trade in Tatary and Asia; but if the facts above cited prove the superior demand for English goods, wherever they are known and obtainable, can we doubt of these commanding every market there also, and forcing their way despite the utmost vigilance of Nicholas, even were those countries as entirely at his command, and as fully regulated, as the European ports in the time of Napoleon's vain prohibitory decrees?

Having shown that active hostilities need be little apprehended, and commercial competition still less so, at the hands of Russia as to Persia; we now proceed to examine, so far as our means will allow us, the mysterious veil which it has pleased the wisdom of the present Governor-General of India to wrap round the already complicated position and polity of that country.

Although well assured from every creditable quarter, thanks to the vigilant jealousy of foreign designs and encroachments manifested by the press of Great Britain, which has thrown light more or less upon almost every dirty hole and corner of ambitious intrigue abroad; although fully apprized though their medium of the fact, which no well informed person ever could doubt, of the existence of Russian agents and spies throughout the East, the public, who had been thoroughly re-assured, at least we hope

so, by the positive declarations of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs in his place in parliament, that no danger was threatened, no sinister designs entertained by the Colossus of the North against Great Britain or British possessions; the public we say were struck aghast by the appearance of an official document issued by our eastern potentate; this was not indeed of "tremendous brevity" like the epistle of the far-famed Haroun Al-Raschid,* but its length was by no means less tremendous, nor was it less to be revered and implicitly believed as coming from a British "Commander of the Faithful," a worthy rival of the great hero of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. In this interesting publication, (we do not, as our readers might suppose, mean the Arabian Nights) if there is not quite as much entertainment to repay the perusal, there is at least an equal turn for the marvellous, as wild a fancy, and combinations as unexpected and strange as ever could be united in the "Thousand and One" Stories, which it was written, we presume, to supersede. The characters also are nearly the same, though naturally somewhat the worse from lapse of time. We recognize in it, grown somewhat elderly, the still resolute and very sleepy sultan; the gaping restlessness and anxious curiosity of the dear "sister" Dinarzade; together with the eternal narrative and fertile memory, or perhaps imagination, of the gentle Scheherazade, no way improved by advanced age, but combining all sorts of impossibilities with much of the same charm, and with nearly the same effect, of setting every True Believer to prayers. This later composition boasts, however, very material advantages over its prototype; namely in the writer's being known, and in his preservation of the unities: the death-doing, half awake Sultan Schariar, the early-rising, tale-listening Dinarzade, and the unending babble of her doom-expecting sister, who seeks to avert the danger by an endless dreamy narrative, being all combined and identified with the caliph who loves rambling, and in the dark; and all meeting in the person of the ingenious author. Greatly as we applaud this unexpected effort of a single imagination which gives us hopes that India, the source of the Arabian narratives, may yet afford us another and another pleasing supply for our nurseries, let us not

be suspected from the above expression of alluding irreverently to the rambles of this great president of the Oriental Pickwick Club, though we must confess ourselves at a loss for the reason; whether, like the Prince Zayn Alasnam, dissatisfied with the gold, silver, and diamond forms in his treasury, he seeks a ninth statue, of "defined and moderate" glory; or expects, like the Full Moon of Beder, to be rewarded with a princess rising out of the Persian Gulf at Karrack; or as Camaralzamaun, in his quality of the Moon of the Age, is borne in his sleep by Jin or meddling Spirit towards the couch of some Badoura in China itself; since in either capacity of this three-fold Hecate his mystic threat is simply,

"In a sieve I'll thither sail,
And, like a rat without a tail,
I'll do, I'll do, I'll do,"

ignorant as we are of his object, and unsuspecting of the course of his arrow-flight, we trust his lordship's toils may be rewarded by some Peri Banou, with the very little* man, three feet high, and with a beard of thirty, for his lordship, since this is a proof of wisdom. At any rate we cherish a hope that the "unknown Indian" who mounted his lordship on his wooden hobby to fly from the plains of Iran towards Kashgar, may have guarded him also from an unlimited use of the "mysterious Peg" that has borne him so high above the clouds. We trust, by the fortunate chance of another peg behind the ear, that that worthy nobleman may come down some time or other, even if equally in the dark with his prototype, to plain earth; and be found after all his "roaming, in his bower back again," though not exactly "with roses in his hair." We shall rejoice to let him off with a simple history, if we can get it, of his meeting with that "one-eyed Calender, the son of a king," our trust-worthy ally, Runjeet.

From this pleasing range of imagination we wish not to be awakened till we discover his lordship's power, like his Arabian predecessor's, to be equal to marching armies, dethroning sovereigns, and setting up slaves in their stead, without expense to his admirers at home. We cannot imagine all the recent marvels to be of his own conjuring; for it would require strong evidence to convict his lordship of a practice so unsatisfactorily negatived by the whole tenure of his life, and so completely refuted by his famed proclamations. But we joy to think how the great soul of his lordship's immediate predecessor must rejoice at the fruit so lav-

* "He dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity."—(*Gibbon*.)

"Haroun Al-Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman Dog.

"I have read thy letter, oh! son of female infidelity; thou shalt behold, not read, my answer."

* The Persian periphrasis for a great fool.

ishly borne by "the rupee-tree" after the ample pruning he bestowed on every branch of it. The one talent he possessed and hid so carefully in the earth, or in the company's pocket, has fructified (all credit to Mr. Poulett Thompson) into ten. The seeds of five or ten thousand pounds, refused to Dost Mahomed of Cabul when he was our friend, and the foe of Persia and Russia, have brought forth a goodly produce in the soil where they were kept, and to the amount of as many millions sterling in outlay for the present expedition against Persia.

Nor is it perhaps any compensation to Great Britain that this expenditure is incurred in dethroning a prince because his neighbour was attacked by a stranger. The folly of the Shah of Persia towards Kamram now, does not surely affect the birth-rights of Soojah fifty years ago. It has taken thirty years for a governor-general to discover these, from which it may be presumed they were somewhat recondite in the first instance. Soojah was sent to Jericho, and has certainly tarried there "till his beard was grown;" long enough, it may be, to atone the loss of the other "little man;" and this perhaps is why Lord Auckland is so firmly his friend, and may probably intend him to reign by Divine Right, since he has none upon earth.

With such fancies as these it is impossible to contend seriously; and his lordship, whose personal goodness of heart and amiability are unquestionable, seems disposed to joke. In the first place he declares that

"Every consideration of policy and justice warranted us in espousing the cause of Schah Soojah-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the governor-general was further of opinion that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British Government, that his highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations."

In the second place we learn that

"A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be rendered to the Ameers of Sind; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected: whilst by the measures completed or in progress it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the nations of Central Asia; that tranquillity

will be established upon the most important frontier of India, and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment. His majesty Schah Soojah-ool-Moolk will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The governor-general confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The governor-general has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the British crown.

The first statement can never be made in earnest; who are these unknown "best authorities?" Lieutenant Burnes cannot be one, for he has said the precise reverse; and the fact itself seems to have been unsuspected in Cabul, and by those who knew it well. The amiable and talented Soojah, the weakest of mankind, had violated the sanctity of a harem; the worst offence to the decency of life and the security of property, known in the East. He was driven from a throne he had won by the arms and talents of his vizier, and by the treachery of a hostile general to his opponent. How did he behave to the former?

We must, however, admit that the whole population is attached to him, since the governor-general says so; and undoubtedly the attachment must be very strong and deep-rooted that never showed itself anywhere: that had never seen his face for thirty years, if at all, and had never desired to see it again; that had steadily resisted, when he tried to return, all opportunities to behold anything of him but his back; while his own soldiers showed him theirs before going into battle. This is not the usual mode of evincing affection, at least in Europe: but the governor-general, as the first discoverer, has the full right to his invention, and he uses it by enforcing the return of Soojah the Desired with a force of 35,000 bayonets. We remember in Lord Wellington's time that this first captain of Europe refused to enter France leading the French Princes, though Louis le Desiré had a claim on the affections of the country, through the long ages of his ancestors' reign. The precedent, we submit, is not too low for Lord Auckland to follow.

We see, in fact, three arguments for this espousal of Soojah's cause, but neither of them openly avowed by the proclamation. First, that having no claim to the Musnud, he may become the tool of Great Britain,

like the subservient King of Oude. Second, that he may be more easily dethroned than an abler man, whenever it shall please any resident at his court to seize the crown for England. The third and strongest point in his favour is, that if Soojah has no claim on the British government, he has none anywhere else, even from his subjects, from whom he has so often fled. The Tories boast as their leader the hero of a hundred fights. The Whig government in India select for theirs the hero of a hundred flights.

The introduction of Runjeet into the treaty is but a further point of the same view. He was at war with the Affghans who detest him as an infidel, and the interference on his part, therefore, will doubtless increase the thirty years' patient affection felt for Soojah. The scorner of domesticity, and the scorner of religion, will doubtless be heartily welcome, and ought to appear in conjunction.

The guaranteeing independence to the Ameers, who possess it already, is very liberal but somewhat supererogatory. These gentlemen are, however, satisfied to possess the substance ; and object to opening the door to the wolf that he may feel the pulse of the patient. They are even mustering their forces to oppose this benevolent demonstration ; and we cannot wonder at it altogether, seeing the faith of British treaties, as in Oude, before them.

The same may be said of Herat and Cabul : when this is conquered, the British army is to be withdrawn. What, is there no future to come ? We rejected the alliance of Dost Mahommed, and to prevent his forming a league with Persia and Russia to-morrow, we are driving him into it to-day ! We shall blame him, and him alone, if Russian troops come to his assistance ; the aggrandizement, the ambition will be all the Emperor's ! And we, who shall thus extend our frontiers on all points, north and west, and interfere to make new enemies and sow new jealousies in Tartary, at ten-fold trouble, time, and expense, to say the least of it ; we, who are forcing our rule upon all sides that we dare attempt it, we are the sole martyrs—the victims to Russian ambition !

If, however, 5000 British troops can win all Cabul for Soojah, while 30,000 Persians could not take a single town, why do we fear Persia so much ? Why do we feel alarmed because a weak and vaunting fool like the Shah dreams of marching through Cabul and Candahar, to Segistan, Moultan, and Beloochistan, and thence probably to Calcutta ? When this hero of the seven-leagued boots failed in his first step, might we not answer to the rest like Sterne's Giant

to the Dwarf threatening his pigtail, "that he was welcome, if he could reach it ?" The first sound of active opposition sends the modern Nadir to his own country, and to prove to him the wickedness of assailing Cabul, we seize it ourselves. Really the Shah and the Governor-general are aptly matched. With orator Henley, "we know whom we beat."

The proclamation hints darkly but plainly enough at the designs of Russia, and so every man in England understood the allusion. Lord Palmerston has but just declared, for the twentieth time, that Russia has no such designs. Then which are we to believe ?—for he contradicts the Governor-general of India. All the ministry, as Lord Melbourne avowed, concurred in Lord Auckland's doings ; then all differ from Lord Palmerston ; and he also from himself ! This is a singular double contradiction, and hitherto unnoticed, we believe ; and yet there is a third ; for satisfied as the noble viscount has ALWAYS declared himself with the friendly conduct of Russia, he has yet thought it necessary, apparently constantly, to demand explanations of that conduct.

With Lord Auckland and Lord Palmerston in such full opposition to each other, both cannot be right ; but both may be wrong. A thing cannot be and not be at the same time. Is there no mystery behind this ?

The position of Nicholas and his ministers, which we have dwelt upon at some length, may furnish a part of the clue ; and we refer to Mr. Bremner's recent excellent work upon Russia,* which we regret has only just fallen in our way, to bear out our allegations, and throw complete light upon the position internal and external of that power, and on the personal character of the Emperor. No work of the present day can exceed it in minuteness and exactitude, and its extent enables the writer to carry out much that we, before its appearance, had had in type of the present article. The readers of that work find a new field of inquiry and information laid open to them ; and had it been earlier published, it would have saved them much incertitude. On the "Views of Russia," however, and some other points, we cannot hold with the writer, but shall state our opinion presently.

It is clear that the dark hints to which we have alluded as affording the governor-general a veil to throw over his mysterious policy and projected feats of arms, must undeniably refer to Russia ; because the conduct of the Cabul chiefs is openly treated, and

* Bremner's *Excursions in Russia*. 2 vols. Colburn, London.

also the Persian invasion. There can therefore be no question of any third power sufficiently formidable to call forth all these military movements of our Eastern armies upon that frontier, if not Russia: since the ministers at home concurred without exception in the measures taken by Lord Auckland, it is evident therefore that Russia must have been at the bottom of all: yet we are formally told by Lord Palmerston that there are no proceedings on her part. Had not Persia a right recognized by Art. 7 of our Treaty with her in 1809, to make war against the Affghans? Our right to interfere, so far as defending our own frontiers gives, was admitted, but whence comes the right of extending it? Could not the Kandaharee chief go to war with Runjeet, could not our neighbours be left to weaken themselves by incessant warfare without our directions? and was not this distracted state of the border rulers a proof of intestine jealousies that formed a safer defence to ourselves than an extension of our sway, in the face of every right, into a new field of dominion? The Sikhs of Lahore and the Affghans have a religious feud; the latter detesting the former as infidels. They had coalesced previously for a time, when, in 1834, Runjeet was to replace Soojah on the throne, it may be argued; yet this was with but a small portion of the disaffected, and against the Affghan nation; it is therefore no proof of cordiality, but of union of interest only; and the previous conduct of Runjeet to Sooja, whom he robbed and plundered to absolute beggary when the latter took refuge at his court, shows the motives of Runjeet Singh, and the degree of faith and friendship to be expected on either hand. In this projected invasion of the Affghans, our allies, the British Government in India acquiesced.

The Affghans, who hate the Sikhs, were preparing a religious crusade against them when the governor-general so recently interfered from dread of their uniting with the Persians. But the Affghans hate the Persians also, with a religious animosity, for the former are Soonis like the Turks, the latter are Shiahs. The sectarian hatred of the Turks and Persians has alone, and always, prevented them from co-operating for any time. The same would be and has been the case between Persians and Affghans: and it is unquestionable that this hatred has always been the source of the aggressions on both sides, and of the recent energetic defence of Herat. In fortifying this town, and in the broken and divided state of all Cabul, therefore, a far stronger and more honourable source of security existed for our

Indian possessions than in our advancing claims upon sovereignties for our needy dependents, opening a new field for our own aggressions, interesting strange nations to unite against us, giving them ample food for alarm at our encroachments and ambition against weak and divided states, and adding to the discontents already existing throughout India, a fresh source of expenses, dissensions, protections, and wars, in Central Asia also: and all this, be it observed, while Russia is in no degree scheming against us, according to our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"Cabul and Kandahar are the gates of India," is quoted by the author of a sensible and able pamphlet,* though somewhat alarmist perhaps, as the sound dictum of an Indian conqueror. In his day undoubtedly they were—they are so still; but could they not be held by a native prince, actually in possession of them, without injury or expense to ourselves or violation of the rights of others? And, if assailed, would not a British subsidiary force aid in holding them so soon as aid was requisite for the purpose? As matters stand, who can blame Dost Mahomed for throwing himself under Russian protection; becoming tributary, if needful, to Russia, or to Persia. If Russia came down into Central Asia to support her new ally, would not she act itself, and, if we are to believe Lord Palmerston, the initiative also, be owing only to Lord Auckland's premature terrors and aimless heroics?

The best defences of our frontiers would be in the love of the different native races: the really formidable Persian irregular horse would then be met by at least their equals in the open plains; that is to say, by the Rohillas and natives of the Northern frontiers, the finest soldiers in Asia; the former strongly recommended by the late Honourable Mr. Shore, and Captain Westmacott,† and by every man acquainted with India, as invaluable in the field; and yet both these gallant races have we outraged and alienated by our proceedings, at Oude, &c. in the former case, and by the unjustifiable seizure of the free military tenures, a scheme devised by Lord Hastings and perfected only by Lord Auckland!

Had 5000 men in the first instance been moved towards Herat, it is clear the Persian Shah's stay there would have been short; and all the mad expense and impolicy of an

* India, Great Britain, and Russia.—*Bailey*, 1838.

† "Present and Future Prospects of our Indian Empire." This, and Shore's Notes on India, are awful expositions of British injustice and folly in the East.

offensive treaty with Shah Sooja avoided; and the costs of preparing 35,000 men obviated at once. But the whole frontier was excited needlessly against us by Lord Auckland's previous policy, from Hyderabad to Oude; and Runjeet Singh, too cautious to be outreached by English moderation, distrusting the Usurper-General, who had seized Oude on the one hand, and was about to seize Cabul on the other, as having possibly an eye to his own intermediate dominions, contrived to delay and flatter the pompous weakness of honest Lord Auckland, (honest Iago!) and delay the whole affair, till, had there been any real ground for alarm, it would have been too late to act. No doubt he was and would have been secured by treaties, such as Oude relied on once; but he had better secured himself meantime by a supply of the best arms the East India Company could furnish him, during his own life-time, and required no new Colonel Low to ensure the succession to his offspring after his death.

A glance at Wyld's map of the countries between Turkey and Birmah, (compiled, as we are happy to bear testimony, from very recent and authentic sources, British and foreign,* and of the highest merit) proves unquestionably that Hindostan has two strong outworks between it and independent Tartary to the North-West, in the Kingdoms of the Punjab and Cabul, and two efficient barriers between it and Persia, to the West, the barren wastes of Mekran and the waters of the Indus. The Parsee navy, the Anglo-Indian shipping and steamers, are surely enough to maintain the passage of this last; and is not Cabul, with its incessant mountains and difficult passes, easily to be maintained by native troops against invaders, if only we will exert our diplomacy against Russia, and not run headlong against the first stone wall we can build against ourselves?

A simple alliance by which Kamran should be maintained, and the Barukhzyah

brethren confirmed in their possessions;—all held by right of conquest, and Soojah himself is not the right heir, there being one nearer claimant by descent in this case, as in the Oude question also;—would do more to alleviate the dangers and strengthen the position of British India, than all the recent expenses, so confessedly vain and thrown away, of the Governor-General, and which have had but the one effect of uniting all the frontier powers against our course. Well may even the Shah retain positions in the vicinity of Herat, if upon defensive grounds only, with so determined an hostility against him, weak as he is, yet not altogether unamiable, and bitterly offended at having to treat with an untitled minister from England. Mr. Macneil has had, in this alone, a serious difficulty to contend against; and if his services were worth employing, it is a pity they were not made most efficient by so simple a form of dignity as knighthood at least, against the full powers and European dignities borne by his antagonist Simonivitch.

If to the foregoing considerations we add the fact, that of £800,000 sterling, the amount of the duties annually at Cabul, the greater part by far is supplied by the British trade; if we recall the statements respecting that with Central Asia and its triumphant progress against Russian commerce; when we consider that Persia not only receives our goods, but has confessed the importance of this trade, even recently, in the continuance of it under the auspices of the Court, when the Sovereign is most mortified and irritated against us; if we find that inclination towards British education is felt in even the seminaries of Persia, and that our opinions and modes of thinking are anxiously consulted and rapidly gaining ground there; and finally, that from Lahore itself repeated applications have been made to establish a system of English education there also, we need be under little apprehension for any chance of future preference of barbarism to civilisation, unless by the injustice and ambition of our Anglo-Indian Government. If Russian enterprise should precede us in any portion of Central Asia, will not our commercial activity by the Indus, in spite of all obstacles, enable us in the superiority of our manufactures to produce the same effect as in the more Western parts of Asia, to which we have alluded above? It can only require common attention to our interests, and maintenance of a character for high faith and real moderation, to ensure us from rivalry of any kind in these quarters.

And here we must refer to the opinions of Count Bjornstjerna, a diplomatist of ac-

* For instance, the coasts of the Red Sea, we observe, are taken from the Surveys of Lieutenant Wellsted; and the coasts of Arabia the same: the Persian Gulf, from the Indian Navy survey, in two sheets: the country to the North of the Aras, from the sketches of Baron Meyendorf and Mouravieff: the Caspian Sea from the Large Chart of the Russian Admiralty: consulting also Monteith's Map of Armenia; Colonel Sutherland's map of the Province of Azerbaijan; Colonel Rottier's (in the Russian service) sketches of the Caucasus.

The position of Candahar, we perceive, is laid down one degree different from *Burnes*, and from *Arrowsmith's* large map, but it agrees with the Russian sketches and maps. The difference is of the highest importance in military and other calculations.

knowledge foresight and ability, and from which nothing but the vast importance of the general views we have been submitting could have so long detained us. The Count notices the chances for happiness for the natives in the superior cultivation of our countrymen, and stability and regularity of our form of Government; but he considers these advantages balanced by the natural love of liberty that accompanies civilisation, the restlessness of various native tribes, especially those thrown out of the system they lived by, of war and violence and plunder, and particularly the natural dislike of a foreign race, of conquerors or settlers. The Mussulman he regards as less attached to us than the Hindoo, and the upper classes of these last less so than the lower, who have ever found a protector in the British Government. He observes, however, that the repeated acts of injustice, the deposition of native princes and rajahs by the English, is a serious objection to the natives.

As to foreign enmity, Count Bjornstjerna considers it more dangerous as acting indirectly than directly, though we conceive he underrates the means of annoyance from the East.

The North West frontier he considers to be the only one vulnerable, as the line of the Indus is not our real boundary, but that of the Sutlej; the former river being the limit of Lahore. Still the Count, and he is a military man of the highest reputation at home, opines, that we might defend the 200 geographical miles of its course, as supplies and troops would be easily received and maintained: our force of 180,000 men could soon be increased, with auxiliaries, to 240,000. One-third, according to him, might unite with the Rajahs of Lahore and the Ameers of Sind; (alas for Lord Auckland's policy towards these!) one-third might form a reserve behind the Sutlej and Loony; and the remainder preserve peace at home: while the advanced posts would extend to Peshawar and the Solimân chain of mountains. This position the Count considers would enable our force to march effectually to any point assailed.

The great changes in Central Asia are dwelt upon at considerable length and with great ability, and the alteration of attachment to ourselves in fifteen years calmly but effectively reasoned upon. Into this we need not now go.

Of Russia, Count Bjornstjerna says, that the change of ten years has made the invasion of India now within the verge of *possibility*, since the Dardanelles and Bosphorus are opened to her and closed to all other nations. Observing her extensive acqui-

sitions to the Aras and Ararat, and the desire long felt by Central Asia to conquer Hindostan, he considers, nevertheless, that the troops that could assail it could only be irregular cavalry, and no match, consequently, for regular forces, provided with artillery.

We take from a very able writer, acquainted with the scenes he animadverts upon, the following remarks, in corroboration of M. Bjornstjerna's opinion and our own:—

“The Tartars are jealous of foreigners, hardy and warlike in their habits, to whom the political intrigues of Russia and her insatiable lust of power are well known; and few, who are acquainted with them, would easily believe that, in any case, would they voluntarily ally themselves with a power that has successively engulfed all the petty tribes which exist along her southern and eastern frontier.”*

We quote the same writer's opinion regarding the native States of India:—

“At that epoch I was in the Mahratta States, and had full opportunity of judging whether there was any evil feeling evinced towards us by the princes of that country, unquestionably the most warlike of all the native sovereigns, who are either tributary to or in alliance with us: and I am quite sure they were little affected by the rumours which reached them of the ill success which at first attended our arms in coercing the golden-footed monarch.

“The fact is, they are so little accustomed to cultivate foreign political relations, so self-concentrated in their views, so occupied in petty childish intrigues about precedence, etiquette, &c. that, unless foreign assistance was at their door, they would not lift a hand to break through the tutelage in which we hold them.

“I allude particularly to the states of Poonah, Nagpore, Oujein, Hyderabad, and the thousand and one petty chiefs who are spread over the territory of India within the Ganges. The public may be certain that it would require a long series of reverses to our arms and policy to rouse into action the sluggish spirit of Indian independence: indeed, I know not whether such a spirit exist at all; unless we dignify with that name the despotic wish which the native princes may perhaps occasionally indulge in, of governing their subjects without the wholesome restraints of the law.”—*Russia versus India*, pp. 17, 18.

Again:—

“Thousands of Mussulman Hadjis, or pilgrims, annually leave India to visit the tomb of the Prophet in Arabia. In the course of their journey through Mohammedan states,

* *Russia versus India*, or Observations on the present political Relations of England with the East. By an old Indian. Richardson, 1838.

they occasionally witness the arbitrary punishments inflicted by cazis or judges on delinquents. The felek or bastinado, by which the feet are battered to a mummy, the putting out of an eye, and sometimes altogether extinguishing the sight, are a few among the many horrid modes in use in Persia and Arabia of making a culprit expiate his offences against the law.

"These punishments are inflicted so summarily, that the most unfortunate mistakes frequently occur, and the innocent suffer for the guilty. How do these pilgrims, on their return home, bless that mild administration of justice which characterises the government under which they live, where even the 'law's delay' affords an additional security against its abuse!

"Indeed I have heard intelligent natives expatiate with enthusiasm on this subject, and have seen them shrink with terror at the idea of living in the neighbouring states of India, such as Pegu, Nepaul, &c., where criminal jurisprudence is practised with all the horrid refinement of Eastern barbarity." —*Ibid.* p. 36.

Count Bjornstjerna's work is undoubtedly able, and is adapted rather for his own countrymen than foreigners; a portion only of it is political. To the remainder we may return hereafter; satisfying ourselves for the present with saying, that it does high credit to the author's intellectual powers and studies in every branch of the subject.

In closing our notice of the subject of India we must observe, that the dangers that could so quickly pass over harmless, could not have been so formidable as represented by the Indian press, and still more so by the governor-general: and we have, we trust, shown that his policy was alarmed and premature; that haste of fear—

"————— that from the first
Wild with blind dread, accelerates the worst."

It is clear that Runjeet Singh, our very respectable ally, sees his interests at all points to be in consorting with us and keeping us from any interventions in his own favour, while we play his game of dissensions in Cabul and Affghanistan; and our own in Hydrabad and Oude. The instructions respecting this unhappy country, so suspiciously withheld, under pretext of not yet being enforced, though acted upon, until time and other matters, now approaching, shall divert public attention from the subject, certainly require parliamentary and national interference. At present we are half inclined to agree with the natives of India, who have discovered but one fitness for his office in the President of the India Board; and this in the mysterious initials that precede his surname, as indicating his personation of John Company.

Having thus examined the prospects of British policy in the East, and exposed our own decided opinion, and that of various writers fully competent, in our judgment, to decide the question, of danger from Russian schemes in that quarter, we must now turn to Europe, and see what is the actual situation of affairs here, with reference to the views of Russia.

Of Norway, which M. Bremner, in common with several others, considers an object to the Emperor Nicholas, as opening the North Seas to his Baltic fleets, we need merely observe, that the nation itself is jealous to excess of foreign influence, that it is now, in a great measure, reconciled to Sweden, and participates in its reluctance to increase the power of Russia. Most assuredly it prefers its present condition infinitely to coming under the yoke of the latter power; which cannot approach Norway without outraging Sweden.

Sweden herself has never forgiven the loss of Finland; and if she could be indifferent to this, not so are the Finlanders themselves, who detest the Russians, and would gladly take the earliest opportunity of throwing off their masters if the least prospect existed of succeeding in the effort. They now bitterly repent their own lukewarmness in the war of conquest, and the misconduct, if not treachery, of their nobles. So satisfied is Russia of the active hatred felt there against herself, that her fleets are kept in constant preparation and display along the coast, and her internal police is vigilant to excess throughout the country, to overawe the inhabitants, whom no efforts have yet conciliated.

The force collected by Russia in Aland is undoubtedly formidable to Sweden, whose small but respectable and well-prepared fleet would be no match for her mighty antagonist in war. The Swedes are brave undoubtedly, and each vessel would certainly do her duty to the utmost in case of need; but the Swedes understand better fighting ship to ship than the management of a whole fleet. The expenses too of a large squadron would be too heavy for the state, but there is a most formidable force of gun-boats kept up, amounting, with those building in Norway and Sweden, to between 3 and 400; a force amply sufficient, not only to guard their coasts, but seriously also to annoy any enemy in the Baltic, however strong in ships of the line.

Denmark, whose existence depends on the Sound-duties, is undoubtedly supported by Russia in the claim for these, and so far is connected with the latter. But she knows also that Russia uses this right of hers but

as a safeguard and outpost for her own fleets, and that she herself avoids those dues by conveying her merchandize chiefly overland by Lubeck, evading here also the duties imposed on other nations, and from which she is alone exempt; not indeed by the favourable feeling of the Danish Government, but compulsorily, from the necessities of position in the latter. Disliking Russia, and preferring England to her, though not particularly partial to the latter, she yet knows that a single effort of the former would destroy her own power at once, and succumbs for the present, though with palpable reluctance, to this "stranger within her gates."

The position of Prussia we have repeatedly noticed: when Austria retired from general Germany to her own southern portion, Prussia assumed the post of leader for the northern part, by her commercial league, which operates effectively, and as she well calculated, in a political sense also. Her strong cordons and vigilant eye in Poland against the slow but steady encroachments of Russia in that quarter mark, as well as other facts noticed by us elsewhere, her resolution, and her power to resist Russian influence in future.

The position of Austria is altogether changed, and her policy has changed with it, as the recent treaties evince. From the time that she resigned the nominal empire of Germany, and more especially of late years, this great power has devoted much attention to the condition of her Southern provinces and their neighbours; that is, the states of Italy, and the Turkish dominions joining her own. With regard to the former of these it has long been the intention of her most consummate statesmen to form, so soon as Italy could be adapted for it, a sort of Federation under the protection of Austria. This project, we understand, is now under consideration and intended speedily to be put into execution; so soon in fact, as the miserable jealousies of the Italian States towards each other can be harmonized, and something like consistency obtained to build upon.

The treaty recently concluded for the navigation of the Danube, though differing little in form from one to which we have elsewhere alluded in a preceding article of our present Number, is yet far more important in its actual efficiency, which is greatly increased by the stipulations respecting the Black Sea trade. The increase of the Austrian navy is thereby assured; her connection with Turkey cemented; and more important almost than these two considerations themselves, her political influence is extended towards the independent and Turk-

ish provinces, over the commerce of the former of which she extended her protection by the convention of 1835 with Greece. Her own commercial interests in truth, Eastward and South along the Danube and the Adriatic, compel her attention to these points, which bring her, the latter into connection with Britain and Turkey, through Italy also, and the former in direct competition with Russia.

If the heavy duties recently imposed in the Turkish Treaty upon the produce of Moldavia and Wallachia, can be, as we hope after a time to see it, modified in their favour, the inducement of these provinces to maintain the connection of trade will doubtless be strong in favour of the High Contracting parties: but in the meantime, regarding the pains they formerly took to exchange the Turkish for the Russian connection, they will be taught by the loss inflicted that Russia is not all in all for them; and the disadvantage to commerce thus coming on the back of the intrigues against their independence on the part of the latter, will greatly assist, we conceive, the reluctance of both, and especially Wallachia, to the growing assumptions of Russia over their governments.

Of Servia we have spoken largely in the article referred to, and need therefore only class it with the districts on the Austrian frontier, with Bosnia, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Albania, and in fact with all the range of country extending to Greece, and to Turkey strictly so called. In a former Number we noticed the military line of these countries; we must now consider them in a still more important view.

We have expressed our conviction that the acquisitions of Russia on the Persian side have been more of a negative than a positive tendency, so far as influence is concerned; intended rather to act as a barrier to British political as well as commercial interests against her own, than as a source of absolute danger to British possessions in the East; though with a prospect of affecting these indirectly, and raising alarms, and adding to our pecuniary and political embarrassments there; fast increasing as these are under the tutelary genius of the actual Governor-General. It is, we affirm, only a minor attack, or feint.

On the other hand, considerable interest has been excited by Russia's proceedings towards Turkey, and the worst auguries elicited if she should succeed in her designs against the latter. We have expressed already our doubts as to the reality of the danger and its imminence in this particular quarter: and as, in so doing, we have run coun-

ter to the general impression of Europe, and the decided judgment of every one of our contemporaries, we must assign at some length our reasons for this difference of opinion, and point, to the best of our means, the real source from which danger may be apprehended ; the real views, in fact, of Russia, entertained and acted upon steadily for the last twenty years of her political existence, but apparent much earlier ; though then in common with other schemes, since rendered subservient to the one grand object.

We have dwelt upon the position of Persia, as offering now both a bar against any intrigues or proceedings with the Caucasus, &c. in the South-Eastern part of the Russian Empire, and as a point of support to Russian intrigues as well as to Russian commerce in the East. This, we have endeavoured to show, is all that can be made of Persia, without a larger aid from her European neighbour, and a better system in herself than can be expected. We conceive, too, that Turkey, so much nearer the views of Russian policy, is not farther desirable as a possession than by connecting the different points of Russian enterprise ; that held by a friendly, and so to say, subservient power, she would offer the latter all the advantages and none of the difficulties of positive occupation ; for great as the former would unquestionably be, the last would at least counterpoise them, in the jealousy of the native Russians at a new capital, so far superior to the ancient one and to her more modern rival, and which must necessarily draw all interests and active power from them to itself. Farther, the positive hatred of the Turks for the Russians themselves, as usurpers and unbelievers, and the want to any extent of that great bond of sympathy, a community of interests ; together with the expenses which this continued subjugation would entail upon Russia ; and the extent of frontier among uncivilized tribes that must be maintained : all these considerations, and the sacrifices they would require, could not certainly be met by Russia in the outset at least, whatever the supposed extension of her trade in consequence might in time produce.

The possession of Constantinople, however glorious and imposing, could offer no advantage beyond what was obtainable by holding Turkey as a subservient power simply : and such only, we conceive, it is the object of Russia to make her. So long as she holds the Dardanelles and Bosphorus at the command of the Emperor, his territories are as secure as if they were in his own keeping : so long as Turkish produce is

monopolized by the government and farmed to influential individuals alone, who prevent its export by enormous prices, saddled too as it is with duties, imposts, taxes, direct and indirect, Russia enjoys the advantage of directing the monopoly by influencing the government, and thus pursuing her own commerce without a rival. Were Russia at war with other great powers, such as England, France, or America, Turkey could supply, if nominally independent, the produce of these countries to Russia. The jealousies of a hostile creed and population, dangerous at all times, formidable to a conqueror in any complicated military and distant operations, would be avoided by thus keeping in indirect subjection a people who would be obedient to their own native rulers, but fanatically hostile to foreign sway.

The course of the Russian government would seem to countenance fully this view of the case, which, until they are sufficiently strong to defy the jealousy of European powers, is the only one maintainable : and the strong opposition of Russia to the change of the ancient mercantile system of Turkey, and the obvious anxiety to retain her in consequent helplessness, is explainable on no other grounds, since the free commerce of a free country would in other points of view be advantageous to her neighbour. Nor is this the only indication, as we shall shortly see.

Secured by the submissive dependence of Turkey and Persia, the Black Sea and the Caspian occupied by her vessels alone, and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus closed to all intervention, Circassia could not long hold out ; and the Caucasus, whose wild wastes cost Russia not less than 8,000 men annually, from the mere severity of the service, and independent of an established war there against her authority, would be forced by degrees to submit. With such ample territory as she possesses, what then would be the real wants of Russia ? In truth that, and that alone, which was the great want of Napoleon—Ships, Colonies, and Commerce. In the absence of these she is comparatively powerless ; a body sufficiently large, it is true, but deficient in the vital fluids that give life and vigour by active circulation. We have seen that the overland trade of Russia is insufficient to hold its ground against the competition of the possessor of the seas ; and since rail-roads cannot be formed as yet throughout the interior of Asia, the more bulky articles of commerce and manufacture must be transported by water. To what source then can Russia turn to obtain this, to her the one, sole, essential principle of commercial existence, power, and prosperity,

even at home, within the vast and now languid extent of her territory? The answer is—Greece.

Whatever might be the conveniences of possessing Turkey, there is not one of these that cannot be obtained by the possession of Greece. The commerce, if not command, of the Mediterranean would then be for Russia; Great Britain and France might be safely set at naught; Egypt would lie at her feet; the land trade of Asia Minor, &c. could be increased considerably as of old; Italy would be held in check; Austria would see a far and hopelessly superior navy hovering over her coasts at any moment when the movements of Northern or Central Europe might tend to give uneasiness to her great rival; and Turkey would be only the slave of her neighbour, existing then, and then only, upon bare sufferance.

If we examine the simplest outline of Russian policy, we shall see that this has been its real object for a considerable time, though veiled under different pretexts. Such was the affection for their brethren of the same religion in Greece, and in the Turkish provinces; such was the imputed ambitious views and faithlessness of the Porte; such the necessity for occupying ports in the Adriatic against France and the ambition of Napoleon, and against the co-operation of Austria; such the reluctance to restore these till insisted on beyond the power of evasion at Tilsit; and such the real motive of separating the principalities from Turkey. The instant this was done—the instant that Greece became independent of the latter power, this ceased to be the object of Russia; her Mediterranean labours and intrigues were for Greece alone; and Nicholas could with perfect security and perfect sincerity give his word that Constantinople was not coveted, nor would be held by him.

What indeed would be the advantage of it, unless as secondary to the more important point? With the free passage of the Straits open to Russian fleets; with the ample security of Greek harbours at every turn for her navies, her merchantmen, and smallest craft; with the supply of Greek seamen for every branch of service; and with the position of Greece for commanding the Mediterranean, well might Russia boast openly then, what her minister of marine once unguardedly avowed, "Greece alone once ours, we laugh at England, and France, and Austria." The combination of these three would be rendered next to impossible by the difference of interests then induced, and the different degrees of exposure to danger. Then a large Baltic fleet off British shores would expose the coasts of England to the

annoyance of sudden descents, and require three times the number of vessels to guard the whole line from insult: or sailing down into the Mediterranean, would sweep that sea of British fleets, and impose conditions on the helpless and undefended shores of Austria. It is not for nothing that the Emperors of Russia indulge in this expensive toy, as it is termed; this freak of fancy at present, but the means of a surer advantage whenever the time and opportunity serves; but not till then.

Greece once in the possession of Russia, Constantinople must be hers; virtually or actually, it matters not which. Were it now seized it could be retaken; such at least is the opinion of the Russian engineers themselves, who coincide in the opinion so boldly and well avouched by the Marquess of Londonderry in opposition to "the long and military hypothesis" of Marshal Marmont. It might cost the Russians 200,000 men, but it could not be retained by them against the allies as affairs stand: and even if they could keep the city itself, could they hold the whole country against the Turkish population, aided by Austrian troops, and assisted by the navy of Great Britain in the Euxine and Adriatic?

Alter the case, however, and give Greece to Russia, the hostility of Turkey would be harmless and isolate. The supplies of an invading land-force from Austria would be cut off by sea; insurrections like that of the Montenegrins at this hour, would be nourished to endanger its land communications; the Archipelago, with its islands occupied, would bar access to the British navy; the sea of Marmora would be closed to the Turks; and though they might retain the Dardanelles, that formidable passage would be avoided by the possession of the country; while the neck of the Chersonesus between the Dardanelles and the gulf of Saros, scarcely five miles across, affords the occasion for a canal in the neighbourhood of Boulair, between the two rivers that run nearly north and south, the first from Echiftilik and the gulf of Saros, long. 44.36, the other from the sea of Marmora, slightly farther to the eastward; a labour of about two miles would unite these, and open the Asiatic as well as European coasts of Turkey to the ravage of a Russian fleet.

It is obvious that the march of Russian policy, tending from the Pruth to the Adriatic, has fairly roused the activity of Austria, and brought the progress of the two powers and their influence fairly into collision, both mercantile and political. The navigation of the Danube, aided by the canal projected from Hirsova to Khustenji, and which has

been so strongly and successfully urged on the Porte by the Austrian Government, while it brings the provinces in question into closest connection with the latter, thereby invigorates them also to renew their rivalry of Russian trade, so soon as the nine per cent. indiscriminate additional duties, imposed by the recent Treaty, can be removed. Russia has shown her jealousy by the additions to her force in those countries.

Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, all Christian, are of the more value to Russia, as they break up the line of opposition, and sever the links of the chain that unites Turkey to Austria; and through Hungary, ever sympathizing with, and ready to join, their half-brethren the Poles. The favourable disposition of Austria towards these in some stages of the late insurrection was unquestionable: and if either of the two races, in Hungary and Galicia, are impatient of Austria in minor degree, yet they far more detest the despotic principle of Russia.

Moldavia, and the provinces down to Greece, form a strong line of obstacles certainly to the march of Russian policy or arms; but the obstacles are negative merely. Roumelia and Albania are purely Turkish; but the positive and negative have been wisely seized of late by Great Britain, whose numerous appointments of Consular Agents to almost all the foregoing provinces, is viewed as a political rather than commercial step; a support to Austrian policy at the hour, a preliminary to the Treaty, and a check to Russia. This is particularly the case with Dalmatia, where the commerce is trifling, whatever it may be hereafter; but where activity and energy are wanting to counteract the Russian proceedings and intrigues with the Montenegrins, for the one desired object of Cattaro; the great outlet to Greece itself. The activity of Tatischeff for his country's interests is not less ominous to us now in that quarter, than when in his early youth it was exerted so dexterously, so unsuspectingly, and so prejudicially to Napoleon.

The views of Russia, then, we trust we have made it apparent, are in reality addressed to Greece itself, and towards Constantinople only in a secondary sense. Mistress of Greece and of the Archipelago on the west, and of the Black Sea on the east, it would surely be immaterial who holds the intervening line, the gate of the passage that must be at her disposal, if not in her possession. Hence her vast efforts in the Black Sea, the real source of all danger, and her ever ready fleet, of but secondary importance, however, in the Baltic; whose

junction at any moment with the Euxine force in the Mediterranean must be fatal to Europe, as overpowering all possible opposition. Even Turkey seems to have taken the alarm in that quarter. Her naval preparations, her large importations of English gunpowder, though amply supplied besides from her own manufactories at home; her purchase of steam-vessels for the Black Sea, and her construction of steam-frigates, two of which are in progress now, show her not insensible to the danger of suffering Russia to accumulate, as she is doing, the many steam-vessels she has in service there. What in fact are the objects of the latter? Her fleet in the Euxine is surely too strong for Circassia alone. Does she intend to assail her former protégé, Turkey? and why? And is the Turkish power so formidable as to require, at any cost, the hire of English and other foreign ship-builders in the Black Sea harbours, the engagement of British and American seamen in the Black Sea fleet? The enormous expenses too of the Baltic squadron, continually renewed and increased as it is, in despite of the destructive worms of the Neva acting on the indifferent materials of its construction,—What is it for?

We are well aware that as the waters of the Black Sea are everywhere deep close in-shore, so that line-of-battle ships can ride up to the edge almost, Russia has carefully fortified her stations there, not with cannon alone, but with every new invention obtainable since the last war. While some of these have been rejected from foreigners by ourselves, on the principle that we could wish no alteration in the system of naval warfare, and should therefore be the last to adopt it, she has embraced all offers, made liberal proposals, tried every experiment, fished out every secret, disappointed the various projectors, if they are to be believed, of their reward, and employed the most effective of the projects secretly and for her own security. Sebastopol, for instance, is utterly unassailable in the old way.

Much has been said of navies. We have no fear of invasions, even though within the last twelve months a Russian agent has taken plans of the various English harbours, and in especial of the soundings, &c. at the entrance of the Thames. If meant for actual hostilities at any time, the attempt would be ridiculous, and our large steam-force secures us against surprise, abroad as well as at home, since our vessels could be towed to form a junction much faster than any regular fleet could sail against them. The Russian ships, too, are built of bad timber, and make much bilge-

water ; the crews are brave but not active ; and if tolerably efficient at the gun, yet very indifferent at boarding. But with all these objections they are still formidable ; and require in case of necessity to be met on equal terms ; ships to ships, if we would support our name for naval superiority, and mightier powers against mightier powers, if we would maintain our own station amongst kingdoms.

The objection to the new system rests

chiefly with the prejudices of those who succeeded by the old one, and the consequent support given to these by their friends, the influential supporters of the actual Admiralty and its Lords. We trust the commission instituted of late will inquire into this branch of the subject closely, or we may wake from our present supineness to find our power departed, our dominion of the ocean given to another, while we have been sleeping so long.

PHOTOGENIC DRAWINGS.

PUBLIC attention has been called of late to a mode of drawing said to have been invented at Paris by M. Daguerre, and by which he fixes upon a metallic plate the lights and shadows of a landscape or figure solely by the action of the solar light. The interest thus excited has been increased by the publication of a series of experiments made by our countryman Mr. Talbot, directed towards the same object, and producing nearly similar results. In describing this interesting invention it will be well to commence with the first discoveries made by Mr. Wedgwood about the year 1800, and afterwards extended by Sir Humphry Davy.

The attention of these two eminent chemists was directed to the subject by the extraordinary effect produced by light upon the nitrate of silver, which led them to hope that the purposes of the artist might be assisted by the susceptibility of the metallic oxide. The first experiment was made by Mr. Wedgwood for the purpose of copying paintings upon glass, and was eminently successful ; the copy obtained possessing all the figures of the original, in their native shades and colours ; it was also in a high degree permanent, so long as it was preserved from the action of the light. The same gentleman discovered that the shadow of an opaque object thrown upon the paper was copied in outline with great correctness ; but though both these celebrated chemists were constant and persevering in their endeavours to render the drawing permanent, they were entirely unsuccessful ;

the lighter shades darkening by exposure and thus obliterating the impression.

Their failure in this important object was published with their experiments in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and both having given up the attempt, their discoveries have since remained unimproved. But in the meanwhile M. Daguerre, it appears, struck by some hints he had received from a friend, has steadily pursued his experiments for the last twenty years, and having at length attained his object has declared his discoveries and claimed the invention as his own. Full and satisfactory descriptions are promised by M. Arago and two other scientific engineers appointed to report on the subject, and in the interval a slight outline has been given in the French papers, from which the following account is taken.

A polished metallic plate is the substance made use of, and being placed within the apparatus is in a few minutes removed and finished by a slight mechanical operation. The sketch thus produced is in appearance something similar to aquatint, but greatly superior in delicacy ; and such is the extraordinary precision of the detail that the most powerful microscope serves but to display the perfection of the copy. The first efforts of the inventor were directed towards architectural subjects, and a view of the Louvre and Notre Dame are among the most admired of these engravings. In foliage he is less successful, the constant motion in the leaves rendering his landscape confused and unmeaning ; and the same

objection necessarily applies to all moving objects, which can never be properly delineated without the aid of memory. But in the execution of any stationary subject, buildings, statues, flowers, the leaves of plants, or the bodies of animals, the fac-simile is perfect; and the value of the invention may therefore be easily conceived.

Several eminent artists have examined the designs, and were equally delighted with the precision and delicacy of the representation. Among the sketches exhibited by the projector was a marble bas-relief and a plaster imitation; the first glance was sufficient to detect the difference between these two; and in three views of a monument taken in the morning, noon, and evening, the spectators easily distinguished the hours at which they were executed, by the difference of the light, though in the first and last instances, the sun was at an equal altitude.

But perhaps the anatomist or zoologist will derive the greatest advantages from the discovery, the form of the animal being as easily studied from the drawing as from the original, and the most powerful microscopes not having hitherto detected the smallest deficiency in the details. Nor is the invention devoid of interest to the astronomer, for the light of the moon is sufficient to produce the usual results, requiring only additional time for its operations. The following extract from "*Le Commerce*" is sufficient to substantiate its value in this respect:—"The experiments on the light of Sirius have confirmed the testimony of natural philosophy, and abundantly proved that the stars are bodies of the same nature as the sun; at the request of M. Biot, M. Daguerre has submitted his apparatus to the influence of the light of the moon, and has succeeded in fixing the image of that luminary. We observed that the image had a trail of light something like the tail of a comet, and we ascribed it to the movement of the body during the operation, which is of much longer duration than that by the light of the sun."

In the spring of 1834, Mr. Talbot began a series of experiments, with the hope of turning to useful account the singular susceptibility evinced by the nitrate of silver when exposed to the rays of a powerful light; but not being acquainted with the researches of former chemists on the subject, he commenced with the same disadvantages which had baffled the skill and perseverance of Sir Humphry Davy. The plan he at first proposed was, to receive a well-defined shadow upon a sheet of paper covered with a solution of nitrate of silver, by

which means the part shaded would remain white, while the surrounding portion was blackened by exposure to the light. But he was well aware that the sketch thus obtained would require to be protected from the rays of the sun, and examined only by an artificial light. He had carried these inquiries to some extent, and become possessed of several curious results before he learnt the steps which others had taken to attain the same object; and the decided terms in which Sir Humphry Davy expresses his failure might perhaps have discouraged his less experienced follower, had he not fortunately already conquered the difficulty which had destroyed the hopes of the former chemists.

Mr. Talbot continues:—"In the course of my experiments directed to that end, I have been astonished at the variety of effects which I have found produced by a very limited number of different processes when combined in various ways; and also at the length of time which sometimes elapses before the full effect of these manifests itself with certainty. For I have found that images formed in this manner, which have appeared in good preservation at the end of twelve months from their formation, have nevertheless somewhat altered during the second year." He was induced from this circumstance to watch more closely the progress of this change, fearing that in process of time all his pictures might be found to deteriorate; this, however, was not the case, and several have withstood the action of the light for more than five years.

The images obtained by this process are themselves white, but the ground is differently and agreeably coloured; and by slightly varying the proportions, and some trifling details of manipulation, any of the following colours were readily obtained:—light blue, yellow, pink, brown, black, and a dark green nearly approaching to black.

The first objects to which this process was applied were leaves and flowers, which it rendered with extraordinary fidelity, representing even the veins and minute hairs with which they were covered, and which were frequently imperceptible without the aid of a microscope. Mr. Talbot goes on to mention that the following considerations led him to conceive the possibility of discovering a preservative process. Nitrate of silver, which has become darkened by exposure to the light, is no longer the same chemical substance as before; therefore, if chemical re-agents be applied to a picture obtained in the manner already mentioned, the darkened parts will be acted upon in a different manner from those which retain

their original colour, and after such action they will probably be no longer affected by the rays of the sun, or, at all events, will have no tendency to assimilate by such exposure; and if they remain dissimilar, the picture will continue distinct, and the great difficulty be overcome.

The first trials of the inventor to destroy the susceptibility of the metallic oxide were entirely abortive; but he has at length succeeded to an extent equal to his most sanguine expectations. The paper employed by Mr. Talbot is superfine writing paper: this is dipped into a weak solution of common salt, and dried with a towel till the salt is evenly distributed over the surface: a solution of nitrate of silver is then laid over one side of the paper, and the whole is dried by the heat of the fire. It is, however, necessary to ascertain by experiment the exact degree of strength requisite in both the ingredients, for if the salt predominates, the sensibility of the paper gradually diminishes, in proportion to this excess, till the effect almost entirely disappears.

In endeavouring to remedy this evil, Mr. Talbot discovered that a renewed application of the nitrate not only obviated the difficulty, but rendered the preparation more sensitive than ever; and by a repetition of the same process the mutability of the paper will increase to such a degree, as to darken of itself without exposure to the light. This shows that the attempt has been carried too far, and the object of the experimentalist must be to approach, without attaining this condition. Having prepared the paper and taken the sketch, the next object is to render it permanent, by destroying the susceptibility of the ingredients for this purpose. Mr. Talbot tried ammonia and several other reagents with little success, till the iodide of potassium, greatly diluted, gave the desired result: this liquid, when applied to the drawing, produced an iodide of silver, a substance insensible to the action of light. This is the only method of preserving the picture in its original tints, but it requires considerable nicety, and an easier mode is sufficient for ordinary purposes. It consists in immersing the picture in a strong solution of salt, wiping off the superfluous moisture, and drying it by the heat of the fire; on exposure to the sun, the white parts become of a pale lilac, which is permanent and immovable. Numerous experiments have shown the inventor that the depth of these tints depends on the strength of the solution of salt; he also mentions that those prepared by iodide become a bright yellow under the influence of heat, and regain their original colour on cooling. Without the application of one of

these preservatives the image will disappear by the action of the sun; but if inclosed in a portfolio, will be in no danger of alteration: this, Mr. Talbot remarks, will render it extremely convenient to the traveller, who may take a copy of any object he desires, and apply the preservative at his leisure. In this respect Mr. Talbot's system is greatly superior to that of M. Daguerre, since it would be scarcely possible for a traveller to burden himself with a number of metallic plates, which in the latter process are indispensable.

An advantage of equal importance exists in the rapidity with which Mr. Talbot's pictures are executed, for which half-a-second is considered sufficient; a circumstance that gives him a better chance of success in delineating animals or foliage; and although our countryman has not thought it necessary to adorn his invention with his own name, nor to keep it a secret till he could sell it to advantage, his claim to originality is equal to M. Daguerre's, and can only be rivalled by that of Mr. Wedgwood, the real discoverer and originator of the art.

Since the publication of the above discoveries, numerous candidates have appeared in the field, all claiming the palm of originality, while philosophers of every grade and country have eagerly pursued the investigation of the subject. The first we shall notice is M. Niepce, who claims priority even over M. Daguerre; and the account he publishes, if correct, will undoubtedly determine the question in his favour. A letter from M. Bauer is the principal evidence for M. Niepce, who it appears mentioned his discovery to this gentleman in the year 1827; while on a visit at Kew, and by the advice of his friend he drew up a memoir on the subject, and caused it to be forwarded to the Royal Society. This document was, however, returned, it being contrary to the rules of the Association to receive accounts of scientific discoveries unless they detailed the process employed. M. Niepce shortly afterwards returned to France, having presented to his friend several specimens of the newly discovered art, which are still in the possession of M. Bauer. The pictures taken are of two kinds, copies from engravings, and copies from nature; the best of the former is in the possession of M. Cusset, and is considered nearly equal to those of M. Daguerre, with suitable allowance for twelve years' exposure; the specimen taken from nature is, however, by no means so successful, and is considered inferior to the earliest attempts of his countryman. There can be little doubt that the principle of both processes is precisely the same, though greatly

improved by diligent experiments, the material employed in each being a metallic plate, apparently covered with transparent varnish; but whether intended to receive or to fix the impression is not at present made public. We now come to a statement of M. Bauer which, if not founded on error, will raise the invention of Niepce far above those of both his rivals; he distinctly asserts that he possessed copies of engravings produced solely by the action of light, which were capable of being multiplied in the same manner as an ordinary copper-plate; if this be the case, the greatest secret still remains unknown, even to M. Daguerre himself. It is much to be regretted that M. Niepce did not at once publish his extraordinary discovery, with a full detail of the process employed, as he would then have retained the indisputable right to the merit of the invention, but having preserved the secret so long, and the process being in every respect so different, we cannot see that it in any way interferes with the position of Mr. Talbot.

We must leave this question and now proceed to analyze the claims of two of our countrymen, Messrs. Havell and Wellmore, who are said to have introduced an important addition to the process pursued by Mr. Talbot, a full description of which is contained in a letter to the editor of the *Literary Gazette*. The first attempt of this gentleman was directed towards an etching, by Rembrandt, of an old man reading, and the result was a reversed fac-simile;—a negro face surmounted by locks of silver; the disappointed artist discovered that a second transfer entirely destroyed the spirit of the picture. To remedy this evil he had recourse to a new process, by which this defect was indeed removed, but the great merit of the art, namely, self-acting power, was lost. A thin plate of glass was laid on the subject to be copied, upon which the high lights were painted with a mixture of white lead and copal varnish, the proportion of varnish being increased for the darker shading of the picture. The next day Mr. Havell removed the white ground with the point of a penknife, to represent the dark etched lines of the original, and a sheet of prepared paper having been placed behind the glass and thus exposed to the light, a tolerable impression was produced; the half tints had, however, absorbed too much of the violet ray, an imperfection which was remedied by painting the parts over with black on the other side of the glass; if allowed to remain too long exposed to the sun's rays the middle tints became too dark and destroyed the effect of the sketch; about ten

minutes in a powerful sun was considered sufficient. Another method employed by Mr. Havell was to spread a ground composed of white lead, sugar of lead, and copal varnish, over a plate of glass, and having transferred a pencil drawing in the usual manner, to work it out with the etching point till it bore the appearance of a spirited ink drawing, or in the hands of an engraver a highly finished engraving. The above process Mr. Havell made public under the impression that it had been hitherto overlooked, but Mr. Talbot, hearing that he was about to apply for a patent, laid claim to the improvement as his own, and not only pointed out some parts of his former memorial where it was distinctly mentioned, but also produced several drawings made precisely in the manner described; he has also laid before the Royal Society a new method of preparing the sensitive paper, which consists in immersing it in a solution of nitrate of silver, and after washing it with bromide of potassium, the nitrate of silver is again applied, the preparation being dried by the fire between each operation; the paper thus treated is extremely sensitive, changing with the feeblest daylight, first to a bluish green, then to olive green, and finally to black.

A letter to Mr. Talbot from his friend M. Biot has also been published, and contains many interesting experiments. After commenting on the value of the discovery, he continues—"The interest with which I viewed this circumstance engaged me to make some experiments upon your preparation, in order to vary its application to the researches in which I am occupied. First—I wished to know whether the change of colour was in any degree influenced by the paper itself; I therefore spread the substance on a piece of white unglazed porcelain instead of paper, taking care to operate by night, and drying it each time at the fire, as you say, I thus obtained a dry solid coating upon the porcelain, which I shut up in a dark place until the morning. In the morning I took it out, and found it of a pale sulphur yellow colour: I then presented it to the daylight at an open window looking north; the weather was then very cloudy; yet no sooner had I so presented it than already it was turned green, and soon afterwards it became black. I then wished to know whether the preparation would succeed equally well if not dried at the fire; I therefore, in a darkened room, mixed the aqueous solution of bromide of potassium with that of nitrate of silver; a precipitate fell, which I spread on a porcelain plate and left it to dry in the dark; the next day I wrapped it in

several folds of paper, and brought it into another room to show it to a friend; but having taken off the covers in a dark corner of the room in order to exhibit the original colour, pale lemon yellow; instantly we saw its tint become green, and I had hardly time to present it to a window opening to the north before its colour had passed to dark olive green, after which it almost immediately became nearly black. I do not think it possible to find any substance more sensitive to light." Had M. Daguerre or M. Niepce published their experiments at the commencement, Mr. Talbot would have appear-

ed merely as an improver of a foreign discovery.

We must notice here that, by possibility, this art may not be altogether unknown to jugglers in India. It is many years since an offer was made, in our presence, by one of them, to show any gentleman his portrait taken by a single look alone. The master of the house, however, deeming the proposal an insult on the credulity of the company, ordered the man of science to be instantly expelled with the rattan.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

PETERSBURGH.—The musical mania is beginning to establish itself in the capital of the great autocrat. A well-written treatise on Counterpoint (in French) by M. Valville, has appeared, and is worth the student's perusal. There is a school for the education of actresses and dancers; they are obliged to serve government for ten years; they may then withdraw upon half their salary, or after twenty years' service, retire upon the whole sum they have received during their servitude. Marcellos' Psalms are translated into the Russian language: some sheets of this work were transmitted to that composer during his life-time—they are now in the Imperial Library. The musical instruments most in use throughout Russia are the harp, kettle drum, hunting horn, and bagpipe. The nuns perform their canonical prayers night and day. They suffer no instrumental music in their churches, for they maintain that the Deity can only be praised with the human voice. Miss Clara Novello has been performing at Concerts here lately—she is now on her way to Italy. Thalberg is expected here very shortly to give Concerts.

PARIS.—The Academie Royale de Musique, now the favourite resort of the dilettanti—and for which place Meyerbeer is finishing an Opera partly composed by his friend and fellow pupil Weber—is regulated by particular laws passed in January, 1791,

by which it is enacted that the works of living authors cannot be represented in any theatre in that kingdom without their formal consent in writing. The profits of author and composer for each representation are fixed at

250 francs for the first fifty representations;

100 ditto for every succeeding one, up to any amount.

For an Opera, in one or two acts, the rights of authors of the book and music are fixed for each,—

170 francs for the first fifty representations;

50 ditto for every one afterwards.

(See *Thackeray on Theatrical Emancipation*.)

M. Berlioz produced at a Concert his two symphonies, "L'Event de ma Vie," and "Harold," played by the superb band of the Conservatoire; at which, it is said, Paganini was so delighted, that besides offering homage to the composer on bended knee in the orchestra, he afterwards sent M. Berlioz a note for 20,000 francs. Donizetti, the composer, has settled in Paris; he is engaged upon two new operas, having already written sixty. The Library of the Conservatoire de Musique has been restored under the direction of M. Debret; its fine collection of musical literature and music is open to the pub-

lic from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon. M. Halèvy has written and brought out a new opera, entitled "*Guido et Ginevra*," or "*The Plague in Florence*." It has much merit, and was successful. The pianoforte score is published at Leipzig. A society has lately been formed called "*La Nouvelle Société Musicale*," by which the directors (some of the chief musical men in Paris) propose to effect the same wholesome revolution in chamber music as has already been produced at the Conservatoire in orchestral music. Rossini has been for some time engaged in the composition of a new opera—the subject an Oriental story. M. Nourrit, the celebrated tenor, who was a pupil of Garcia, and who originally made his debut in Gluck's "*Iphigénie en Tauride*," committed suicide at Naples after singing in Mercadante's opera *Il Giuramento*. He had never recovered the painful sensation inflicted on his mind by the arrival of Duprez, the present favourite tenor, and had long been in a desponding state. To prove the esteem in which this justly celebrated artiste was held by his brother professors, the Académie Royale was closed the moment the painful news arrived there. Those who witnessed Nourrit's performance in *Robert le Diable* will equally regret the cause and manner of this lamented performer's decease.

BRUSSELS.—A company is forming here, who intend to establish a theatre in the suburbs for the performance of music of the three schools, (viz. Italian, German, and French.) The regulations of this society are made public. A work in two volumes, entitled "*Madame Malibran, par la Comtesse Merlin*," has just appeared.

VIENNA.—Lindpaintner's new opera "*Die Genueserin*," has been performed under the direction of the composer. He is a musician of great talent. There is remarkable spirit and tact in all the compositions we have inspected by this master—they are but slowly making their way in England. A work on the music of the modern Greeks ("*Ueber die Musik der neuern Griechen, nebst freien Gedanken über altegyptische und altgriechische Musik*") is just published, from the pen of R. G. Kiesewetter, well known for his able researches on this abstruse subject. The *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger*, for 1839, 52 Nos. 8vo. is printed in this city.

LEIPZIG.—Auber's latest opera, entitled "*Die Schwester der Feen*," (The Sister of the Fairies) has just appeared, published by Breitkopf and Härtel. A new work upon

the Physiology of the Human Voice, by Giacomo Bisozzi (*Die Menschliche Stimme und ihr Gebrauch für Sänger und Sängerinnen*) published by Engelmann, is announced. Dr. Fink, editor of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, has printed his work upon the progress of the opera ("*Wesen und Geschichte der Oper*."). It is well worth the perusal of all who study the musical portion of the histrionic art.

BERLIN.—A concert was given in the Hall of the King's Theatre by M. Möser, in order to introduce his son, August Möser, a boy of twelve years of age, whose performances on the violin were the admiration of the company. He has a confidence and execution for his years which promises that he will become a virtuoso on the violin. In his execution of the "*Tremolo*," in Beriot's compositions, he excited the greatest surprise. He was supported by Misses Lowe and Schultz, Mr. Mantius, Mr. Seydelmann, and the flutist Gabrielsky.

SALZBURG.—In one of the principal streets of this town, nearly opposite to the University Church, is the house in which Mozart was born in 1756. Neither bust, inscription, or any other memorial of this great artist, draws the eye of the passenger upon it. Mrs. Trollope, in her "*Vienna and the Austrians*," mentions a visit she paid to the tomb of Haydn (*Michael Haydn*, as she calls him.) His body is buried at the foot of the steps leading up from St. Rupert's little cathedral to the chapel and cell of St. Maximus: his head, enclosed in a black marble urn, is placed on a monument erected to him in the neighbouring church of the Benedictines. The memorial to Mozart, cast in bronze, will be erected next spring in an open piece of ground in this city.

DRESDEN.—Thalberg has lately sojourned in this place, giving concerts and astonishing the virtuosi there with his wonderful powers on the pianoforte. Even those learned persons are struck with the gigantic attainments of this rising musical luminary, for he has not yet half accomplished his improvement upon the great style of pianoforte composition. He has now left for St. Petersburg.

DARMSTADT.—A new opera called "*Leben ein Traum*," or "*Life a Dream*," has appeared here, written by Steppes (founded upon a story by Calderon) the music composed by Concert-master Schlosser, of which report speaks favourably.

CARLSRUHE.—A work has just appeared in two volumes, by Dr. J. S. Gassner, entitled "The Science of Scoring," or leading points for self-instruction to young composers. *Partitur-Kenntniss, Leitfaden zum Selbstunterricht, für angehende Tonsetzer, &c.* A work of this description is greatly desired by the numerous class of rising composers.

GENOA.—The Stagione Theatre was opened with a new opera by Costamagna. The libretto, by Rovani, is considered among the better order of such productions; in which very great reforms are now required, for the quantity of nonsense given to the world under that imposing name can hardly be imagined by those unacquainted with such matters. The writers of real talent seem most unaccountably to shrink from an occupation that Metastasio has ennobled.

ROME.—Spontini has been invested by the Pope with the order of St. Gregory. The Holy Father complained to this distinguished composer, that church music in Italy was very much on the decline (and every other species with safety he might have added,) he wished Spontini to consult with the Cardinal Secretary of State, as to the means of infusing a new spirit into its expiring energies. It will be a curious coincidence, if the modern writer succeeds in restoring, what in former days Palestrina (under another pope) was employed to reanimate, for similar reasons. John Cramer is now sojourning in this city.

VENICE.—The new opera by Vaccaj, "The Bride of Messina," Libretto, by J. Cabianca, is a plot full of absurdities; has few points in the music to recompense so feeble a production of this poet, from whom something better was expected.

MILAN.—A reward of 50 Fredericks d'or, (£44 10s.) has been offered for the best design for a theatre, to be erected in Wismar. Designs to be forwarded before the 1st of May.

NAPLES.—The first number of a work containing an account of the Musical transactions throughout Italy, "*La Gazzetta Musicale*," has appeared. The plan of this publication seems well arranged.

PAVIA.—The story of "Manfred" has been set as an opera by Perelli, and succeeded.

TRIESTE.—Miss Kemble continues to be the prima donna at the Teatro Grande; she

is nightly received with enthusiasm and showers of flowers.

CONSTANTINOPLE.—A plan of founding a theatre in the environs of this city is very likely to be completed. The intention is to bring out Italian and French operas. Donizetti's brother is director of music to the Sultan. The Italian company from Odessa performed the opera of "*La Straniera*" of Bellini, and "*L'Italiani in Algeri*," before the Sultan, at which he seemed highly delighted. We strongly recommend M. Donizetti to search for genuine Eastern Melodies, so as to found something like a national opera in this musically civilized capital.

CALCUTTA.—"A Treatise on Arabian Music," by Abdallah ben Khaledun, translated by J. G. Jackson, Esq., has been advertised for some time; considering it as a musical curiosity, it has been ordered, but no copy as yet has reached England.

LONDON.—The Opera and Concert Season has just commenced. At the former establishment, Grisi, and her relative, Sig. E. Grisi, Rubini, Lablache, with Taglioni, Guerra, as ballet master. &c., are to appear. M. Laporte intends bringing out "*Guillaume Tell*," with the above named artistes as principals; this will be a great musical attraction; for the lighter operas, he advertises Coppola's "*Nina*," Donizetti's "*Belisario*," and others of that class, which must depend for success entirely upon the great talents of the singers. Barnett's opera of "*Farinelli*," brought out lately at Drury Lane, is extremely clever music, scored with a masterly hand, and is just such a work as the musician must be pleased with. The plot is very feeble, and will not bear comparison with his *Mountain Sylph*. Rooke's new opera, which will soon be brought out at Covent Garden, introduces a new tenor singer to the stage, a Mr. Harrison. Some of the solos, one for Phillips especially, are full of melody. Under the very able management of Macready, this theatre is in a prosperous state. The Lyceum or English Opera House opens on the 1st inst; the talent engaged and the care of the lessee, will, we are confident, insure success—among the novelties advertised, we particularly notice a musical comedy! The "*band à la Musard*" have removed to the Adelphi. The St. James's Theatre has passed into other hands: as far as a variety of entertainment can please the public, the utmost is effected by the present management for that purpose. The Haymarket opened with a powerful company the latter end of March. A long list of novelties are in active

preparation. Mori's and Lindley's Classical Concerts; Moscheles' Matinées Musicales; Blagrove and Dando's Quartett Concerts, the Concerts à la Musard* at the English Opera House. Those projected at the Colosseum upon the same plan, together with the Ancient, Philharmonic and Societa Armonica, are all in full activity. It is said that Mendelssohn and Spohr are coming over to the Philharmonic this season, the latter bringing with him a new symphony in C. minor he has just completed. Would it were possible the directors might see the necessity of engaging as effective a vocal choir as they have a splendid band. Against their mighty symphonies, isolated songs and duets have nearly as poor an effect as miniatures hung up in a gallery of historical paintings. The members of this society are rich and powerful, why should not this concert be the first and most perfect in England? Will not the hint of so many subscribers leaving, cause some reform in this respect.

The proposed establishment of a German opera, to be conducted by the Chev. Spontini, appears not to have been effected, as he requires a certain subscription to insure his company against loss. During his stay in

* The rage for these instrumental promenade concerts has extended itself over the city; in many young men the charm has wrought a vast change, the billiard-room and divan are now neglected (the house has been nightly filled to the ceiling,) a new taste has sprung up among the junior merchants, and the result is the establishment of similar entertainments in all directions.

England, Spontini was actively engaged in gathering materials for his new opera "Oliver Cromwell," which he is now completing.

Among the musical works published lately, we may notice the pianoforte studies of Henselt, in which "The Love Song," "The Romanza," and "Ave Maria," are evident proofs this young professor possesses great musical fancy and feeling. He is to visit London this season. Chappell's collection of English Melodies, arranged by Dr. Crotch and others, seems likely to become popular. A set of glees, &c., by a rising English composer (James M'Murdie, Mus. Bac. Oxon.) are in the press. There is very great talent in this work. One from Ossian, "By the Dark Rolling Waters," à la Calicot, is both imaginative and effective; the composer is a musician of the genuine school.

The festivals projected this year, are the Liverpool, Norwich, and Oxford, besides the meeting of the three Choirs at Worcester.

Musical Works published on the Continent since our last Number.

Fétis, F. J., Biographie universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie générale de la Musique. 8vo. Bruxelles. 10s. 6d.

Griepenkerl, W. R., Das Musikfest, oder die Beethovener. 12mo. Leipzig. 7s. 6d.

Mainzer, Esquisses musicales et souvenirs de voyage. Vol. I. 8vo. Paris. 4s. 6d.

Nicolai, G., Der Musikfeind. Ein Nachstück. Second edit. 8vo. Leipz. 6s.

Schilling, G., Allgemeine Generalbasslehre, min besonderer Rücksicht auf angehende Musiker und gebildete Dilettanten. 8vo. Darmstadt. 13s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

At a recent sale in Paris, several original autographs were disposed of. Boileau's realized 170 francs, Fenelon's 110 f., La Fontaine's 320 f., Racine's 175 f.; and for Tasso's 400 francs were paid.

In the year 1790 France had 118 bishops, 18 archbishops, 37,000 vicars, 20,000 curates, 3600 prebends, 5500 canons, 18,000 monks, and 36,000 nuns, altogether nearly 115,000, for whose support 170 million of francs were not found sufficient. In 1837 France had 3301 vicars, of whom 2527 had each 1200 f. annually, and 774 received 1500 f.; 25,360 curates, among whom were 22,680 that received only 800 francs per annum, being under 60 years of age, and the remainder (2680) received 1000 francs.

Braconnier has propounded a curious doctrine in his work, "Essais sur la Langue Française," respecting the genders of nouns. He says nature has pointed out the distinction between the masculine and the feminine. Man, the lord of the earth, his greatness, strength, and power, and whatever regards his character in these particulars, must be in the masculine; while on the contrary, whatever denotes or assimilates to weakness—the want of power—must be in the feminine. Thus he instances *le fleuve* and *la source*. He also produces several examples in support of his theory, where poets and the best prose writers have used one and the same term, sometimes in the masculine, and at others in the feminine. He further expresses the absurd wish that every exertion should be made to extinguish the neuter from all languages, the figurative style being the most beautiful and perfect.

PARIS.—Scriptorum Græcorum Bibliotheca.—The new volume (the third) of this collection contains Xenophon, Greek and Latin, with indexes; edited by L. Dindorf. The Latin translation is collated from Hutchinson, Edwards, and Leon Clavius. The first

two volumes contain Homer and Aristophanes, beautifully printed by F. Didot.

The "Voluspa," "Vafthrudnismal," and "Lokasenna," from Saemund's poem of Edda, have been republished in Icelandic, with French translation and Glossary by Bergman, at Paris.

Two lives of Napoleon, on the same plan, are now publishing at Paris; the first by Laurent, with the beautiful drawings of Horace Vernet, and another by Norvins, whose historical talent is so well known, with illustrations by Raffet. Both are of the same size and price, and have met with nearly the same success.

The first edition of C. Delavigne's new play, *La Popularité*, has been purchased, it is asserted, for 8,000 francs, by M. Delloye, the publisher.

Dominique Mondo has translated Dr. Lichtenhal's 'Dizionario de Musica' into French; the work will very shortly appear.

M. Garcin de Tassy will publish in the course of a month the first volume of his "Histoire de la littérature Hindoustani." Report speaks most highly of the talent and research displayed in this work, and which promises to add even to the high reputation of its distinguished author.

M. de Tassy intends visiting soon, in order to perfect a work he has in hand upon Eastern Coins.

The Asiatic Society of Paris has elected Mrs. Davids, the talented mother of the lamented Arthur Lumley Davids, a member of their association. This is the third lady so distinguished; the two others being the Princess Bogoloso, and the Comtesse Victorine de Chastenay.

ITALY.

Professor G. Jan in Parma is engaged on a translation of Shakspeare's works into Italian, under the title—"Opere di Shaks."

peare, nuova versione italiana, &c." The forwarded specimen leaves, from the Merchant of Venice, and Romeo and Juliet, are sufficient proofs of the talent and care of the translator. He has commenced with King Lear, which will be printed at Zurich, in three months; and a drama in 8vo. will appear every quarter of a year, accompanied with the English version, and the notes will be published separately at the end of every year. The original verses will be retained in metre.

A learned Italian, Manzano, in searching through the archives of Bologna, has discovered that the celebrated Maid of Orleans was descended from the race of the Ghislieri, and was the daughter of Ferrante Ghislieri, who fled from his country in 1401, when Giovanni Bentivoglio usurped the sovereignty of Bologna.

ROME.—The latest production of the arts in this city is a beautiful painting of the Good Samaritan, by a talented young Spaniard, Lorenzale, who, with Mr. Ward, an Englishman, have been each awarded the silver medal prizes of the Academy of San Luca.

Dr. H. Schulz, of Dresden, who has been staying for a considerable time in Rome, is about publishing the History of the Arts of Southern Italy, from the earliest period to the sixteenth century. It will be complete in three volumes folio, and illustrated with 120 engravings on copper. The drawings consist of many highly interesting Byzantine architectural monuments of Puglia, and are beautifully executed by Hallmann, a Hanoverian; those of Sicily are by Cavallari, and are of a masterly style.

GERMANY.

A new edition of Tieck and Schlegel's Shakspeare's works has been announced at Berlin to appear in a smaller and cheaper form in 12mo volumes, uniform with the new edition of Schiller's works.

Dr. Förster is lecturing at the Munich museum upon the arts during the middle ages, to very numerous assemblies.

In the year 1758 the Emperor Francis I. of Germany held a grand hunt on the estate of Prince Colloredo in Bohemia; the number of hunters was twenty-three, including three ladies, and it continued eighteen days. 47,950 heads of game were killed, consisting of 19 deer, 77 roes, 10 foxes, 18,243 hares, 19,545 partridges, 9499 pheasants, 114 larks, 353 quails, &c., &c. The emperor had 9789 shots, and the Princess Charlotte, his sister, 9010. The total number of shots fired was 116,209.

The Iliad of Homer has been lately translated in the Sanscrit.

The railroad from Leipzig to Dresden will be completed by the 15th April, for the Leipzig fair, with the exception of the Oberauer Tunnel.

DRESDEN.—Prince Johann of Saxony is about to publish a second edition of his

translation of Dante's Divina Comedia; the first part, "Inferno," will shortly appear, with a beautiful frontispiece by M. Retzsch.

Retzsch has finished the first six plates of his Outlines to Burger's Leonore, but they will not be published till he has completed the series that is intended to illustrate this poem. Those already etched are beautiful, and promise a great gratification to his friends in England, where we are persuaded it will be as much liked as his "Song of the Bell," and the Outlines to other German poems.

HAMBURG.—The second edition of Neander's Life of Christ has already been exhausted, and a new edition is expected in a few days.

Professor Marbach of Leipzig is publishing a series of "Volksbucher," or a reprint of the popular tales and histories which were published for the amusement of the lower classes about a century ago. Among those that are already published are Tyll Eulenspiegel, die Heymons Kinder, der gehörnte Siegfried, Genoveva, and many more.

The coronation at Milan has given an opportunity to many German publishers to speculate in coronation albums and such like. The best of any that we have seen is a description of the ceremony, the processions, parades, &c., by August Lewald, in 4to, with several plates and vignettes; published at Carlsruhe.

The second volume of Count Raczyński's "Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne" will shortly appear at Berlin.

Dr. Biernatzki, whose former religious novels have been so favourably received in Germany, and also translated into Dutch, Danish, Swedish and French, and we believe into English, has just published a new one under the title of "Der Braune Knabe, oder die Gemeinde in der Zerstreuung."

The volume of Miracle Plays mentioned in our last number is merely a reprint of the following plays: The Deluge and Antichrist, from the Chester series; Joseph's Jealousy, the Trial of Joseph and Mary, and the Pageant of the Company of Shearmen and Tailors, from the Coventry series; Pharaoh, Pastores, Crucifixio, Extractio animarum ab inferno, Juditium, from the Townley series. Prefixed is an historical view of the English Miracle Plays by Dr. William Marriott, and appended two plays of a later date—Candlemas Day and God's Promises.

The "Freihafen," a new quarterly belletrist journal, continues also for 1839. The first number has papers by Chamisso, Carus, Varnhagen von Ense, Mundt, and others; the former numbers had papers by Dr. Strauss, Prince Puckler, and other fashionable authors.

The new number of the "Deutsche Viertel-Jahrsschrift" contains papers on the Journals in Germany—on the German Population—and Manners of the Americans;—Scientific and Spiritual Life in Italy—The

Bogota Table-Land, by Baron von Humboldt;—The Foreign Commerce of France, particularly with Germany, and many smaller notices, &c.

The "Conversationslexicon der Gegenwart" is appearing in rapid succession; the last number brings it to the letter E.

The new edition of Herder's *Cid*, with border drawings and illustrations by Eugen Neureuther, already so well known and estimated in this country, has at last appeared; the engravings are executed by the first English wood-cutters, and the book is a worthy companion to the many other illustrated works lately published on the continent.

A new translation of Cicero's works into German is announced. The principal contributors are Von Strombeck, Fr. Jacobs, Droysen, A. W. Zumpt, A. Westermann, and Dr. Klotz the editor. It will be published in about eight volumes.

Dr. Bretschneider of Halle has published a little novel, founded upon the abuse the Pope has lately made of the mixed marriages in Rhenish Prussia. It met with great success, and an edition was sold in a few days.

Several artists at Munich have united to bring out a series of plates in lithography, in the tinted manner of some of our lithographers. The subject they have chosen is the illustration of the Tyrol.

Eugene Neureuther, the artist that pub-

SAVINGS' BANKS.		FLORINS.	
Austrian States, including Italy	8	with	30,325,993
Prussian do. (Posen has none)	80	"	9,544,296
Independent States of Germany	201	"	23,920,736
Switzerland	58	"	7,891,353
Belgium	5	"	6,466,365
Holland	50	"	2,771,608
Duchy of Sleswig	22	"	300,000
France	250	"	49,777,423
British Islands	484	"	362,847,622
Independent Italian States	2	"	1,500,000

Total number of banks, 1,160; total florins, 495,347,796.

The heads of the Rhine and the Danube approach near each other by nature, and their artificial junction has been already accomplished. The consequence will therefore arise that the northern states must consent to a fair and open trade by the Rhine, or submit to an illicit trade by its new competitor—the Danube.

The following account of the circulation of the Vienna journals is taken from the *Nuremberg Correspondent*: Official Gazette, 2,600; Austrian Observer, 600; The Eagle, 270; Theatrical Gazette, 1,300; Humourist, 450; Vienna Journal, 600; Spectator, 750. A commercial journal, the Shareholder, is to appear next year, as well as a literary paper in French.

10,000,000 volumes are printed in Germany and 50,000 authors (annually.)

The subscription for the intended Thorwaldsen Museum at Copenhagen, not having amounted to a sufficient sum for erect-

lished the border-drawings to Göthe's ballads and other German poets, is about to publish a portfolio of his etchings, which we have no doubt will be welcome to many of his admirers in this country.

MUNICH.—The beautiful MS. in the library of this town containing the Polyglot Lord's Prayer, with the border-drawings by Albert Dürer, is about to be published by Cotta in close imitation of the original, by coloured lithography. The title will be—"Oratio Dominica Polyglotta singularum linguarum characteribus expressa, et delineationibus Alberti Düreri cincta, edita a F. X. Hoeger, &c." The size is folio, and the price, we expect, will be about twenty to twenty-five florins.

GREIFSWALD.—Professor Schoemann of this university will shortly publish an edition of two of the biographies of Plutarch, with a Latin Commentary and Preface. The text is collated from the Codex at Paris, and various readings have been advised from the libraries of Heidelberg, Göttingen, &c.

A new edition of Plato is now publishing at Zurich in parts, edited by Baier, Orell, and Winkelmann; it will form one large volume, and will be completed early in the year 1840.

M. Malchus, a German political economist, has published the following comparison of the working of the savings' banks in different countries of Europe at the end of 1837.

ing an edifice worthy of its objects, the king has appropriated to this purpose the wing of the new palace at Christiansberg, which stands between the chapel and the menage. Thorwaldsen is already busily employed in arranging this building for its new destination, and, as soon as this task is finished, intends to return to Rome.

TURKEY.

Dr. Loewe is now returning from his Egyptian and Oriental tour, through Greece and Italy. He was most kindly received at Constantinople by Lord and Lady Ponsonby, and his presence in that capital created great sensation among the learned. The sultan showed the young savant every mark of attention and favour, and employed him to translate the hieroglyphics of an obelisk. Dr. Loewe is rich in Oriental MSS. and promises a Nubian, among other grammars. We grieve to learn that this

enterprising scholar was robbed by the Druses, at Zefed, of property to the amount of £400.

CONSTANTINOPLE. — The all-engrossing topic of conversation here is the erection of the new Opera and the proceedings at the provisional theatre, a large hotel having been fitted up for that purpose near the *Almeidan* square. This house is nightly filled, notwithstanding the high charges for admission, viz. from 2 to 10 piastres, 8s. to 2l. The Turks, who are naturally very early people, retiring to rest at the same time as the fowls, take such an interest in the musical entertainments that they sit contentedly until the termination, which is generally near midnight.

ARABIA.

Earl Munster is, we understand, preparing for the press some interesting military annals from the Arabic.

EGYPT.

We earnestly recommend to our readers the subscription for assisting the Rev. W. Tattam's object of obtaining Coptic MSS. of the Bible, &c. in Egypt and the East, whither this distinguished scholar has repaired, at considerable inconvenience and sacrifice, for this important object, the utility of which can be doubted only by the grossest ignorance. We have been surprised to see some silly attacks on the project, in letters to the *Times* and *Literary Gazette*, inserted by the good-natured sufferance and impartiality of those two valuable journals: especially as in the former instance the display of learning made by the writer, though not its perversion, was taken without acknowledgment from the really learned and profound, but unpretending, pages of Mr. Williams' Essay on Hieroglyphics.

We have been favoured with a sight of a MS. letter from the Pasha of Egypt to an English lady, which, as it is somewhat of a literary curiosity, we have had translated for our columns. The letter is addressed to Mrs. Davids, mother of the talented Lumley Davids, whose premature death will long be deplored by the literary and scientific world. It is the *third* royal letter

received by that lady, deploring the loss of her highly-gifted son (the first being from Mahmoud the Second, with a diamond ring, the second from Louis Philippe, with a cup). — The contents of the letter are as follows:—

"Dignified, intelligent, estimable Mrs. Davids, the manifestor of sincere friendship, his Excellency my friend Col. Campbell, of high rank and dignity, established at Alexandria as Consul-General for the illustrious government of England, has sent to me an excellent work, giving instructions how to translate from English into Turkish, and from Turkish into English, a surprising proof of the ability of its author, who had thus, while almost yet in his infancy, made himself acquainted with all the niceties of grammatical science. I read the book with great pleasure, and learn from it that its estimable author, after having reached the extremity of perfection here, hath ascended to Heaven. That he should have left such a testimony of his progress in solid sciences and successful attempts at attaining perfection, though it increases our regret for his loss, must be a source of consolation and exultation to you. If, by the blessing of the most High, this sheet should reach you, it will be an evidence to you of my sincere regard."

Mohamed Ali, 1229.

21 Jumádé 1 ewerel, 1254.

10th August, 1838.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A new translation of Goethe's *Faust* by Jonathan Birch, Esq. is in the press, and will speedily appear with the illustrations of M. Retzsch, but in a smaller and more convenient size.

The Golden Eagle.—The stamping of this superb coin has commenced at the mint of Philadelphia: it is 34 years since any of this coin was struck, the coinage ceasing in 1804, because the erroneous standard of our gold caused it to be exported.

According to recent calculations, which we find in the Stockholm papers, the actual population of Sweden amounts to 3,025,140 souls, showing an increase of one-fifth since his present majesty was called to the throne.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH, 1839, INCLUSIVE.

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5. Ἡφαίστιωνος ἐνχειρίδιον περὶ μετρῶν καὶ ποιημάτων. (Manual of Greek Metres by Hephaestion.) Curante Thomâ GAISFORD, A. M. Editio nova et auctior. Leipzig. 1832.*

ARISTOTLE, whose works are a mine of practical wisdom, in his Nicomachian Ethics, makes the remark that the best and shortest way to understand moral science is to be a good man : for, if we begin by a living experience of the *what*, the *how* and *why* will follow of themselves, and the facts of our moral existence will by degrees assume a scientific shape in the natural workings of a speculative mind. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ τοῦ ὅτι καὶ εἰ τοῦτο φαίνεται ἀρκούντως, οὐδὲν προσδεῖται τοῦ ΔΙΟΤΙ. . . . So also Quintilian, in the same tone of high moral health, will not allow that even an or-

ator can be formed out of any other materials than those which virtue supplies. "Orator perfectus nisi vir bonus esse non potest." So sound and sensible are these ancients in all ethical matters, that even a doctor of theology could not speak more properly. Arts and sciences, with all their pride and parade, are viewed as merely the outward limbs and flourishes of an inward soul ; ramifications growing out from a substantial and abiding nucleus of humanity, the essence of which is expressed in these significant words—a good man. And what is this, other than what we are taught in that most pregnant passage of the Gospel of St. John, "If ye do my will ye shall know of the doctrine." Faith and philosophy, which sometimes seem made only to quarrel, agree here ; they both teach one and the same great truth ; which when reduced to its most general scheme (for it is by no means confined to ethics) may be expressed thus—all knowledge of things within us, and therefore most peculiarly human, presupposes a living experience of the thing attempted to be known ; all science of human emotions, or of the acts that are the expression of these emotions, can only proceed out of the fruitful soil of a soul which has been deeply stirred by these emotions ; a man must be the thing before he can know it.

Take an example. A small critic of the old French school attempts to measure Wordsworth. What is the consequence ? He finds every thing out of joint, and disproportionate. Nothing will please him, not even the Excursion. This poem is ludicrous, and that is puerile : one expression is too mysti-

* *The Original Rhythmical Grammar of the English Language ; or the Art of Reading and Speaking on the Principles of the Music of Speech*. By the Rev. JAMES CHAPMAN, Teacher of the Science and Practice of Elocution. Edinburgh. Edinb. 1821.

cal, and another is too plain ; this is against all rule, and that "will never do." In the language of the literary world, a certain well-ordered concatenation of phrases of this description has been wont to be termed criticism : but what is the real amount of all such prate ? Were it not much wiser, and much honester, to say at once, I do not like it ; I do not understand it ; I have no eye for it ; it does not lie in my way ? Thus the course would be cleared, and every one might tramp his own journey, and find room enough and to spare. But if a neat, precise, critical understanding will thrust itself into the enchanted island of poetry, where music floats upon every cloud, and hangs upon every green tree, what is to be expected from such an untoward conjunction but confusion, and babble, and discord ? All criticism indeed of poetry, when attempted to be constructed by the mere understanding in a systematic scientific shape, is a thing impossible. There is no real criticism upon paper that assumes the square and compass, or affects the tone of dictatorship. The best things that have been said of poets have been said by those who would have as soon attempted to write a cosmogony of the universe, as to point out critically the beauties and the faults of their favourite authors ; but in the fullness of poetic love and reverence they have accidentally thrown out words, that have expressed the character of this or that great writer with more striking truth and precision than pages of most erudite criticism could have elaborated. And thus what we quoted above from Aristotle proves as true of critical science as of ethical. Have a care in the first place to be the thing you wish to know. Make sure of the *ὄρε* and the *διόρε* will follow. Be a good man, and understand ethics ; be a devout man, and understand Christianity ; be a man of love, and understand poetry.

What should a man do then, and what genus of living emotions should he have deeply experienced, in order to comprehend and make comprehensible the theory of metres ? The subject does not seem very profound. Every man who can walk knows what common time is, and every man who can waliz knows what triple time is ; but at the same time it is manifest that in the details of rhythmical science, especially when applied to a dead language, difficulties will occur ; and the Greek scholar who wishes to reconstruct the rhythmical harmony of a Pindaric ode, or an Æschylean chorus, will find that he has a task to perform that can ill dispense with the preparation of a wide and manifold musical experience. To keep time to the stable but varied march of Milton, or to thread the harmonious mazes of Thalaba,

may seem comparatively an easy thing. We are familiar with the movement of the language ; and its natural accents, even without the aid of music, form themselves into perfect rhythm to our ears. But are you quite sure even of this ? Can you read every line in Milton or Southey in such a manner as the refined musical ear of a practised elocutionist will approve ? Are you ignorant that there are periods of organ music in the divine song of Milton that have confounded our most erudite editors, and spoken no harmony to our most nice prosodians ? Or do you perhaps belong to that notable corporation of modern critics, who, with Dr. Nott at their head, believe that the best poetry is that which is submitted to the eye, and not to the ear, and whose proper habitation is not in the soul of a man, but on the desk of a student ?* Do you subscribe to that great heresy of English prosodians, which Aristoxenus, for its sheer absurdity, could not have comprehended ; viz : that there is no such thing as musical rhythm in the English language, no measure, no time, but only a regular seesaw alternation of accented and unaccented syllables ? Be this as it may ; hold with Carey or Chapman as respects the scanning of English verses ; finger syllables, or number crotchets and quavers ; there can be but one opinion with respect to Pindar and Æschylus. We know that their verses were made to be sung, and have indeed no character, no significance, no existence apart from music. Either the odes of Pindar have a musical rhythm, or they have no rhythm at all. If they have no rhythm at all, or at least none perceptible to us, as some have supposed,† then let them not be read ; for they can only serve to barbarise the ears of

* "But when the works of our poets were no longer sung or chanted, but were submitted to the eye, and read privately in the study, then the defects of the rhythmical versification were felt sensibly, and the reader found himself often encumbered with an unwieldy number of syllables which he could not dispose of but by reciting each line aloud ; a trouble few would be disposed to encounter ! !"—Nott's *Surrey and Wyatt Dissertation*, p. 181. True ; very true ! The whole philosophy of modern versification lies here ; and we see at a glance how it comes to pass that the measures of Southey are so infinitely inferior to Pope's, and Pindar's, *pari ratione*, so infinitely inferior to Southey's. Perhaps, also, one reason lies here of Porson's furious wrath against the Anapæsts *in pari sede*. But of this anon.

† "The hexameter or heroic metre of the ancient Greeks is delightful to our ears ; so is the iambic metre, fortunately, of the stage ; but the lyric metres generally, and those of Pindar, without one exception, are as utterly without meaning to us, as merely chaotic labyrinths of sound ; as Chinese music or Dutch concertos."—*De Quincey, in Tait's Magazine*, Dec. 1838. How much of this is false, and how much of it is true ; and how much of what is true is only half true, we shall inquire as we proceed.

our young men, and to occupy fruitlessly precious time that might have been consecrated to the study of Shakspeare and Milton. If they have a musical rhythm, then it can only be approached through music. To know the science of Pindaric metres, a man must, according to Aristotle's maxim, be not a musician necessarily, but at least musically cultivated; and the young Hellenist who wishes to get beyond the beggarly elements of a fingering prosody, must throw Porson, and Burney, and Gaisford behind his back for a time, and take a lesson from Dr. Crotch, or Mr. Graham.

The necessity of commencing the science of Greek metres with the practice of music has been seen and acknowledged by all thinking men who are competent to give an opinion on the subject. We happen to have before us at this moment a volume of Professor Zelter's Correspondence with Göthe (a work whose value is known to most who take any interest in musical literature), in which the following striking and characteristic passage occurs:—

“Berlin, 2d February, 1814.

“ZELTER TO GOETHE.

“Geheimrath Wolf sends you greeting. He is reading lectures on the Prometheus Bound of Æschylus, (as he says *gratis et frustra*), and has a great concourse of hearers. Some small metrical differences have separated us of late, instead of bringing us nearer together, as they ought to have done; but every thing runs smoothly again. I had been so unpolite as to tell him in his teeth without any circumlocution, that I considered his attempts, and those of all other philologists, orally to reproduce the ancient measures of the Greeks, more unmetrical than the most plain natural prose. I served him well. For after asking me to try my hand at these matters, he received my honest essays in a very ungracious manner. But these philologists are really a peculiar race. What have we to do with the Greeks and Romans if we do not understand German in the first place? What can the ancients profit us, if we do not make ancient wisdom ours?

“When these Greek and Latin gentlemen open their mouths a man should stop his ears. They cannot manage either mouth or tongue, because they have been accustomed to do every thing with their eyes. They read, they finger, they go, they stand, and become short-sighted over their desk, and lame, and dry.

“Wolf has been occupying himself much lately with the music of the alphabet; and I have many interesting conversations with him on that subject. If I could only bring him to this, that the alphabet is a work of the mouth, and metre a work of the pulse,—that is to say, a thing that must be evolved from within, and not scraped together from without,—then might the learned gentlemen

begin their theory in the right way, *vide licet*, with the practice.”*

Is not this, reader, a fine, hearty, racy old fellow? a most wise professor of song! a most sensible stone-mason! Was not this a most rare pedagogue to train the learned Frederick Augustus Wolf into a natural and healthy perception of the great principles of rhythm? Might not this man have given a useful hint or two to Porson, instructed Professor Gaisford in the philosophy of the cæsura of Anapæstic verses, and even to the overbearing, haughty intellect of Bentley made more manifest the great mystery of scansion by Trochaic dipods? And observe how very reasonable the worthy musician is in his demands. He does not say, study my craft; read crotchets and quavers; consider well the great dramatic contrast of *staccato* and *legato*; remember that there are such things as rests and empty times; do not mingle and confound the time of a jig with the time of a march; do not give to all notes equally, whether emphatic or non-emphatic, the same absolute unvaried quantity; and forget not that the close of a rhythmic period naturally demands notes of a very different value from the beginning.—Professor Zelter did not remit the eruditè Hellenist to the piano, as he might well have done, to learn the principles of rhythm; he merely told him to consult his pulse in the first place, and Hephæstion in the second; to recite Greek verses instead of reading them; to scan by his ear, and not by his eye.

But though the wise musician does not insist peremptorily on the practical study of music as a *propædeutik* to the study of metres, what he says comes virtually to the same thing. For the rhythm of music sways secretly all good recitation, and though speaking is not singing, it is nevertheless the same faculty that enables a man to play a tune in good time, and to recite verses harmoniously; and that wherein music differs from speech, is not the rhythm, but the notes; not the time, but the tune. It is possible, also, in a language so fatally divorced from musical practice as ours, that there may, on many occasions, occur a complete clash between the natural rhythm of the words, and the rhythm of the music to which they have been set. But this clashing is a thing merely relative, occasioned partly by a degenerate state both of language and music, and partly by the uneducated ear of the poet, or the reckless bungling of the mechanical musician; and whether well set to music or ill, language still has its own natu-

* Zelter's Briefwechsel, vol. ii. p. 90.

ral unalienable rhythm, which is in principle essentially the same thing as the rhythm of music, and is truly valued and understood by those only who apply a well-trained musical ear to the living enunciation of intelligible speech. But why do we waste words on a matter so plain as this?—Who will contradict us?—The man who has an ear cannot; and the man who has no ear has nothing to say in the matter. It is curious, however, to observe into what a strange and unnatural position the Hephæstions and the Hermanns have brought us with regard to the natural connection between language and music. They have effected a formal divorce; and this divorce has lasted so long, that to those whom the tradition of the elders influences more than the living voice of nature, the divorce seems legitimate, and the union monstrous. Accordingly, some of our most ingenious elocutionists, who have endeavoured to bring back the English language to its natural healthy state, by a living re-union with music, have either been overlooked altogether by the many, or honoured with the passing glance of dignified contempt from the erudite complacency of academical men.* And the musical doctors have not been slow to join in this concert. They, too, rejoice in the divorce; and apply-

* To those who have studied their own language with that attention which it always deserves but seldom receives, we need scarcely say that we allude here to Mr. Steele, the ingenious author of "*Prosodia Rationalis*," published so early as 1779, Mr. Thelwall, and Mr. Chapman, author of the *Rhythmical Grammar of the English Language*, whose title we have prefixed. On the meritorious labours of these ingenious men, Mr. Guest, in his late work on the *History of English Rhythms*, has the following piece of supercilious criticism:—"Before I close a book which treats thus fully of the rhythm of English verses, it may be expected that I should notice a series of works which have been published during the last thirty years on the same subject, by men, some of whose names are not unknown to the public. These writers entertain a very humble opinion of those '*Prosodians*,' who scan English verse according to the laws of Greek metre, and they divide our heroic line, not into five feet, but into six cadences. They are not, however, so averse to foreign terms as might have been looked for. With them rhythm is *rhythmus*, and an elided syllable an *appoggiatura*. One of these critics assures us that there are *eight* degrees of quantity in the English language; and, 'if the reader should deny that there is any such thing as eight degrees of it, in our language, for this plain reason, because he cannot perceive them,' it will be his duty to confide in the greater experience and better educated ear of those who have paid more attention to the subject. I will not follow the example set by these gentlemen when they speak of the poor prosodian. It may be sufficient to say, that much of what they advance, I do not understand, and much that I do understand, I cannot approve of."—Vol. i. p. 310. The circumstance of Mr. Guest having pinned these very pithy senten-

ing the social philosophy of Percy Bysshe Shelley to the practice of the fine arts, they declare the marriage of Lydian airs to immortal verse, to have been a thing most unnatural and monstrous from the beginning; a yoke of slavery which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear; the emancipation from which is matter of triumph and special gratulation. We shall quote a passage from Burney to this effect below.—That a man like Dr. Burney should have stamped such sentiments with the authority of his name is really serious. In what curious misapprehension these fevered fancies took their rise, we shall show anon; in the meantime we think it expedient to place ourselves, by way of precaution, under the orbicular shield of Professor Böckh, a man who, if he be not the *facile princeps* of European scholars, is unquestionably the first metrist of the age. This we shall make out with very few words, before concluding our present remarks; in the meantime we only say, that if any person shall produce to us in any European language an exposition of ancient metres and music, so clear, so comprehensive, so warm and vital, so exhaustive and completely satisfactory in all points, as Böckh's *Dissertation de Metris Pindari*, then we shall say that there are two suns in the firmament. We speak this deliberately

ees to the end of his volume, instead of having discussed this important matter formally at the beginning, shows what importance is to be attached to them, and to his work generally. He sits down to write a history of English rhythms, without having formed to himself any rational idea of what rhythm is; and having discovered, in the middle of his progress, that certain writers, "some of whose names are not unknown to the public," have presumed to doubt the dogma of the prosodians, that "English rhythms are made up of a regular succession of accented and unaccented syllables, without regard to quantity," and not being able to shun the matter altogether, he straightway assumes the *bravo*, and rejoices in the moral courage to despise what he has not the intellectual capacity to understand. Had Mr. Guest been so happy as to have received one or two lessons in elocution from the Rev. Mr. Chapman, he might have been saved from that legion of blunders with which his book is at present deformed. That mangling and dislocation of our finest verses which his scholastic doctrine of elision exhibits, gives proof of a rhythmical state of mind that some reasonable humility might have taught to confide in the greater experience and better educated ear of a musical elocutionalist of such acquirements as Mr. Chapman. As to crotchets, quavers, minims, semibreves, and dotted notes, which seem to be the real offence of those "men whose names are not altogether unknown to the public;" if Mr. Guest will cast a glance over to Germany he will find that *Voss*, so early as 1802, *Apel* in 1816, *Meineke*, in 1817, and other writers since that time, have employed the principles and characters of music to illustrate the rhythm of the German language, without offence. Shall pedantry find a home in England only?

and advisedly ; because it is a debt of international gratitude which we are bound to pay ; which we feel proud to pay to the genius of a man whose profound and wisely directed studies have, in one of the most important and difficult departments of rhythmical science, metamorphosed a chaos into a world, and resolved the discords of infinite babbling. With the authority of such a man we fence ourselves ; and we mistake much, if, after his opinion has been publicly spoken, any scholar in this country will hereafter venture to imitate the pernicious example of Burney, and attempt madly to construct a theory of metres without music.

The following passage from the introduction to the treatise on Pindar's metres is somewhat long, but as it gives a full view of the position which Böckh occupies, and we ourselves, in the matter of Greek rhythm, we have not dared to curtail it. It is almost a sin also to translate Latin so clear and flowing, so strong and manly as Böckh's ; but we wish to be universally intelligible, and the shade of Plato will forgive us if we mangle the music of one of his most tuneful disciples.

"When I undertake to write on the subject of Greek metres," says the learned Professor, "I know well what is the difficulty of the task ; a difficulty in the nature of the subject sufficiently obvious, and increased tenfold by the irremediable loss we have suffered of the most authoritative books of the greatest masters of musical science among the ancients. There are some indeed, in the present age, who, puffed up with vain conceit, bear very lightly the loss of the precious relics of Hellenic art ; they cannot bring themselves to believe that the ancients knew any thing on the subject of music worth knowing, and are in haste to forget that a people who invented numbers so skilfully, and practised them so successfully, must have also seen most deeply into their nature ; especially as the Greeks were in nothing contented with mere empiricism, but reduced all practice to a scientific system, and subjected it to the keenest scrutiny of reason. That a Greek artist must have understood the nature of musical rhythm better than we do, is, from the nature of the case, quite certain ; their language is formed, not like ours, upon principles addressed to the understanding only, but upon musical principles almost exclusively ; we bring the root or significant part of the word prominently forward in all our flexions and compositions ; the Greeks are little concerned about this, provided the whole word be full and musical in its flow. The mere intellectual is, for poetical purposes, postponed to the musical value of the word. But the moderns, with that one-sided culture of the understanding which characterizes them, have not been able to understand this devotion of

the Greeks to the beautiful ; and in criticizing them have merely shown their own barrenness. Others, less unreasonable, have allowed to the ancients, a fine practical ear for music, but have spoken of their metrical science as most incomplete and unsatisfactory. But after much, and not undigested study of the history of music among the Greeks, I have come to a different conclusion ; and am firmly convinced that no art acquired among that people a more early maturity, whether we regard the genera and modes of the scale, or the measures of their poetry. And I contend not only that Pindar made most excellent verses, but that it can be made manifest to any man who has a musical ear, how, and why they are excellent, and upon what principles they are constructed. Do we not know, as an historical fact, that the ancient poets studied both the musical modes and the art of metres under regular masters, and according to a regular system of training ? What did Sappho teach her disciples if it was not this ? What other was the nature of that lyric *παιδεία*, Thomas Magister tells us Pindar received from Lasus ?* And the same Lasus, himself a poet, was not only a practical musician, but was the first who published works on music, as we learn from Suidas, and other authorities. Plato tells us that Socrates received regular instruction in rhythm from the musician Damon. The facts on this subject are indeed so well known that it were idle to repeat them. Music was such an essential and pervading element in Greek education, that in the flourishing times, no freeman was so uncultivated as not to understand the art of metres ; and with the living accompaniment of music and dance, able to follow easily and instinctively the most intricate mazes of a Pindaric strophe. These things being undenied, who is there that must not lament that unhappy divorce of the living union of metres and music, which was first instituted by the Alexandrian grammarians, a set of most ignorant men, whose narrow doctrines have been handed down to us by Hephæstion, Longinus, Draco Stratonicensis, and the herd of Latin grammarians and Greek scholiasts. Nor have the learned of modern times showed much zeal to mend the matter. The precepts of ancient musical wisdom which St. Augustine, Aristides, Quintilianus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, and, above all, Aristoxenus, have preserved, Bentley, Hermann, and others, partly were ignorant of, and partly despised. For these reasons, without disputing the merits of Voss, Apel, Finkenstein, and others who have gone before me in the same track, I have thought it necessary to put my hand again to the plough, and to try what can be done by the union of ancient learning and modern science ; in order, so far as my small capacity goes, to restore to Pindar that perfection of musical numbers for which, as Plutarch nar-

* Λάσος τῷ Ερωστίνῳ μελοποιῶν παρ' ὃν τὴν Ἀρσικὴν ἐπαίδευσθαι.—Vit. Pind.

rates, he, above all the ancient poets, was so distinguished?—

We now see plainly where we are, and what we are about. Dissatisfied with the pedantries of Hephæstion and Draco, little edified by the metrical oracles of 'the most wise Tricha,' and Elias the monk, and not illuminated in our benighted path by the prying microscopic empiricism of Porson,* we wish to try whether by the aid of the common principles of musical rhythm, and led on by the erudite pioneering of thoughtful Germany, we may not be able to reconstruct a strophe of Pindar or Æschylus, as it actually was sung amid the applauding echoes of an Olympian race-ground, or an Athenian theatre. Nor will the task be difficult. For we do not aim at the high game of the musical scales, and the mysteries of the Dorian and Hypodorian modes; our present business is only with the rhythm of Greek poetry; and when we have thrown overboard a few narrow dogmas of the prosodians, and baptized with their proper names a few twisted prejudices of modern musicians, with Böckh for our captain, and Apel for our steersman, we hope to sail gallantly before the wind. We only fear lest some sensible person shall think our zeal in such a cause ludicrous; but let that person recollect that we have one university in this country which makes a boast of teaching nothing but Greek; and the wisdom of Iambus and Trochee (*valeat quantum*, as the lawyers say) must be taken as part and parcel of the privileged merchandize. It is fit, therefore, that we should once for all come to an understanding about this matter, however small it may appear; nor are we of the number of those who value all speculative knowledge merely in the degree that it can be made to bear directly upon the necessities of the present. We set a price upon the theory of Greek metres that no mechanical philosophy can measure; always, however, with this caveat, that it be not viewed narrowly as an appendage to the scholastic study of a dead language, but as a living component part of the divine science of music.

The most important matter to attend to in entering on our present inquiry is, the relation between Rhythm and Metres; a matter which has been sadly confused both by modern musicians and ancient grammarians. The modern musicians (we speak especially of the English, from Burney to

Dannely*) seem all of opinion that the Greek musical rhythm was a very different thing from the modern, in so far as instead of being the free master and disposer of poetical measure, it was its slave and puppet; an idea perfectly monstrous and unnatural, and what is most extraordinary, quite in the teeth of what the ancients themselves say on the subject. The ancient grammarians, as we shall see immediately, had a far more rational idea of rhythm; but their error lay in making no use of that idea. They knew very well that rhythm was one thing and metre another; they knew also very well that rhythm was the continual controller and modifier of metres; and that it was as vain for them to attempt to shake their art free from this controlling power of rhythm as it was for a son under the Roman law to acquire any *persona standi* independent of his father. Πάτερ μετρον Ρυθμος καὶ Θεός, "The father of metre is Rhythm, and a God." But the grammarians were too pedantic and too lazy to follow out this knowledge to its legitimate consequence; which would have been without ceremony this, that the art metrical can no more stand by itself without music, than criticism can stand without poetry, or Christianity without piety. Rhythm is the inspiring and informing plastic soul in all metres; and whoever attempts to separate the one from the other, and erect it into a separate science, attempts to construct a world without a God. This mad attempt, however, the ancient grammarians made; and not they only but the modern prosodians, many of whom (witness the above-mentioned Dr. Nott and Dr. Carey) have a sacred horror of the word rhythm; and as we have seen also in the case of Mr. Guest, nothing makes them fume and fret so sublimely as the bare idea of numbering the measures, instead of counting the syllables of poetry. There is this difference, therefore, between ancient and modern metrists in respect of rhythm; the ancient metrists are only practical, the modern both practical and speculative, Atheists. But to the proof of all this. That Dr. Burney, and those who have followed him, considered the ancient musical rhythm as slavishly dependent on the ancient prosody, is too well known to require any formal proof.† As to

* In the London Encyclopedia, Art. *Music*.

* "He gave up, I believe, the metrical arrangement of the choral odes as a hopeless business."—*Kid's Tracts*, p. xxiii. We wish Burney and Blomfield had followed his example. Fingering will not do here, and the freedom of lyric poetry scorns the monotonous uniformity of the Porsonian canons.

† "However ignorant we may be of the melody of ancient music, the rhythm, or time of that melody, being regulated entirely by the metrical feet, must always be as well known to us as the prosody and construction of the verse."—*Dissertation on the music of the Ancients*, p. 80. A proposition perfectly true where rhythm exists already in the metre, as in Dactylic verse, or 2.4 time, and in pure Trochaic, or 3.8; but as soon as an admixture of metres takes place, the proposition becomes posi-

the grammarians, it is not perhaps so generally known (for Burney makes no mention of it) that they are in the constant habit of drawing a broad line of distinction between their own art and that of the rhythmopœist; and moreover—what is of supreme importance in this discussion—some of them have been honest enough to let us into the secret of many pleasant little controversies that existed between them and the musicians with regard to the true quantity of syllables. The same bickerings occur also in modern times; but Burney, Forkel, and others assume that the ancient rhythmopœist was the mere slave of the metrician in all these matters; which if it had been really so, we may well ask what use was there for *ρυθμοποιία* at all? Why did Aristoxenus think it necessary to write a book of rhythmical elements, (of which unhappily only a fragment remains,) if musical rhythm and metrical feet had been the same thing? But let us hear Quintilian (lib. ix. c. 4.) “Rhythm,” says he, “consists in the space of time; metre also in the order; the one is of quantity, the other of quality.” And further on he says, “Rhythms have free spaces, metres bounded; these have certain closes (clausulæ), those run on as they began, till they come to a *μεταβολή*, or change of rhythm. Rhythms also receive pauses (*inania tempora*) more freely than metres; for though metres are not without pauses, yet the license of rhythm is greater, where they are wont to measure time by their mind, and by the beating of their feet and fingers; marking the intervals also with certain notes, and taking accurate count of how much time every space has allotted to it.” How can any man that ever played the simplest air on the piano, or hummed the simplest tune, misunderstand this? Rhythm was just to the ancients exactly what it is to us, namely, “Time;” and so far from being the slave of metres, it was its proper and only business to arrange these metres into equal spaces, or bars, as we do also. But we entreat particular attention to that phrase of Quintilian, when he says, “Rhythmis libera spatia, metris finita sunt; et his certæ clausulæ, illi quomodo cœperunt, currunt usque ad *μεταβολήν*,”—which he repeats distinctly in the next page, “Nam rhythmī ut dixi neque finem habent certum, nec ullam in contextu varietatem, sed quā cœperunt sublatione ac positione, ad finem usque decurrunt.” Can

tively false. In this case, so far from the metre being the regulator of the rhythm, the rhythm is superinduced by the rhythmopœist to regulate the metre. Succeeding writers follow Burney and baptize ancient rhythm *syllabic*; as if all rhythm were not necessarily syllabic wherever music and poetry go together.

any man reconcile these passages with Dr. Burney's monstrous doctrine, that the time of Greek music was changed with every bar, slavishly humouring the metrical feet instead of wisely controlling them? Well might he compare the hymn to Calliope to a dance of Hottentots or Cherokees! But we do not believe that even Hottentots or Cherokees dance out of time systematically. The French indeed may have done such things in their mad days;* for there is nothing so mad that has not once on a day been enacted by a Frenchman; but this is no reason why the wise and well-tempered Greeks should have indulged in such musical capers and convulsions. Our excellent rhetorician expressly says that it was the office of rhythm to run on in a continuous flow controlling the variety of metres; and shall we after this repeat the strange jerk-and-start style, which our modern musicians have fathered on the most musical people of antiquity? But we do not stand on Quintilian's witness alone. We have a much more decided testimony from Longinus, who in his prolegomena to Hephæstion (p. 139) says in few but decided words, “Rhythm and metres are different; for metre has fixed and unbending times, long, short, and doubtful, which doubtful syllable, however, in actual versification must always be either long or short; but *rhythm draws the time at its pleasure, and sometimes even makes long short and short long.*” Dr. Burney speaks of the Greek metrical feet as if they were synonymous with rhythms;† but the grammarians, as we see, make a broad and marked distinction; and Marius Victorinus (Putsch, 2482) especially, when setting forth the doctrine of rhythm, makes a classification of feet as falling under the different rhythms, which it had been well

* “Intermixtures of different measures were not uncommon in the works of composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but generally produced nothing better than confusion.”—*Graham's Essay on Music*, p. 19. Burney and Seidel (*Charinomos*, Vol. II. p. 43), refer this absurdity specially to the French; but whatever its lineage, it is evidently a capricious madness of modern compositions. No natural, healthy music delights in such forced puppet-dance of sound; the time may be changed once, or even twice, thrice, in a short air, but for a particular and stirring effect; and not from bar to bar but from part to part.

† But the Doctor was not to blame as originating this inaccuracy of speech. It may be found everywhere among the ancients; and arose naturally enough from the circumstance, that some combinations of feet (as in Dactylic verse) actually were perfectly rhythmical in themselves without the superadded art of the rhythmopœist. But in mixed metres, such as those used by Pindar, there is manifestly no rhythm; to talk of rhythm in this case (as Burney does) was to make a word contradict itself.

if both modern musicians and modern metricians had more constantly attended to. He says there are three different kinds of rhythm, (not metrical feet), Dactylic, Iambic, and Pæonic, which from the account he gives of them, are evidently equivalent to our $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, and $\frac{5}{8}$ time; by which three rhythms alone all continuous rhythmopœia is regulated (mark the word *continuous*). To adjust the lyric poem to one or other of these times was the business of the rhythmopœist; a fact which Victorinus very well knew, for he gives this relationship of metre and rhythm almost in the exact words of Quintilian and Longinus.

How then, it will be asked, did Dr. Burney ever fall into the blunder that rhythm and metre were the same thing, inverting thus the order of nature, and making the father servant to the son? We must confess we were a little puzzled to account for this at first; but on reflection the whole matter soon developed itself. Fortunately we had read Böckh's treatise "*De Metris Pindari*" before looking into the work of the Englishman, and on comparing this with that, three things became very evident. First, that Dr. Burney did not approach the subject with that love and devotion and reverence that belonged to it. He brought with him all the prejudices of a modern musician; and how great these prejudices are they who have to do with spoiled children know well. Stout old Doni had a tough battle to fight with the conceit of the moderns; and if we in this nineteenth century presume to assert that the ancient Greek music was not only equal to, but, to all appearances, superior to the modern in all reasonable qualifications, we shall no doubt meet with a sturdy opposition. But this we most deliberately assert, so far at least as that part of it is concerned to which we have given particular study, the doctrine of rhythm. The Greeks had quinary measures in familiar use, over and above the binary and ternary, to which we, without any cause in nature, have confined ourselves. It is a curious proof of Dr. Burney's partiality in this matter to observe, that while he brings both wit and argument to establish the monstrous absurdity that a people whose music consisted altogether in rhythm (as he will have it) had no rhythm at all, he is quite silent on the subject of the quinary measure as a peculiarity of Greek rhythm, and merely tags in a narrow remark of Tartini at the end of the chapter.* Dr. Bur-

ney's continual wonderment at the marvellous effects attributed to ancient music is also perfectly modern, and we are sorry to add also perfectly English. A German would never have dreamt of expressing surprise at any marvellous effects that might have been attributed to music; for he is not only more musical than the Englishman, and therefore more gifted with musical sensibility, but he is also more philosophical and more learned; and he knows very well that music among the Greeks moved the whole man, whereas with us it merely plays luxuriant arabesques upon the chambers of the ear. In the second place, with regard to Burney, it is quite plain he does not possess one tithe of the learning of Böckh, at least he does not make it manifest; and *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*. In the third place, and this is the *origo mali*, it is plain that Burney had been confounded and put out of the right scent by the pedantry of the Prosodians, and their redoubtable doctrine of long and short. He took all this for gospel, and instead of modifying and moulding their chaotic doctrine of feet by the wide plastic principle of rhythm, he narrowed and tied down the free doctrine of rhythm and musical times to the artificial system of metrical feet and monotonous quantities.

We said above that the ancient musicians, so far from submitting the musical value of syllables to the arbitrary dictation of the metricians, had, on the contrary, frequent bickerings with them on that subject. We owe to Mr. Apel a reference to a curious

Tartini should have so conveniently forgot that the Greeks actually *did* execute it habitually may seem strange; but we have undeniable evidence in modern times not only that celebrated musicians have executed it, (which were a small thing,) but also that *the quinary is the natural measure of some national dances*. On this subject the learned and intelligent writer whom we formerly quoted is express. "Reicha says, from information sent to him, the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Rochersberg distinguish them completely from the other people of Alsace; their dances have a particular and remarkable character; the scenes of these dances have a very decided measure of five times. Tradition in the country carries back this music to the remotest antiquity."—*Graham*, p. 16. But the fullest exposition of the virtues of the quinary measure that we have seen is in that ingenious and admirable work of Mr. Seidel already quoted.—*Charinomos*, p. 36—41. The most interesting fact noticed here by Mr. Seidel is that of a Silesian boy who had taught himself music by the instinct of nature, and who often used the quinary measure, and that with the most striking effect. Considering all these things, it does seem strange that Apel, in his excellent work on metres, should have thrown the quinary measure of the Greeks (*πενθήμερον ἡμερολίον*) without ceremony overboard. One fact is worth a shipload of arguments.

* "Music has been composed of five equal notes in a bar, but no musician has yet been found that is able to execute it."—*Dissertation*, p. 82. How

passage in Marius Victorinus (de Mensurâ Syllabarum. Putsch. 2481) wherein this matter is fully explained.

"Among the metrists and the musicians," he says, "there is no small dissension as to the quantity of syllables. For the musicians say that all are not equally long, and all short syllables are not equally short; for some longs are longer than a long, and some shorts shorter than a short. But the metrists will not allow this, and tolerate nothing either longer or shorter than what nature in pronouncing the syllables herself produces. The musicians, however, go further, and in rhythmical modulations, or lyrical chants, by a circuit of protracted pronunciation (per circuitum longius extentæ pronunciationis) they make long longer and short shorter, according to the arbitrium of time. And they bring also examples against us from our own art, for they say that we cannot pronounce a short vowel with many successive consonants in the same time that we pronounce that vowel by itself. But this is a scrupulosity which we shall leave to the musical and the rhythmical doctors; and as we call the Germans tall in comparison of ourselves, though they are not all of exactly the same stature, so we shall call a long syllable a long syllable, and a short syllable a short syllable, without inquiring further into the matter."

This is a most choice passage. We entreat the student of Greek poetry to consult it in the original, as we have been obliged to curtail it in some respects; but the gist of it we have given. And let it not be imagined that the dispute here turned merely on that small matter of the number of consonants in a syllable. We observe that both Böckh and Hermann understand the Scholiast to Hephæstion, in a well-known passage of a similar import (Gaisford. 150), as quibbling with over curious subtlety upon this. The musicians could never have quarrelled with the metrists upon any such minute affair; they merely brought it forward as an argument *ad hominem* against the prosodians, as is perfectly plain from the language of Victorinus. He does not say that the controversy lay here; but after stating the case in a full and satisfactory manner, he goes on,—"*Afferunt etiam exempla quæ in metricis pedibus secum faciunt.*" Not content to quarrel with us on musical principles, they bring examples against us from our own metrical feet. And the musicians were right even here, as the student of Milton knows well; the poor grammarian was therefore beaten with his own weapons; and the naive similitude about the stature of the Germans, with which he tries to get rid of the scrupulosity of the musicians, is truly admirable.

We think the above and other passages, which we have cited, will be sufficient to dispel the delusion out of which Burney has raised such a strange superstructure. Let the prosodian make what artificial laws he pleases, the rhythmopœist is not bound by them. He moves in his own sphere as free and unshackled as any modern composer; he may make a long note longer, and a short note shorter, according as time or expression shall demand; he will not indeed run galloping and capering at a demi-semi-quaver pace as modern composers do, without the least idea that sense belongs to music as well as sound; he will be sober, discreet, manly; he will know that he is addressing an intelligent being; he will glory in the consciousness that his divine art contributes, not merely to the amusement, but to the moral culture of his fellow man.

Burney speaks much of the monotony and uniformity of ancient music. He has no authority for this assertion, except the false theory that the ancient rhythmopœists were the slaves of the prosodians. We may mention, however, as a counterpart to this, that if the psalm-like solemnity of an old Pindaric Ode may have a tendency to lull our falsely excited senses asleep; the hurry and skurry, and senseless skirmish of our modern music, would have shaken an ancient Greek into a fever.* But the ancient Greeks had as much variety in their music as good sense and intelligibility allowed;

* "Nam ob divulsionem sensuum, confusio-nemque multarum ac diversissimarum motionum, quas polymeliæ (modern harmony) usus, ac multiplices battilogiæ inducunt; nulla certe Rhythmismi forma; sed incerta potius, ac dissipata consurgit; quæ enervatam quandam, et, ut ita dicam, *febriculosa* musicæ speciem indicant. Ut enim qui febricitant inordinatum habent pulsum atque inconstantem; sic in ejusmodi concentionibus, numeri ferme inordinati confusique sunt; unde actuositas illa atque energia, quæ in saltationum chorearumque melis tantopere delectat, animosque nostros afficit, ac delectat, vehementer ibi desideratur."—And so on in a strain of very just indignation against the quib and cracker style of modern music. Doni de Præstantiâ Musicæ Veteris. Florent. 1647, (p. 69.) At the end of this work in our edition, we observe a list of Doni's works published, unpublished, and commenced, (*edita—inedita—incepta*); and among this latter class we observe the title "*De Re Metricâ libri duo; in quorum priori Poematum varîæ species, ob diversum carminum dispositionem, ex Hephæstione, et aliis dilucidè ostenduntur; in alterno carminum ipsorum rhythmica ratio summam traditur; ac nonnullæ eorum species a nobis excogitatæ e Rhythmicis potius quam Grammaticæ fontibus exhibentur.*"—Can any of our musical readers inform us if this work was ever completed, and if completed, ever published, or if it is still lying in MS. at Florence?—Doni was the very man to write a good work on Greek metres; ages may elapse before such another enthusiast arise; and without enthusiasm in a matter of this kind nothing can be done.

and of this we have a clear proof in the following passage from the rhythmical elements of Aristoxenus, (Morelli, p. 290), to which our attention was first directed by Professor Böckh.

After having said that feet do not extend beyond four times, as, v. g. — — — —; for he does not use the word *σημειον* here in its common sense of the shortest moment of time; he goes on to say,

“But we must not deceive ourselves by imagining that the doctrine holds universally that a foot can never be divided into more than four parts; for some are divided into double that number, and into manifold divisions. It is not however by its own virtue that a foot suffers these divisions, but they are effected by rhythmopœia; for the material component parts of the foot are one thing, and the divisions it suffers from rhythmopœia another. The parts of a foot remain equal both in number and magnitude; but the divisions produced by the rhythmopœia partake of great variety; as will be seen in the sequel”—(The sequel, alas! has perished.)

This quotation is the last which we shall produce on the nature of Greek rhythm. We have no occasion to trouble ourselves, or our readers, with more erudition. We have gained all that we want, and a great deal more. We have proved that the lyric rhythm of the Greeks was not a fitful disjointed thing, performing an awkward puppetry in obedience to the laws of pedantic prosodians; but as rich, fluent, varied, and expressive, in every respect, as our own. Let any person now read the following passage from Dr. Burney, and consider what value is to be put upon it, or whether any value at all.

“Upon the whole, even the imperfect view which I have given of the rhythmical resources of ancient music, may be sufficient to warrant something more than a doubt, whether a fixed prosody and the rigorous unaccommodating length of syllables be any recommendation of a language for music; that is, whether a music formed and moulded closely upon such a language, must not necessarily be cramped and poor in comparison of that free unshackled variety, that independent range of rhythmical phrase which form so considerable a part of the riches of modern music. I am happy to find an ingenious writer of the same opinion. ‘Music,’ says Mr. Webb, ‘borrows sentiment from poetry and lends her movements, and consequently must prefer that mode of versification which leaves her most at liberty to consult her own genius.’ Let the most inventive composer try to set half a dozen Hexameters, pure Iambics, or any other verses that will fall into a regu-

lar, common, or triple time, and he will soon find that no resources of melody are sufficient to disguise or palliate the insipid and tiresome uniformity of the measure; and as for anything like expression, we may as well expect to be affected by the mechanical strut of a soldier upon parade. In other metres, where feet of different times are intermixed, some variety is indeed acquired; but it is a misplaced variety, which, without obviating the tiresome effect of a confinement to no more than two lengths of notes, adds to it that of an awkward and uncouth arrangement; the ear is still fatigued with uniformity when it requires change, and distracted by change where it requires uniformity.

‘Modern music on the contrary by its division into equal bars, and its unequal subdivision of these bars by notes of various lengths, unites to the pleasure which the ear is by nature formed to receive from a regular and even measure all the variety and expression which the ancients seemed to have aimed at by sudden and convulsive changes of time, and a continual conflict of jarring and irreconcilable rhythms.’*

The whole chapter on rhythm in Dr. Burney’s celebrated dissertation is in the same strain, more like a caricature in all things than a veritable outline. It has always seemed plain to us, that to revenge himself of Aristides, Bacchius, and Euclid, for the fruitless trouble they had cost him, the learned historian had determined to employ his wit in making them appear ridiculous. Aristides he sneers at as a silly old dreamer, at the very time he is quoting from the worthy ancient a passage that proves ancient rhythm to have been infinitely more expressive than our own. And no wonder: for we have confounded all rhythm in a fevered and intoxicated dance of sounds, amid which the natural movement of the music is seldom discernible. The passage of Aristides occurs in p. 76 of the dissertation. “Time of equal proportions (common time) is graceful; and that of odd numbers or sesquialterate proportion ($\frac{3}{2}$) is more proper to excite commotion. Double time (triple) is a kind of mean betwixt the graceful and the turbulent.”—We have little doubt, that if the jog trot of modern musical practice could be induced to adopt the quinary measure, its effect would be found to be just that here described by Aristides. It is a remarkable thing that a modern writer on the theory of rhythm, gives to the quinary measure exactly the same character as given by Aristides; and this without any Hellenizing prejudice, but simply as an intelligent Ger-

* Dissertation, p. 85.



Now, if the grammarians had only set down this in notes (or, having none, invented a notation for themselves) they would have discovered a plain principle, the consistent application of which would have saved them from a thousand blunders. But they wanted courage to do this. It would have been making a plunge into that very region of music, by abstracting themselves from which they had created their art metrical into the dignity of a separate science. It was natural that they should be jealous of a doctrine which deranged their fundamental doctrine of long and short; for as the Elegiac verse is actually scanned by a well-tuned musical ear, we have not only tall Germans generally, as Victorinus says, but one German taller by a third than his neighbour, and another as tall again. To avoid this untoward confusion of ideas, the metricians shrunk immediately back into their old shell; they passed by truth, and saw her only as in a dream; they touched the hem of the mantle of a god, but it gave out no virtue to them.

Let us now apply the preceding observations practically, and endeavour to exhibit the rhythm of a Greek chorus on the principles above set forth. We shall choose one from Æschylus; sufficiently entangled indeed, upon the principles of erudite metricians, but plain and self-evident to the perception of the greenest tyro in music. Dindorf's reprint of the Glasgow (Porson's) edition of Æschylus, exhibits, at verse 490 of the Eumenides, the following arrangement:—

Strophe. Νυν καταστροφαι νεων
θεσμιων, ει κρατη-
σει δικα τεκαι βλαβα
τουδε μητροκτονου.
παντας ηδη τοδ' εργον ευχερει-
α ξυναρμωσε βροτους.
πολλα δ' ετυμα παιδοτρωτα
παθεα προσμενει τοκευ-
σιν, μετα τ' αυθις εν χρονω.—

The first thing that strikes the unsophisticated reader here (for we speak not to those whose sense has been blunted by scholastic barbarism) is the strange and uncouth disjoining of the words which this chorus exhibits. One might imagine at first sight that the philosophy of this was to be found in the musical bars by which the verses were sung; an original way of printing poetry certainly, but at all events intelligible. This, however, cannot be the case; for as Trochaic verse was generally measured by dipods, if it had been intended by these breaks in the words to represent the musical bars, the

editor should have proceeded consistently thus:—

Νυν καταστρο-
φαι νεων
θεσμιων.
ει κρατη-
σει δικα τε
και βλαβα.—κ. τ. λ.

And indeed many of Burney and Blomfield's choruses seem arranged on some principle of this kind; though not always consistently, as it is difficult for a man, in the teeth of nature, to remain for a long time consistent in error. But there is not the least reason to suppose that these painful dislocations, which are everywhere to be met with in our English editions, have any foundation in music, ancient or modern. The scholiasts of Pindar, who were as great proficient at this art of disjoining verses as any modern of the Porsonian school can be, never hint the least acquaintance with music. And as for this chorus of Æschylus, we suspect it owes the shape in which it here appears to one of Porson's mechanical rules, that as many verses as possible should be made to run on continuously in the same metre.* Of course Porson, as a regular metrician, was not bound in laying down this rule to pay any attention to sense, poetry, pause, or rhythm. But to proceed. The first verse is a Trochaic dimeter catalectic in the language of metricians; and the second verse standing separately seems intended for a Cretic Dimeter. These verses being so placed answer exactly to the two that immediately follow; and as we have just hinted, this uniformity seems to have been the thing aimed at. But we have two objections to this arrangement. In the first place we do not see why the line should not rather be made to terminate with the sense at *θεσμιων* than at *νεων*, making a violent and uncouth hiatus between the adjective and its substantive; and in the next place we demur to the disruption of the rhythm by bringing in Cretic metres at all; for the Cretic is a quinary measure, and the Trochaic, which gives

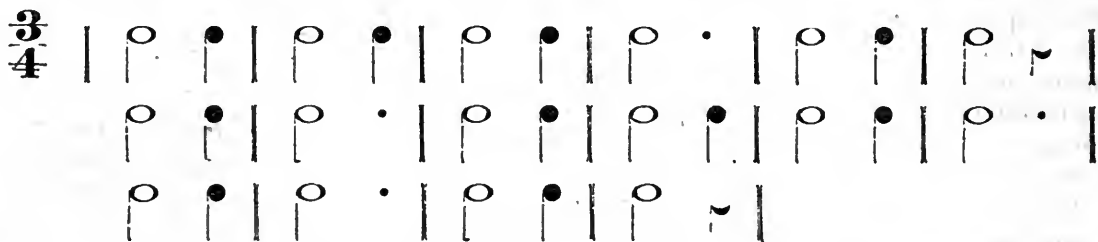
* "Ut eadem aut similis versuum species quam sæpissime recurreret," preface to the *Hecuba*. On which canon compare *Lachmann*, in his excellent work on the choral system, p. 10. "At Porsonus cum partem veri perspiciebat stropharum versus metris quibusdam regi vidisset, erravit tamen, dum partim omnem poetarum libertatem constringit (the great pedantry of the Porsonian school), partim ea quæ regulam non sufficientem effugiunt, ad nullam certam normam exigere potest." See also our article on English and German Scholarship, No. XLIV.

the rhythm to the chorus, is ternary. It may be allowable for particular effects to bring in this turbulent rhythm (as Aristides calls it) into the equable flow of the Trochaic; but as a general rule, and particularly in the middle of a sentence, and divorcing an adjective from its substantive, such a procedure

is altogether barbarous. We shall therefore cartail the first four lines into three, and read thus—

Νυν καταστροφαι νεων θεσμιων,
Ει κρατησει δικα τεκαι βλαβα
τουδε μητροκτονου,

the musical value of which will be



where the reader will observe we have used dotted notes to fill up the time of those long notes after which a rest did not seem necessary; and we shall give satisfactory reasons for this immediately. The verses that follow will be arranged on the same principle, and present only two peculiarities. In the beginning of the fourth verse we find another Cretic prefixed to the Trochaic dimeter catalectic; and we ask with what consistency does this Cretic stand here? If two Cretics make a separate line, why not one? But our English editions of Æschylus are full of these inconsistencies; and we came to the conclusion, after examining several choruses of Bishop Blomfield's Agamemnon, that he was governed in these matters on no principle but whim. For instance, in one part of the introductory chorus to the Agamemnon he divides thus—

φανεντες ι—
κταρ μελαθρων χερσ εκ δοριπαλτου.

And we wish to know why, in another part of the same chorus, he does not divide thus—

Zeus ος—
τις ποτ' εστιν ει τοδ' αν—

Why does he not honour Jove with a separate line in this solemn passage, especially as Hermann is convinced (see the treatise de Mensurâ Rhythmicâ) that we have here a *Trochæus semantus*, that is to say of twelve times, equal in value to the whole dimeter that follows? But the whole of this magnificent opening chorus has been so completely mangled and dislocated by the

* Burney, in fact, who sticks at no metrical barbarism, gives us an example of this elegant Cretic monometer in the fifteenth chant of the chorus in the *Persæ* (*Tentamen*, p. 34.)

βασιλει—
ου τιά—
ρας φυλαρον πιφανσκων.

In this, as in many other Burnecian choruses, only two or three lines end in a complete word. All the rest are violently and mercilessly dislocated.

learned bishop, that no lover of poetry can bear to look upon it. And if we throw taste altogether out of view, the erudition of the matter is plain; Æschylus is in the constant habit of adding prefix feet to his metrical series; it always lends variety to the measure, and often dignity.

The other peculiarity which we have to mention, is the occurrence of a Dactyle instead of a Trochee, in the last line of the strophe:

παθια προσμενει τοκευσιν μετ' αυθις εν χρονω.

This, if we were at all infected with the metrical dogmatism of Porson or Hermann, we should immediately expunge. "Dactylus, si quando in his versibus reperiatur," says Hermann, "nisi ille in nomine proprio sit, non dubium est quin emendatione tollendum sit."* There can be no reason for being so imperative about the matter, unless it be that the Dactyle, according to its common measure, has a time too much for this Trochaic bar. But Hermann knows well that there are irrational as well as rational Dactyles, nimble and heavy. We shall therefore allow the Dactyle to remain; and mark it for the present, till we have had time to explain, in the common way with a dot, thus:



But one other matter still remains. If in order to avoid the breaking up of the lines, we write the fifth and sixth lines in one; thus:

παντας ηδη τοδ' εργον ενχερεια συναρμοσει βροτους—

Does not this give a most unwieldy, unmanageable line? Certainly it is somewhat longer than lines generally are; and may, among other things, be very inconvenient for the size in which books, in these cabinet times, are often printed; but the length of poetical lines is a matter entirely arbitrary, and the

* Element. Doct. Met. 80.

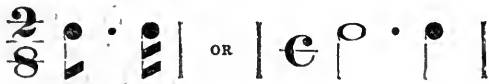
present has only seventeen syllables. If Hephæstion were any authority in such matters, we say further that he allows as a gene-

ral rule thirty-two times to a verse ; but he mentions also a Choriambic hexameter catalectic :

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —,

which has thirty-five times, and twenty-three syllables. But we are unwilling to quarrel about the length of the lines : that is a work for a printer rather than for a critic. Only let the words not be torn asunder, forming a discord both to eye and ear ; let the lines never be so arranged as to give the appearance of a new rhythm in the middle of a sentence or a word ; and especially in the full swell of an Æschylean chorus, let everything petty and fragmentary by all means be avoided.

We have now to explain the matter of dotted notes. Apel used them freely on all occasions as in modern music. In this he was at first followed by Böckh ; who, however, after a thorough and searching study of the ancient musicians, has come to the conclusion that the ancients did not use notes of triple value. The matter, however, is open to conciliation. That the ancients did not compose in musical feet or bars, in which the proportion of one note to another was as 3 to 1 ; thus :



is undeniable.* Aristoxenus expressly disapproves of this relation. But it is of the proportion of one note to another in a musical foot that he disapproves ; he nowhere says that a single note by itself cannot be used of a triple value. It is, indeed, altogether impossible that he should have said this ; for the triple note, as Apel well remarks, is as necessarily given with triple time, as the double note with common time. And Böckh himself, in setting a Pindaric ode to a time of $\frac{6}{4}$, uses a long note of the value of six times. It seems plain, there-

* Δευτεροί δε εἰσι οἱ ἐν τῷ τετρασημῷ μεγεθεῖ. εἰσι δὲ οὗτοι δακτυλικοὶ τῷ γενεῖ· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τετρασὶ δυο λαμβανονται λογοὶ ὁ τε τοῦ ἰσού, καὶ ὁ τοῦ τριπλασίου ὃν ὁμὲν τοῦ τριπλασίου οὐκ ευρυθμός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἰσού εἰς τὸ δακτυλικὸν πιπτει γένος.—Aristox. Rhyth. Elem. p. 302. But we shall not undertake to say that the ancients did not in practice vary the Dactylic metres with something similar to a dot, as in the beautiful Scotch air, "Saw ye my wee Thing?"



for it is one thing to use a rhythm systematically as a rule of composition, and another thing to employ it occasionally as an ornament. Besides, the irrational notes of the ancients were always at hand for emergencies of this kind.

fore, that he has no intention of denying Apel's doctrine, as applied to the prolongation of single notes forming a bar or complete foot in themselves.

With regard to the equalization of the Dactyle, the matter is different. The modern method of taking a half of the values from the next following note is altogether arbitrary. It is as easy to borrow from both the short notes that follow ; and then as Böckh has arranged his ode, we shall have, in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, the proportions

$$2 - 1 . 2 . 1 . = 3 . 1\frac{1}{2} . 1\frac{1}{2} .$$

$$- \cup . - \cup = - \cup \cup .$$

that is to say, the Dactyle, by the art of the rhythmopœist, made equal in value to two Trochees, without deranging the natural proportion of equality, in which the essence of the Greek Dactyle consists. And in the same manner the Dactyle in our present chorus may be equalized to a single Trochee, without using the modern expedient of dots. For if the Trochee be represented by

$$20 . 10 = . 30$$

the Tribrach will be

$$10 . 10 . 10 = . 30 .$$

and the nimble or irrational Dactyle,

$$15 . 7\frac{1}{2} . 7\frac{1}{2} = . 30 ,$$

instead of the false unequal Dactyle, brought out by the modern custom of dotting, which is

$$15 . 5 . 10 = 30 .$$

Böckh, we believe, was the first to suggest this method, by which the ancient rhythmopœist might equalize feet of common and triple time, without deranging the natural proportions of these feet, or introducing the forbidden proportion of 3 to 1 ; it seems sufficiently obvious, and far more mathematical than our hobbling system of dots.

We have one remark still to make before leaving this part of our subject. With common and triple time, the student who is versed in music, can never be much at a loss ; but with regard to quinary measure, the ears of most Englishmen are not sufficiently cultivated to enjoy its rhythm. A compromise must therefore be made here ; and we shall be compelled to chant the Pæonic odes of Pindar ($\frac{5}{8}$) as if their rhythm were $\frac{3}{8}$. Thus :

Αναξίφορμιγγες υμνοί—

τινα θεον, τιν' ἥρωα, τινα δ' ἀνδρα κελαδῶσομεν·



We have been able in the above observations only to hint hastily at the principles on which, building upon the musical foundation laid by Böckh and Apel, a rational and satisfactory doctrine of Greek metres might be established. We have only to remark further, that though the principles, when once unencumbered from erudite error, seem few and simple, yet their practical application to the multifarious varieties of Greek choral poetry will require a union of musical experience, Greek erudition, and poetical taste, seldom united in one individual. Nor is it to be imagined, while the present most unmusical system of British education remains unchanged, that any author should devote his time to a task which would receive small favour from the prejudices of the old, and meet with nothing but sneers from the superficial cleverness of the rising generation. To set Pindar to music, may appear as mad an idea to many as that of Dawes to translate Milton into Greek; and yet it is from the nature of the case most certain that, till music be universally cultivated in our schools and universities, and our young men be taught to chant the Greek choruses to some manly and solemn airs adapted by experienced composers, any thing like a natural and healthy sympathy with these *songs* (for they are not *poems* or *verses* in our modern phrase), is not to be looked for. We shall wait with patience for the happy era when our practical life shall be more poetical, and our educational training less scholastic.

The reader will now be in a condition to judge how much of M. De Quincey's opinion of the Greek lyric metres (quoted above) is true, and how much of it is false. It is true in so far as the old traditional arrangement of the Pindaric strophes has *in itself* no music, or hint of music whatsoever, but rather jar and discord; it is false in so far as by a well-cultivated musical ear these same verses may be modulated, and actually are modulated into sweetest music; and this modulation will be materially assisted by such a rhythmical arrangement of the verses as that given by Böckh. We do not say, however, that no man ever was sensible of the music of Pindar's odes before Böckh. Nature is stronger than art; and the scholiasts, with all their mechanical blundering, were not

able altogether to unhinge the strong rhythmical architecture of the Theban. Neither do we say that none but a musical man can understand the rhythm of Greek choral poetry. Walter Scott was no man of tune, yet he wrote good verses. But a musical man undeniably has immense advantages in comprehending the rhythm of a language, where syllables, subject to certain modifications, are, in fact, musical notes. And if a man will not only read Pindar rhythmically, but aspire to build up a formal system of rhythmical science, how can that be done other than on musical principles, seeing that rhythm, and rhythmopœia, belong to music and not to grammar. As to *metrical* science, that without rhythm is a thing without meaning; even as the sentences of a letter have no meaning save *in* the letter. We are not so uncharitable, however, as to say that prosodians and metrical men without rhythmical science, have, in fact, no perception whatever of the beauty of those verses they so curiously scan. Rhythm exists in most men, unconsciously, half-developed; and all cultivated Hellenists do, even at the present day, insinuate, as it were, rhythm by instinct into the most unrhythmical divisions of Burney and Blomfield; they undo practically the doings of the prosodian, even when they seem to approve of his theory. Despite of himself, a good reader uses more than two quantities in his elocution; despite of himself, he equalizes seemingly unequal times; and thus the doctrine of Mr. Chapman, which has been so much vituperated, proves itself in the very practice of those who gainsay it.

Our view of the doctrine of Greek rhythm would be very incomplete without an historical review of the different writers who have distinguished themselves in this curious and interesting department of musical science. We shall, therefore, though limited considerably by the space allotted us, conclude our present remarks with a short sketch of the principal scholars, who, within the last fifty years, have devoted their attention to this subject.

In the van of discovery here, and preceding the period to which we confine our attention, is Richard Bentley, to whose gigantic genius it is the highest praise to say, that even at the distance of a century it continues

to strike awe into the soul of the most despotic of modern metricians, Godfrey Hermann. Bentley was in metres, as in every thing else, the most free and independent of thinkers; in the originality and boldness of his ideas more of a German than an Englishman. He anticipated Wolf's theory of the Homeric ballads; and had his attention not been directed to nobler themes, there seems no doubt that he would have left nothing for Hermann to do in the science of ancient metres; (though we shall not say he would have intercepted Böckh.) Of this the celebrated "Schediasma," is of itself sufficient proof; there is a strong sense, a vigour, a breadth, a manliness there that would have steered a free course through a most intricate track, equally free from the curious metaphysical puzzling of Hermann, and the minute microscopic laboriousness of Porson. Bentley is a man of flesh and blood; he does not work with his head alone; he shows a hard Herculean muscle; and every thought is a stroke. Thus he escapes all the vulgar pedantry of mere grammarians; he does not flounder through abstractions, or finger mere letters and syllables; he goes straight up to the living reality of the thing, and hears the Roman flute-player beating time to a Terentian Tetrameter, while grammatical men are swaying between Systole and Diastole, and wondering what mighty mystery the arsis and thesis of Marius Victorinus may reveal. Bentley also, like a man of ideas, comprehends the totality of the thing, while smaller men scan the parts. It is remarkable that in that Terentian dissertation he seldom speaks of the laws of metre, but of the law of rhythm; a phraseology which at once shows his superiority to his predecessors, the Greek scholiasts, and marks him out as a man from whom even the musician Burney might have borrowed a useful hint; and the scholar may recollect the passage where the great critic, discoursing of the frequent spondees in the Roman Iambic, uses the following remarkable words (p. xii): "*quod tamen opinor celeri pronuntiatione juvabat et occultabat actor, neipse a Tibicine rhythmum Græcum servante discreparet.*" Here we have a distinct recognition of the controlling power of rhythm, in the equalization of unequal feet; here we have plain common sense putting into the hand of a sound-headed man, the great leading principle that afterwards, in the hands of an Apel and a Böckh, was destined to bring order into confusion, and change discord into harmony. It must, therefore, ever be matter of lamentation, that such an healthy living man as Bentley did not apply his mighty talents to a subject which they were so well fitted to

comprehend; as it is, his observations are merely incidental, and not without admixture of pernicious error. In the use of the words *arsis* and *thesis*, he followed the grammatical, not the musical authorities, and thus confirmed ancient error, when he was in a condition to have exploded it for ever. Words are the stereotypes of ideas; and arsis and thesis, which had originally no meaning but in the living union of music and poetry, became, by the stamp of Bentley's authority, the legal property of grammarians and metricians, who scanned them with curious eye, and fingered them with sedulous hand, and at the end of the chapter had as clear ideas of their meaning, as if they had been Phœnician inscriptions, or the cuneiform characters of the Babylonian bricks.

The following passage from the pen of Hermann, is real eloquence; and that he should have so written is the highest praise of Hermann, as it is the noblest eulogy that ever was pronounced on Bentley.—"Bentleius, si non perfecit hanc doctrinam, ac potius sæpe inventis suis etiam cum damno Terentii usus est, tantum abest ut id quidquam de laudibus suis detrahat, ut potius nihil in eâ re sit quod cuiquam debeat mirum videri. Nullæ enim unquam magno in genere magnæ conversiones factæ sunt, quin conjunctæ fuerint cum ruinis etiam earum rerum, quas vel potuisse servari, vel debuisse postmodo appareret. Itaque ut fulminis pernicio nonnunquam vis utilitate superat, ita in magnis ingeniis, quid condiderint, non quid condendo everterint, spectandum." . . . *

This sentiment may be applied with almost equal propriety to Hermann himself; to whom, by a long leap, passing somewhat ungraciously over Dawes and Reiz, we are compelled to pass. Godfrey Hermann raised up the most complete scientific architecture of metres that the learned world ever saw: but in doing so it has become manifest to many that he overturned common sense. The metrical philosophy of Hermann is a gigantic blunder; it remains, however, the blunder of a giant; and happily the consequences of metaphysical errors do not always extend to practice: Epicurus may be as moral as Zeno. The blunder of Hermann is a very obvious one; he went into the cold formal region of the understanding, for a philosophy that is to be found only in the living tide of poetic emotion. He scorned the empirical judgment of the ear, in a matter where the ear is the only judge; he asked an oracle from pure reason, where pure reason had no

* *Element. Doct. Met.* 66.

oracle to give. What fellowship has the Kantian category of causality, or the dynamical doctrine of forces, with the tune of a Dorian pipe, or the time of a Spartan march? . . . Can a man measure poetry by square and compass, or frame a bankrupt bill by poetic impulse? No sound man will dream of such things; but there are strange epidemics in the intellectual as in the physical world; and if tar-water can cure all diseases, why should not the Kantian philosophy explain all mysteries? It was Hermann's misfortune (a misfortune it certainly was to a metrist,) to be born under the all-controlling ascendancy of the critical philosophy; an influence from which he, as a German thinker, could no more hope to escape than Coleridge and Southey, as British poets, could escape having their young brains fired by the French revolution. Theology and poetry were Kantianized; even the mild constraining power of the love of Christ was transmuted into a stiff, stern, categorical imperative. What wonder then, that ancient metres should walk forth to the world? clad in the same heavy panoply of scholastic phrase?—for it was phrase only. Musical ideas could be charmed by no magic out of the critique of pure reason; it was not to be denied, that the pleasure we receive from rhythm is a feeling; and all feelings are empirical. Rhythm exists only in living and breathing things; the abstract idea of succession admits neither of arsis nor thesis; like the triangle of a mathematician, it is the symbol of many things, but itself is nothing. In the Kantian philosophy, as in the mathematics, there is no *reality*. Where then was Hermann's position?—he was called upon to set in motion the living undulations of poetic measures, and he found himself among an undistinguished succession of moments of time causing and being caused from infinity to infinity. In this abstract succession of infinite serieses he lost himself and his readers; and after wandering in the maze of pure reason for a reasonable space, he finds himself back again in the region of experience; and the empirical *deus ex machinâ* that saved him from his perplexity was the *ictus metricus*.

It were useless to follow into detail the continual recurrence of puzzling subtleties that this transcendental outset entails upon the "Elements of the Doctrine of Metres." As useless were it to attempt a serious, formal refutation of such misplaced metaphysics. When I sing a song, one note is not the cause of another, but I, and the inspiration of song within me, am the cause, the per-

manent, vital, originator of all the notes. Nor does the arsis cause the thesis (using these words in Hermann's sense), but I cause both arsis and thesis; they are, in fact, the same thing, mere modifications of my manner of existence; the one a stronger, the other a weaker exertion of my vital energy. Alternate accentuation, and non-accentuation are facts in the living organism of the universe, which must in every doctrine of metres be assumed, not explained. There is an order in the living succession of musical sounds or poetical emotions, which order is expressed by the words, equality and proportion. These things *are*. What more can we say? Do comparisons help us? the waves in the eternal ocean of vitality—the shuttle strokes of the ever-moving loom of creation!—Πολλων ὀνοματων μορφημια. Take the thing as it is and rejoice in it. You may as well ask for the cause of life, or the cause of God.

There is not an English Hellenist living, we presume, who does not admire the genius of Hermann. He is not merely a scholar; he is an intellectual scholar. He moves in the region of Bentley; how far above, or how far below, we should not wish to decide rashly. But is there an English Hellenist living, who in his course through that huge leviathan, the Elements of the Doctrine of Metres, has not been puzzled, confounded, stupified more than once? and to what purpose? Do there not remain after all straining of the cerebrum not a few things in the critical philosophy of metres, only less unintelligible and less confounding than Burney's antispastic dreams? When you ask for bread, does not this subtle juggling doctor of metres often give you a stone? and even when he gives you stout old wine, (as he has good store of it,) do you not feel at times as if it were mixed with sand, harsh, gritty sand, in the teeth? Is there not discord somewhere, or everywhere, in this proud temple of harmony? Doubtless there is; and how could it be otherwise, when a man squares sweet sounds by university logic, and makes a boast of formally upholding the unnatural divorce of metre and music? Here lies the sore. In the face of multiplied manifest floundering and stumbling the old pedantic error is persisted in. Strange! Hermann has a fine natural ear, a genius for numbers,—“Nam ego, quoniam etiam de me ipso mihi dicendum video, a puero, naturæ quodam instinctu, mirificè eram numeris delectatus.” We believe this; we rejoice to believe it. The only unaccountable thing is how this genius for numbers should not have led him to the piano, instead of to the Kantian philosophy;

or how a man, who, in all other things, purposely goes out of the way of the grammarians, should here purposely walk along with them in the same dry, dusty track that had already been the mother of so much confusion? How faithfully does this metaphysical metricalian eschew all converse with rhythm? how does this rebellious son excuse himself for casting off the allegiance to his legitimate sire? He gives in a special plea; let us hear his defence. "Quo in statu nunc res est, nihil amplius scimus quam diversas fuisse rhythmorum doctrinam et scientiam metrorum; rhythmos enim ad musicam et cantum, metra ad poesin pertinuisse: unde intelligimus rhythmum aliquem similitudinem habuisse, cum eo quem hodie tactum musici vocant, etsi aliâ ex parte huic dissimillimus fuerit necesse est."* Ο παπῆ, παπῆ! What sort of monsters were these Greeks! Did the birds bray in days of antiquity, and did the asses chirp? But the reader will observe we have got one step here beyond the wisdom of Burney and the British musicians; we are brought back to the sound doctrine of the old grammarians, that rhythm and metre are not the same thing. We advance also another step; it is allowed that rhythm was a musical thing, and, though not exactly the same as our time, had some striking resemblance to it. Then what was it? why not admit at once that it was the same thing? If you assume any unknown mongrel entity half-way between metre and time, you are bound to give us some tangible idea what this new entity may be. But why make such strange assumptions? why ensconce yourself with such superstitious jealousy against the fellowship of sweet sounds? why raise up presumptions against nature, and difficulties merely to create confusion? There is evidently something crooked and perverse in this whole matter; nor is an Œdipus required to unravel the mystery; the student of German philology knows well how the case stands; Hermann is the head of a school, and Hermann must preserve his consistency.†

* Praefat. Elem. Doct. Met. p. vii.

† The reader will recollect that the celebrated work "De Metris Poetarum Græcorum et Romanorum" was published in 1796, the elements not till 1816. The controversies with *Bothe*, *Apel*, and *Böckh*, had taken place in the meantime. An attention to this will explain not a few peculiarities in the psychology of the Elements. There was also another work in German published very soon after the first work (*Handbuch der Metrik*, 1799). This we have not seen, but it is worth having, as it contains the most open denial of anything like *time* in Greek metres that is to be found in Hermann's works. Afterwards, as in the above extract from the preface to the elements, the matter was smoothed down, to conciliate the change in the

Bishop Stillingfleet is reported to have said of Bentley that if he had only known what the meaning of humility was he might have been a *great* man; so will Hermann go down to posterity as a truly great man, if he have the honesty to throw the prejudices of twenty years behind his back, and confess that Böckh and Apel are more sure guides to the science of metres than Immanuel Kant. But there are few Keplers in the world; and even as it is, there is enough of varied merit in Hermann to command the warm gratitude of literary men, while the past shall teach the future. As to his metrical merits, apart from the blunders of his theory, there can be no dispute; not to mention his exhaustive and comprehensive mastery of detail, the general tone and spirit of his criticism cannot be sufficiently commended. Sometimes, indeed, like all metrical doctors, he is a little too dogmatical, as for instance, when (p. 70) he proposes to expel every pyrrhic from the initial or *start* foot (base) of certain verses; but in general, especially when set against Porson, he is a cautious and a sound critic. In metrical matters, as we shall see below, Porson must evidently be considered as a monomaniac; no other theory can dignify his pedantry, or palliate his puerility. Hermann again rides his hobby moderately, and is loath to allow the tight-drawn laces of the metricalian to smother the free breathing of the man. The minute and obscure diligence of the Porsonians often rouses his wrath; but these men are too small for his serious attention; he treats them in passing with a look half in pity half in scorn, and the mortal feels, when he cannot see, the fleeting presence of a god. "Nostrum est quidem, quum artem quandam doctrinamque harum versuum condimus, ubique regulas et leges circumspicere; sed qui obliviscuntur totum hoc genus in eo versari quod placeat, ipsumque se auribus commendat, non animadvertunt, dum morosas regulas excogitant, plus se scire velle, quam ipsi poetæ sciebant, risuri profecto si viderent quam obscurâ eos et inutili diligentia usos putamus, dum nihil nisi suum sequebantur sensum, aliquando etiam aliquid

taste of scholars which Apel and Böckh had occasioned. Nay, so early as 1815, the great *metricalian* condescended to write that well-known tract on the *rhythmical* measure of certain metres, whose title we have prefixed. But this is not the only contradiction in Hermann's practice. What has the *Trochæus Semantus*, which he foists everywhere into Pindar, to do with mere *metres*? If we understand any thing about them, at least as Hermann uses them, they belong to the art of the musician. A man enslaved by a false theory is like a thief telling how he came by stolen goods,—he is never consistent with himself.

quod non satis placeret, sibi indulgentes.*” Here again we have true eloquence, a sentence almost worthy of Tacitus. Had the small men who employed themselves in the barren labour of making morose rules, by which to fetter the free-soldier genius of an Æschylus, only condescended to borrow this and similar hints from the wisdom of a learned foreigner, they might have saved themselves much sore labour of the eyes, and redeemed English scholarship from the contempt which Porsonian pedantry has everywhere thrown on it. But Hermann was a German, and Porson made witty verses against the Germans; and Burney and Gaisford and Elmsley and Blomfield danced whenever Porson fiddled.

If we had leisure we could select from the Elements of the Doctrine of Metres, a series of sentences which contain in themselves a sufficient refutation of all the Porsonian principles of metrical criticism (if it had any *principle* save that one only of *monotony*) and, in our opinion, are alone enough to overthrow the greater number of the famous canons. We shall select a few. On the erudite puerilities about the Iambic Cæsura, a matter in which, as we shall see anon, Porson himself outstrips, were it possible, the absurdity of his most absurd disciples,—Hermann has the following sensible remark: “Sed critici, parum memores poetarum in hoc genere non aliâ re quam sensu suo duci, ad regulas quasdam revocare hanc Cæsurarum varietatem conati sunt, operâ majore quam fructu. Quorum nos, etsi *non* contemnimus industriam (he meant to say he *did* despise it), tamen quamvis infinitâ multitudinem exemplorum nihil effici putamus, nisi idoneæ rationes eæque ex ipsâ numeri naturâ petitæ afferantur.”† And such a genuine manly contempt had Hermann for the petty cæsural diligence of the English critics, that he would have passed the whole doctrine over in silence, unless he had thereby seemed to acquiesce in the superstitious reverence with which English scholars regarded the inventions of Porson. “Sed ea ne silentio præteream, auctoritas viri facit, quæ apud populares ejus tanta est, ut ab ejus placitis discedere pene religioni sibi ducant.”‡ And in the same enlarged spirit of true criticism he repudiates a small criticism of Dawes, with regard to the metrical accent falling on the last syllable of a hyperdissyllabic word. “Nam nulla est in talibus regulis *necessitas*; sed, quemadmodum rectius in hujusmodi rebus unice id quod auribus probaretur spectabant, ita nos quoque nec repudiare, si quando illi negligenter fuerunt; et videre

convenit an interdum regula sine offensione contemni potuerit.”* It appears to us that every line here breaks not only a Dawesian but a Porsonian canon. And if we are to act consistently on this sound reasoning, not merely the Cæsural drivel must be utterly discarded, but the Anapæst *in pari sede*, must be restored; and Brunck is right after all. We are aware that in regard to this matter Hermann has apostatized from his early opinions, at least as respects Iambic Trimeters Tragic; but we think he has done so against his own reasoning; and in this matter we choose rather to be right soberly with Hephæstion and honest Wellauer, than to err splendidly with a Porson, or even a Hermann. But there were no end of quoting from Hermann such hard clenching sentences, prostrating the metrical follies of the Porsonians. His quiet sneer (p. 578) at those “qui ad *rara* offendent” is inimitable. His dry observation that there are many ways of composing verses, which, though not the most elegant, are not therefore to be suspected of corruption, makes unnecessary nineteen out of twenty of Porson’s “*emendations*.” And if what he says be true (p. 403) that “paucity of examples” is of itself no good reason for declaring any license to be unallowable, unless other good reasons are given, we really do not see on what foundation the greater part of the Porsonian canons stand. But we must leave Hermann. He is undoubtedly a great reformer; he overturned Hephæstion; he withstood Porson; and he prepared the way for Böckh.

The course of historical inquiry now brings us to Porson himself; a strong man undoubtedly, though not a Bentley, and on the subject of metres not wise. Bishop Blomfield says somewhere, when Seidler had presumed to criticize the great Cantab—“De Porsoni, si Diis placet erroribus, a re castigatis magnifice loquitur. *Nempe leoni mortuo vel asinus calcibus frontem exterit.*” Doubtless Porson was a lion, and so was Dr. Johnson; and while he was alive, and ruled the critical world, a sort of god: but now that he is dead, we know well and we say openly that he was in many things a prejudiced old bear. So also with regard to Porson, being free from the living terror of his ban, it may be lawful for any honest man, without dreading episcopal excommunication, to think what he pleases of the Cantabrigian Pope, and to say what he thinks. Our opinion, therefore, is, that the great discovery of the illicit Anapæsts was

* Element. p. 48.

† Element. p. 107.

‡ Element. p. 101.

* P. 107. He might have missed out the *pene*. What he says is literally and absolutely true, as every page of Bishop Blomfield’s Æschylus demonstrates.

no discovery at all; that the grand doctrine of the Cæsura (so far as Porson taught any thing new in it) was sheer nonsense; and the matter of the Cretic ending an ingenious piece of puerile trifling. These propositions we shall prove by a few statements as short and succinct as possible; but, as we hope, abundantly satisfactory to those who have followed our previous observations, and seized the spirit of the quotations we have given from Hermann.

Now in order to ascertain the real value of Porson's canon of illicit Anapæsts, we must look in the first place at how the matter stood, before the great Cantab applied his sedulous hand, to rub and polish all the verses of the tragedians down to one monotonous level. This we find in Hephæstion. "Iambic verse," says the worthy old metrician, "receives in the odd places, *i. e.* the first, third, and fifth, the Iambus, the Tribach, the Spondee, the Dactyle, the Anapæst; in the even places, *i. e.* the second, fourth, and sixth, the Iambus, the Tribach, and the Anapæst; and this with the comedians frequently (*συνεχως*) but more rarely (*σπανιωτερον*) with the tragedians." Hephæstion gives this general and comprehensive rule, in the deliberate knowledge, that the admission of the Anapæsts was something irregular, something that ought not to be, *οὐκ οφείλει γενεσθαι* (*ibid*); and he repeats the same thing in the following chapter. He is also perfectly aware of the license of proper names, which he had mentioned in the preceding page (c. iii.) under the name of *ονοματων αναγκη*. The attempts of the Porsonians to get over this passage are therefore complete failures. Hephæstion makes a plain intelligible statement of fact, and with full consciousness of what he is about. The only resource is to scout the grammarians' authority in this matter, as Burney did in the matter of mangling the verses; but Hephæstion, though he may be a very bad philosopher in determining the nature of asynartete and anti-pathetic verses, is a most unexceptionable witness to a mere matter of fact, which he had better means of ascertaining than any modern can pretend to. He must, for one thing, have had a much wider range of Greek plays before him than we have; and in the next place he must have used manuscripts, whose authority was far superior to any, the very best we can now produce. Why not therefore in a petty and unimportant matter of this kind, take the laws of Iambic verse, as free and liberal as the honest old metrician gives them? What is the monstrous offence of a stray Anapæst here and there, that a deliberate persecution should

be instituted against them, and the glory of a new metrical school founded on their utter annihilation? Does the Anapæst render the verse inharmonious? So Porson seems to have assumed; prove it he could not. But if the Anapæst renders Iambic verse inharmonious, why not the Spondee, or the Dactyle? There is no answer to this; and we are therefore told that as the Anapæst is merely a surrogate of the Spondee, it can only come into those places of the verse where that foot is admitted. But this is merely repeating Hephæstion. Hephæstion knew all that philosophy of Iambic quite as well as Porson; and yet in the face of his own philosophy he states a fact, which, could he have ever anticipated the modern controversy on this minute theme, he would doubtless have established by sufficient examples. But our modern metricians, perceiving a beauty in monotony which Hephæstion, who had not read Pope, could scarcely have understood, proceed to make obstinate facts obedient to their philosophy in a manner which they who do not understand Greek, may collect from Bentley's edition of Milton; and this they do in a slump undistinguishing fashion, which, as we have already said, looks more like *monomania* than rational criticism. They first publish a presumption against all Anapæsts, which does not exist; and then they set their ingenuity to work by help of blundering codices, grammatical figures, and other ready tools of that sort, to smoothe down every irregularity, that may here and there accidentally disturb the "regular Jew's harp twing twang" of Greek Iambics. It may easily be conceived that this is no difficult matter; for Anapæsts, as Hephæstion tells us, are rare, and variations in the codices are frequent, and grammatical figures are abundant, and the ingenuity of critics is great. We do not indeed require Greek to understand this great mystery; we do not require to go to Bishop Blomfield's *Æschylus* to see Porson's levelling system of metres in full operation; we have had a set of critics in this country (and some of them exist still) who have exhibited the same sacred horror of trisyllabic feet in our blank verse, that Porson has shown against the Anapæsts in Greek Iambics; and how the finest lines in Milton (not to mention Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge) have been smothered and mangled by this curious race of syllable counters, no student of English poetry requires to be told. These critics, whether Greek or English, never seem for one moment to imagine that variety is an element of the beautiful; that irregulari-

ty may sometimes be a beauty ; that the most careful poet may sometimes write carelessly ; that the dramatic effect and expressiveness of a metrical foot is more considered by a true poet than a stiff pedantic rule ; and that the same unbending laws are not to be applied equally to measure the smooth respectable verse of Sophocles, and the more muscular and hardy lines of Æschylus.

But what a piece of paltry pedantry is this whole affair ! Supposing an anapæst *in pari sede* to be something like a bad rhyme in modern verse, may not a long poem be written with only one bad rhyme in it, and is this one bad rhyme therefore to be declared corrupt by the critics, and forthwith emended, according to the ingenious whim of a Porson, or a Blomfield ? Would not rather that critic be esteemed a poor trifler, who should employ himself in hunting out these few stray irregularities, and devising ingenious methods by which they might be expelled ? We must candidly confess that not only the matter of the Anapæsts, but also many minute laboriosities of the Porsonian school, appear to us in this light ; and we have on this account never been able to share in the general admiration which has been expressed for that famous preface to the Hecuba. That performance shows a singular sort of minute diligence, but it is utterly destitute of intellect ; and when set against Böckh's *Dissertatio de Metris Pindari*, Hermann's *Doctrinae de Metris*, Apel's *Metrik*, or any other standard German work on this subject, makes our English metrical science appear dwarfish and contemptible indeed. What has been the mighty result of this canon of illicit Anapæsts, even supposing it be perfectly made out ? The greatest Hellenist of his day has succeeded in proving the Iambic verse of the Greeks to be in some respects less various and less noble than our own blank ; a discovery which impartial men might have made long ago ; but Porson has forced it upon us ; and it has now become manifest to all. Monotony is the main fault of the Greek Iambic verse of tragedy ; and we owe it to Porson and his school that this fault has been systematically exaggerated into a virtue. But it is not only the regular recurrence of certain feet that makes the Greek tragic verse monotonous ; it is the cæsural uniformity yet more to which this radical defect is owing ; and here also, as we shall see immediately, Porson stood forward as the prophet of monotony, and did all that lay in his power, with a most indefatigable zeal, to make bad worse, and change what was too common into what ought to be universal. But are we bound to follow a Blom-

field, or a Gaisford, in the forging fetters for the ancient tragedians yet more strong than what they actually wore ? Are we bound, because Porson's intellect was gigantic, to make a worship of the workings of that intellect, when falsely employed on subjects the most puerile and trifling ? Are we bound to pilgrim a thousand miles for the nail of a saint's little finger, and not know whether it be the genuine finger after all ? For even thus it is with Porson's Anapæsts. Our minute study of the letter of the Greek drama is worse and more barren than the basest Roman superstition. After what Hephæstion has said on the subject, and considering the state of the MSS., no man can know with certainty, or even probability, whether Æschylus used an Anapæst in a certain place of a certain play, or not. This much, however, we know, that unless we set ourselves violently and recklessly to abuse the text of the MSS., a good decade of very respectable Anapæsts, not in the first foot, and independent of the proper names, will still remain in the text of Æschylus alone. Vulnerable they doubtless may be, as other things are, but let them only have fair play, and they will stand against a million.* Wellauer, a sound, cool-headed, sensible critic, has for the most part retained these Anapæsts ; and who shall say that he has done wrong ? If the authority of MSS., be doubtful, the authority of conjectural criticism, proceeding upon narrow mechanical principles, is still less. The traditionary text is at least something stable to refer to ; and if we are uncertain whether any particular Anapæst was written by Æschylus, we are certain that this Iambus, or that Dactyle, was written by Porson.

So much for this minute matter ; which of itself is a sufficient sample of the character of the English metrical school founded by Porson, of which the preface to the Hecuba is the charter. But the matter of the cæsuras is yet more characteristic ; the canon in this case not only tires our ear with uniformity, but confounds us with extreme

* 1. Εκατοντᾶκάρηνον προς βίαν χειρουμένον
Τυφωνα θούρον πασὶν ὃς ἀντεστή θεοῖς.

Prom. 353, 354.

Καὶ μὴ φίλοις ἐλλείνους εἰσοραὶ ἐγώ.—*Id.* 246.

Ἀπροδοκῆτος δ' αὐτον αἰφνιδίως μῦρος.—*Id.* 683.

5. Πρασσυντᾶς· ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτ' ἀπαντ' ἠπιστάμην.—*Id.* 265.

Τὸν ἐξαμαρτοντ' εἰς θεοὺς τὸν ἑφήμεροις.—*Id.* 947.

Ἴτ' ἐς φθορον πεσσοντ'· ἄγ' ἄθ' ὥδ' ἀμειψομαι.

Agam. 240.

Μελαινὰ τ' Ἐρῖννυς, ἧ μεγασθενὺς τίς εἰ.

Sept. 962.

Διαινέ, διαινέ πημα' προς ὁμοῦς δ' ἰθι.—*Pers.* 995.

10. Καὶ στερν' ἀρασσαί, κατ' ἑβδὰ το Μῦσιον.—*Id.* 1011.

We do not warrant this list as complete. All the readings are Wellauer's, except Nos. six and seven. For these we reserve a special plea ; as indeed more cogent grounds than the mere authority of MSS., exist for the most of them.

absurdity. To enable the English reader to get a clear idea of this great mystery, we shall present the first lines of Southey's Roderick, divided on the principles of uniformity, which was the soul and substance of Porson's doctrine of Cæsura.

"Long had the crimes of Spain cried | out to heaven :
At length the measure | of offence was full.
Count Julian called the invaders | ; not because
Inhuman priests with | unoffending blood
Had stained their country | ; not because a yoke
Of iron servitude oppressed and galled
The children of the soil ; a | private wrong
Roused the remorseless | baron. | Mad to wreak
His vengeance for his | violated child
On Roderick's* head, in evil | hour for Spain,
For that unhappy | daughter | and himself,
Desperate apostate, | on the Moors he called ;
And like a cloud of locusts, | whom the south
Wafts from the plains of | wasted Africa,
The Mussulmen upon Iberia's shore
Descend."

The laws by which the verse is thus divided are few and simple. The first is an utter disregard of the sense ; the second a superstitious shunning of variety ; and the third is an ingenious dragging of small unimportant words from the part of the verse to which they naturally belong, and tagging them to the tail of that part of the verse, to which they do not belong. All the verses which have not the above cæsuras naturally, and cannot be made to assume them by metrical process of dislocation, transposition or otherwise, are inharmonious ; and, *pari ratione*, whatsoever verses have both these cæsuras are doubly harmonious. Whatsoever poet scrupulously observes these cæsuras is a great master of the art ; whosoever neglects them frequently is a bungler. Therefore Virgil is a more perfect poet than Homer : Æschylus in this, as in so many other things, is far inferior to Sophocles or Euripides. There is further a singularity attending the recitation of verses so divided, which the classical scholar is enjoined sedulously to attend to. It is as old as Bentley, and has received the sanction of Dawes, and the stamp of Porson. This singularity consists in giving to the Iambic verse on all possible occasions a Trochaic movement ; which movement the reader will observe is discernible immediately after the division of the verse, whenever that commences, whether at the beginning of the third or the fourth foot. Bentley commenced this movement invariably on the second syllable of the verse ; and this he did by cutting off the first syllable, and making the verse headless, *ακεφαλον*, as the metricians phrase it. If Bentley had done this on the principles of modern music, in which the bar always commences with the strong part of the

movement, his doctrine would have been intelligible ; but he states distinctly that his object, in this procedure, was to come down with the more marked emphasis on the cæsura ; in fact, as he himself states, he had got into this metrical sing-song when a boy ;* and as there was probably no master of elocution in Cambridge at the time when he was going on with his Greek studies, the fault was never corrected, and he gave it out as a great discovery in his preface to Terence. Hare greedily seized upon this, as on some other Bentleian ideas ; but Dawes was more tough, and he allowed the Trochaic movement to begin only after the pause of the voice at the cæsura. This doctrine occupies to the present day a distinguished place in the books of the Porsonians (see Tate), and is indeed of some importance to the theory of cæsura as understood by these men. It proves distinctly that they hold the cæsura to be a sort of pause, or a real pause,† and not a mere incision ; and with this it proves also, beyond redemption, the absolute absurdity of the cæsural canon. If the reader is to make not only an incision, but also a pause after the cæsural syllables in the above example from Southey, the barbarism of the elocution becomes manifest. We are unwilling, however, to charge this tasteless puerility on Porson himself. Perhaps he had nothing else in his eye but the mere articulation or inosculation of the verse at a certain place ; this was enough for him as a mere metrician, to whom sense and poetry and music

* Apel (vol. ii. Vorrede, p. xvii.) states the matter more charitably for Bentley ; he says he brought in the "*Auftakt*," or start syllable from music. We shall be glad to think that we are wrong.

† Cleaver, *De Rhythmo Græcorum*, p. 42, puts a *minim rest* after every cæsural syllable ; for which ignorance he has received merited chastisement from Böckh, p. 98.

* Anapæstus in secundâ sede. Lege Roderick, R. P.

might be alike indifferent. But even taking it thus, his doctrine of the cæsuras is a clear monomania, and not to be explained on any other principle. That the Greek dramatists delighted much in the penthemimeral and hepthemimeral cæsura was a fact well known before Porson's day. And it is also a fact that this cæsura, in which they delight, is often not a mere articulation of the words of the verse, but it is the veritable pause, in the variety of which the great beauty of Milton's organ measure consists. Now the constant repetition of this cæsura was manifestly a great fault in the Greek Iambic; and had Porson been a man that understood the living laws of poetry, instead of a mere metrical uniformity. He would have shown how many of the penthemimerals and hepthemimerals are not real cæsuras, but only joinings of the verse, accidental in some measure, and in some measure dependent on the syllabic character of the Greek language. But Porson aimed at nothing but metrical uniformity. He had only one eye; and that eye spectacled by a lens compounded of the narrowness of grammatical formalism, and the monotony of the Popian versification. Hence such absurdities as the following:

Αλλ' οὐτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τοῦτ' | ἐστὶν οὐτε σοί.
Soph. Phil. 1304.

A forced hepthemimeral to a line which should have been divided thus:—

Αλλ' οὐτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν | οὐτε σοί.

And this—

Αλλ' ὅν πολὶς στυγεὶ σὺ | τιμῆσαι ταφῶ.
Æschyl. Theb. 1055.

which should have been divided into two equal halves,* and the same with many other verses; absurdities so glaring, that a sound-headed English scholar will hardly be brought to believe that they could ever have been seriously propounded by a sane man; much less by one of the strongest intellects of the day. Porson, however, could afford to be mad on one subject; but how the in-

tellect of England could afford to repeat such nonsense up to the present hour, and that without a single voice of dissent, is to us altogether incomprehensible. Hermann's nonsense was at least sublime and intellectual; but the doctrine of the cæsura is sheer drivel, unredeemed by one smothered spark of thought, or the wandering shadow of an idea. Elmsley wasted a fine intellect in puzzling himself to reconcile the practice of the tragedians to Porson's rules; in striving to explain how verses that Porson had pronounced inharmonious, might, nevertheless, be made to read as if they were composed according to the strict rules of the canons; in endeavouring, as plain English must have it, to put sense into nonsense. And will the intelligent reader believe that after all this portentous machinery, the very best verses in Æschylus are precisely those which ran quite counter to the Porsonian cæsuras? Take the opening lines of the Prometheus, and see how many out of the eleven have the penthemimeral or the hepthemimeral division, and whether those that have this division be for that better or worse than those that have it not. The prologue runs thus:—

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ.

1. Χθονος μὲν εἰς τηλοῦρον | ἤκομεν πέδον
Σκυθὴν εἰς οἶμον, | ἀβάτον εἰς ἐρημίαν.
Ἡφαίστε, | σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολας
'Ας σοὶ πατὴρ εἴπειτο, | τόνδε πρὸς πέτραις
5. ὑψηλοκρημνοῖς | τὸν λεωργὸν ὄχμασαι
Ἀδαμαντίνων δέσμων | ἐν ἀρρηκτοῖς πέδαϊς.
Τὸ σὺν γὰρ ἄνθος, | παντεχνοῦ πυρὸς σέλας
θνητοῖσι κλεψας ὥπασεν' | τοιαῦτά τοι
Ἀμαρτίας, | σφεδρὴ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην
10. ὥς ἀν' διδάχθῃ | τὴν Δίος τυραννίδα
στεργεῖν, | φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τροπῶν.

Of these lines, when read naturally, and not according to the artificial dislocations of Porson, the third, the sixth, the eighth, the ninth, the eleventh, have neither the penthemimeral, nor the hepthemimeral cæsura; and we assert that of these five the two, that can by no possibility be screwed into conformity with Porson's cæsuras, viz. the sixth and the eleventh, are precisely the two best lines in the set. Whether Sophocles or Euripides ever wrote such a line as that last,

στεργεῖν, φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τροπῶν,

which has the pause after the first foot, and no inosculation of the final syllables of the words, we neither ask nor care. It is a strong, nervous, manly, soldier-like line, every word; one of the very best in Æschylus undeniably; as is also the sixth, though it has two Spondees, and an Anapæst. But the metrists tell us to avoid such lines, because they are not "*jucundi*;" not pleasant

* On equi-divided lines the student will find some admirable remarks in the metrical appendix to Gruppe's Ariadne, p. 778.

to academical ears. To be consistent, they should tell us to avoid Milton also; to castrate every thing sinewy, muscular and masculine in language; that we may be cradled for ever in some child's heaven, to the sweet lullaby of Porsonian sing-song.

On the other matter of the Cretic ending our limits forbid us to expatiate. That was a sort of original discovery, though merely verbal and syllabic, like all Porson's metrical canons. We shall say however shortly how this matter stands. 1. The Porsonians have never yet been able to give a consistent definition of what the Cretic ending is; some holding a pause or break in the sense to be necessary to constitute it, some going merely on the number of the syllables in the two final words. 2. Those who say a pause is necessary bring examples under the rule, where there is in reality no vestige of a pause. 3. The exceptions to this rule are not few; and the ingenious triflings by which they are attempted to be reconciled are not satisfactory. 4. The rule depends partly on no principle—5. partly the principle on which it depends has not been evolved.* 6. The rule is

* We think the matter of the Cretic ending has generally had its poles reversed. The question ought not to be put, how and why does the Cretic ending exclude a Spondee in the fifth foot, but how do the Spondees in the fifth foot for the most part exclude the Cretic ending. If the student will look into the matter, he will find that the Spondaic fifth foot, is generally and naturally formed by a Molossus or Epitrit—*πανεσθαι, φιλανθρωπον*—feet peculiarly abundant in the flexions of verbs, and in all compound words. These words could not be put into any other part of the verse in consistency with the two cæsuras, for which the tragedians had such a foolish partiality; consequently, as often as they occur, and that from the structure of the Greek language could not be seldom, the sixth foot must be a dissyllabic word. We must bear in mind further that the Spondee in the fifth foot was not the general close of Iambic verse, but useful, particularly, for lines of peculiar strength and weight, such as the genius of Æschylus demanded, and the structure of the language not seldom forced; and the Spondaic closes being naturally exhausted by their use in such cases, there would be little occasion for using them in other cases. The fifth-foot Iambus is the general law, and the Cretic termination presented a favourable disposition of the syllables for that Iambus. This (which we propose, we believe, for the first time, as a fancy of our own) taken along with the greater harshness of the Spondee in any situation when divided between two words, and the natural purity of every metre at its close, sufficiently explains the peculiarity of the Cretic ending. It has been remarked also by Müller (*Eumenides Anhang*), that the Cretic endings are very few in comparison of the dissyllabic; a dissyllabic word forming, in Greek as in English, the most natural and easy final foot of Iambic verse. What wonder then that a Spondaic fifth foot seldom occurs before a final Cretic?—It was a thing in a great measure accidental, and arising out of the structure of the language and the natural flow

either useless in criticism, or positively pernicious—useless, if no sound critic will apply it as a rule in fixing the text; pernicious, if unsound critics, such as the Porsonians are in all metrical matters, use it as an instrument for mangling and corrupting the diction of the tragedians.

We shall readily be excused by the intelligent reader from entering into these minute matters at greater length. The importance which they have acquired in the literature of English scholarship was in a great measure factitious, and could not but be ephemeral. We are willing to grant all the other canons of Porson to be true, (though Hermann has manfully opposed the greater number of them); but the character of his metrical school will gain little by this concession. What determines the character of that school is a certain narrowness of intellectual vision, and aridness of poetic sympathy—a narrowness that belongs more to the letter than the spirit, and holds com-

of the verse. Something similar may be observed in English verse; and had not the Porsonians been so bent on the ground with their one small microscopic Greek eye, they might have found long ago, that the principle of Cretic ending is a common accident in all verse, containing nothing marvellous, and nothing worthy of special canonization. We will venture to say, that any person with an ear tolerably tuned to Greek tragic verse, and with a full flow of Greek at the end of his pen, will avoid the Cretic ending (so far as it ought to be avoided), by poetic instinct, as completely as if he had written all the while in bodily fear of the Porsonian canon. The gross absurdity of this, as of the other canons, is this, that Porson placed it upon no principle; and as he could give no reason for the rule, so he could give no reason for the exception; and in this case the only way left was to make the rule absolute, and score all exceptions. The servility of Elmsley and others in bowing the knee to the infallibility of the Porsonian canons is and remains one of the chief stigmas of British scholarship. Mr. Tate, (*Metres*, p. 30,) for instance, reads the first line of Euripides' *Ion*

Ἀτλας ὁ νωτοῖς χαλκεοῖσιν οὐρανόν;

And then coolly remarks—the old reading was,

Ἀτλας ὁ χαλκεοῖσι νωτοῖς οὐρανόν.

Where the student will understand that the *old* reading is the reading of the MSS. and of the best German editions, (Matthiæ,) and the reading is Porson's reading, effected by an ingenious process of *transposition* peculiar to himself. We could write a whole half hour on this matter, small as it is. Porson was a man of strong talent, if not real genius; and we have considered it due to the high station he deservedly holds among the scholars of this country, not to speak lightly of any part of his Hellenic labours, without having given the subject serious study. But we declare at the conclusion, as we did at the outset, that the whole matter is trifling and puerile in the extreme; pure monomania; minute grammatical pedantry unenlightened by a single ray of intellect. Porson was a giant; but if a giant choose to play with dolls, that is no reason why we, who are free men, should baptize them gods, and slavishly bend the knee before them.

munion with the dead rather than the living. And with regard to the doctrine of metres in particular, our great error seems to have been the application of the Baconian method of external induction to a subject, the laws of which must be evolved Platonically from the inward fountains of spiritual emotion. We have, however, advanced a step or two in matters of philosophy within the last twenty years. The battle of Jena taught the soldiers of Frederick that men cannot be drilled into patriotism; and the decline and fall of the Porsonian school has taught English scholars that a living literature cannot be manufactured. Even the genius of a Cuvier out of dead bones could re-construct a gigantic frame-work of bones only; no man can gather together and pile into a heap the materials out of which a soul is composed; what we cry out for in this country is a *soul* to our Greek scholarship; for the kingdom of literature, like the kingdom of God, is within us.

After what we have said of Porson, no person will expect that we should detain ourselves one moment with the other "magnanimous heroes" of the English metrical school. Burney and Gaisford are the only two notables; but Burney's "sick dreams" have been often enough honoured with all the attention they deserve, a passing smile;* and Gaisford does not aspire to any higher praise than that of a diligent editor and an honest compiler. Honest, however, he is, and free from dogmatism—a great praise; for though not inferior either to Kidd or Elmsley in servile admiration of Porson, he has too great a respect for antiquity to slash away every characteristic irregularity that may unfortunately present itself. Even the Anapæsts he seems half inclined to spare;

"*rarissime vel nunquam*" is his modest sensible phrase in regard to this matter, when nothing but a "*delenda est Carthago!*" will please his more orthodox brethren. To the student of ancient poetry Gaisford's Hephæstion is the most useful of all books. If a man has learned thought elsewhere, he may find abundant materials of thinking here.

We now return to Germany, and there, as usual, "the preparatory blast of cow-horn" meets our ear, while all is peaceful, and asleep in England. Hermann is as mighty among the philologists there as Porson is in England. In metrical matters he is sole dictator; even Heyne gives over his Pindar to him, and allows him to cut and carve the Scholiast's dipods at his pleasure. But matters are not to remain so long. The Church-philologic is to be reformed, and that reformation, like many others, is not to come from within but from without. Not doctors of the law and learned Rabbis preached the Gospel of Christ, but a few ignorant fishermen: thus also, to compare profane things with sacred, the great reformer of the scholastic doctrine of metres was not a schoolman but a private individual, a mere amateur in Greek, a solitary thinker, an ingenious philosopher, a poet, a musician, a true German. This man was August Apel, to whom the literary world is indebted for the first systematic exposition of the theory of metres on musical principles with special reference to the Greek choral poetry. So early as 1806, in the appendix to an antique drama (the *Æolians*) published by him, did Apel begin to place the theory of ancient metres upon its only sure basis, the living realities of music; and that these speculations had their due effect in influencing the intellectual philologists of the day is evident from the open and generous confessions of Böckh, who never attempts to deny the great and original merit of Apel. He says indeed that he was led away in his earlier studies by Apel's use of the dotted notes or the triple quantity; but we have seen above that Böckh only half rejects the triple quantity, or rather he only rejects the triple proportion of one note to another composing a rhythmical foot, not the triple duration of one single note, or even of two single notes together, which would make a legitimate spondaic bar. Besides it is not the mere detail of the matter wherein Apel's great and original merit consists; his principle, the scansion of Greek poetry musically, not metrically, at once stamps his character, and gives him his value; this principle was the soul which he breathed into the dead bones

* See the testimonies of the great continental scholars in our 44th Number, in the article previously cited; to which we have great pleasure in adding the following English testimony from the *Classical Journal*, vol. iii. and iv. so early as 1811. The passage occurs in the papers on the metres of Anacreon above quoted. "One absurdity will ever beget another. Thus the established prejudice that all lyrical compositions are in some *metre* or another (as opposed to musical bar or rhythm), has imposed a task on the authors of this opinion to find a name for their supposed metre, and to effect this they have destroyed all distinction and propriety of words, and have so confounded feet together, that I hardly know what combination of rhythm is safe from their overwhelming Dochmiacs and Antispasts. There is a curious table in the *Tentamen*, p. 12, which exhibits no less than sixty-one forms of one foot, namely, the Antispastic. But this in a matter where a certain guide is so much wanted, is to give us nothing better than a Proteus and a Harlequin. *To be serious, it is time that this rubbish were removed, which is only a burden to the memory, and gives no light to the understanding.*"

of metrical learning ; the declaration of war which he cast in the teeth of ancient scholasticism. His apparition indeed is altogether polemical ; he knew that he had a host of enemies to contend with ; he comes forth panoplied with the front of a prophet, and, soldier-like, with the sword of truth cutting sharply ; he gives no quarter, for he knows that none will be given ; he hits hard, and with reiteration, for he knows there are men in the world who will not receive truth, unless it be driven into them. Hence the somewhat bulky shape with which his speculations have clothed themselves ; two *strong* volumes (as the Germans say) and the work still imperfect, for the author died in 1816 before its completion. But he lived long enough to see the good work which he had begun progressing rapidly. He saw Böckh raising an architecture which must last for ever, because it was built on the foundation, though not altogether on the same plan, that he had pointed out. His doctrine, under the name of the "Time-theory" (*Takt-theorie*), had shaken the whole learned world of Germany ; he had divided all the students of ancient literature into two sects, those who held by Hermann and those who held by Apel ; he had brought even the "grammarians" to a tacit admission, if not an open avowal, of his main doctrines ; heavy and nimble Dactyles (common time and triple) were now openly talked of ; empty times and pauses received a free admission ; even the crabbed metaphysics of Hermann were moulded into something like a musical shape. He had reason therefore to count himself happy beyond most original thinkers and discoverers of great truths, whom the world is wont by an old and approved custom to neglect during life, and canonize after death. Apel was happy in being a German. The "nation of shopkeepers" turned a deaf ear to the musical charmings of Steele and Chapman. John Bull had not been accustomed to connect crotchets and quavers with anything beyond the mere momentary titillation of the ear ; their application to the philosophy of spoken or written language appeared something new and unheard of ; the vulgar received this, like all higher philosophy, with a smile ; and the critic, who ought to have been the leader, not the slave of the public mind, showed at once his wisdom, and his ignorance, by silence.

Like every other man of warfare, Apel did not keep altogether free from one-sidedness. He comes plump in upon the ancients with all the machinery of modern music ; a procedure which peculiarly exposed him to the raillery of his philological adversaries,

whose favourite tactics now became to sneer at this unlearned jumble of modern and antique, and to hint that ancient music was something so very different from modern, that none but a hot-headed bungler could confound them. It seemed wise in Hermann and his school to hold themselves back from a region of perplexity, where Burney and Forkel, and so many brave spirits, had floundered. Narrow-laced scholasticism showed now like calm, cautious, surveying, philosophy ; and a tone of superior wisdom and discernment was assumed in the preface to the "Elements of the Doctrine of Metres," to which the name of Apel would have been a discord. But all this was in vain. If we understand little of the ancient rhythmopœia, we understand less of Hermann's system or Burney's, for they are absolutely unintelligible ; and it is surely better to chant a song of $\frac{5}{8}$ in $\frac{6}{8}$ time than to wrench and dislocate the most beautiful verses of ancient poetry into no time at all. The fact of the matter is, the philologists were wroth to see the musicians interfering with their hereditary wisdom ; they looked upon the "time-theory" metricians as a sort of Nazarenes preaching new gods—wild, savage, bare-headed men, not sitting on the seat of Moses ; and though they could not aver that their own doctrines had more of spiritual and regenerating influence than those of the street-preacher, yet they were certainly more orthodox, more ancient, and more respectable. But this Pharisaic jealousy was of small avail. A great crisis was at hand. The synagogue was destined to be evangelized from within ; a great Apostle came forth from the secret council of the Gamaliels. This Apostle was Augustus Böckh.

Between Böckh and Apel, in respect of their services to the science of ancient rhythm, the difference is shortly this—Apel put a soul forcibly into antiquity, Böckh drew a soul quietly out of it. The result, as the musical man may guess, was pretty much the same in both cases ; for music is not a thing of yesterday, or to-day, but for ever. Böckh's method, however, had this manifest advantage, that while convincing the theorizers, it at the same time silenced the matter-of-fact men, who were many, and very willing to gainsay. When a man prostrates us with our own weapons, and on our own battle-ground, then we are vanquished indeed. Who could deny the erudition, the pains-taking laboriousness of the editor of Pindar ? It was impossible to *ignore* him. He was a veritable scholar ; an *ἐπὶ λέξει* of the true German school ; an accurate and minute Hellenist as any Hermannian or Porsonian might wish ; a regular v. ci-

plined philologist. Hence, when he came into the field one of the two alternatives was necessary—submission or war; his doctrine must either publicly triumph, or be publicly confuted. The new recension of the poems of Pindar was given to the world in 1811; and from that year to the present there has been dissension and strife in the ever-busy world of German scholarship. The eighteenth century is at war with the nineteenth, and will not be reconciled. Is there any wonder here? Even Göthe could not understand the battle of Leipzig; is it strange if Hermann should not understand Böckh?

The great superiority that marks Böckh over all men who have hitherto applied themselves to the subject of ancient rhythm seems to lie here: he is not only a profound and thorough scholar, but a living and real Platonist. The beautiful is his proper and native element; every thing in him and about him is rhythmical and well ordered; he had a clear vocation from nature to do what he did; his dissertation on the metres of Pindar is a work of genius. In this country the bare name of prosody has become odious to living men; and deservedly so, for it was a mere skeleton; but the dry and dusty materials of the metricalian's workshop are transmuted by the plastic intellect of Böckh into the elements of a breathing world; all glaring points, all harsh jagged promontories, all huge disjointed fragments, are here tempered and harmonized into a living landscape, bosomed in beauty, and atmosphered in music. So lovely a thing it is, and so satisfying, when a man does that thing, and that thing only, which God gave him the faculty divine, and the command to do.

Böckh has done two distinct services to the science of Greek music; of one of which only the present writer pretends to judge. He has shown in the first place how in perfect consistency with the fragments (for they are but fragments) of ancient musical knowledge that we possess, a clear and satisfying doctrine of ancient rhythm may be evolved. He has reconciled learned tradition to the instinct of untaught healthy nature; and in this reconciliation we may feel assured that the genuine truth lies. To a man of perfect spiritual soundness indeed, and strong faith, no learned tradition of a misunderstood or half-understood antiquity can ever prove confounding; whole libraries of Babylonish erudition will not deafen to him the one still voice of nature in his own breast; he can quietly look a whole conclave of Sorbonne doctors in the face, and baptize their most vaunted wisdom a portentous lie. But there are weak men in the world who must lean upon the crutch of tra-

dition; and upon the faith of some misunderstood doctrine of some misunderstanding grammarian, obstinately believe, and teach men to believe, that the rhythm of the Greeks was a systematic St. Vitus dance, and the most harmonious flow of their measures a succession of studied spasms. To the aid of such men the erudition of Böckh comes; and they who are not satisfied with the part certainty, and part reasonable probability which this erudition supplies, show a determination to caricature antiquity that would not be overcome, though Aristotle and Aristoxenus should rise from the dead to convince them.

The other service which Böckh has done to ancient music is in the matter of the scales. In this department the results brought out by Burney were almost as unsatisfactory, though not so perfectly absurd, as his doctrine of rhythm. It seemed strange that so refined and so thoroughly musical a people should have harped and fluted for ages, and never brought out any thing but a minor key; it seemed unintelligible that so much talk should be made of the virtue of modes, and yet these modes be nothing but an ascent in the scale of sounds, not a change in the musical relation of the intervals. These results were too meagre to meet even the bare faith of English sobriety; it was therefore to be expected that, so soon as sufficient musical knowledge should unite with thorough-paced scholarship in the mind of an enthusiastic, and because enthusiastic, indefatigable and indomitable German, this whole theory would be rejected. By private and independent thought (as he himself tells us) Böckh arrived at similar results on the subject of the Greek scales to those of our own countryman Sir Francis Stiles.* Can we esteem such a coincidence accidental? Let those who are learned in the theory of Music, in Chladni's Acoustics, and in Ptolemy's Harmonics, answer this question. The matter is not unworthy of a few hours' quiet thought from a man, who is both a philosophic musician and a profound Hellenist. Those who are not so gifted will follow the wise instinct of nature, and let the matter alone.

There are several details in Böckh's system which we had noted for discussion; but such a throng of matter has gradually accumulated on us in looking into this very interesting subject, that we have been obliged to confine ourselves throughout to a bird's-eye view of the whole. But it is well for a man to know the general bearings of his whereabouts before he proceed to a minute

* In the year 1760. Burney, 54.

trigonometrical survey of any particular region; and if by the above observations we have been able to bring one student of Greek poetry from Burney and Gaisford, to the piano-forte and the fiddle, we have done a great thing. "BEGIN YOUR THEORY WITH THE PRACTICE," as Zelter said to Professor Wolf, and you will anticipate truth at every step, and require no Ariadne's clue to lead you out of a labyrinth, into which you have never entered. We are also much concerned about another thing. We wish that the old wall of partition between German and English intellect, as in polite literature it has already fallen, so also in matters of scholarship, may once and for ever be broken down. Literature, like true religion, is an universal humanizer; there is neither Jew nor Heathen, Englishman nor German, in this spiritual kingdom, but a new creation. Have we English become at length convinced of this truth, that the Germans surpass us as much in the domain of abstract thought, and in the region of the beautiful, as we surpass them in practical philosophy, and in the skilful handling of all that multitude of important externalities, that are weighed by ounces and measured by inches—our course is plain. Let us go to them to learn philosophy, and let them come to us (as they are coming) to study the science of government, and the mighty magic of the steam-engine. A more reasonable exchange could not be. For a German is the complement of an Englishman, and an Englishman is the complement of a German; and both together make the perfect man.

A third thing has struck us forcibly in surveying this singular history of metrical literature; and that is the strange and almost incredible pedantries that have grown out of the neglect of music as a practical pervading element in modern education. We think the time is now come when every honest citizen is bound seriously to set hand to work in reforming this matter; in bringing back our juvenile training to the healthy state in which it was in the golden days of good Queen Bess, when no person was accounted a gentleman who did not play on some instrument;* in removing by one mightiest engine of healing Nature the reproach of shop-keeping and money-making from our people. Or, does any modern man perhaps imagine that the excellence of his nature consists in the understanding merely? Are our emotions of no value?—or do they require no cultivation? Can a man ham-

mer leather or stitch rags together by instinct? and shall the pulses of Promethean fire within us not freeze in this hard world, and become dry and stiff, unless fresh fuel be constantly administered by kindly hands, with daily exposure to the friendly fannings of congenial inspiration? Mr. Bulwer somewhere says, with no small discernment, that "the difference between genius and talent lies more in the heart than in the head." A truly great man is great not by perspicuity of the cognitive faculty only; for intellect, *per se*, may scan clods as well as stars; and a prying, microscopic creature, without any higher motive than mere curiosity, shall wander into a dark, mouldy corner, green with liverwort and adder's tongue, as soon as into the broad sunny world; and it may be with preference. It is the breadth and depth of emotion within a man that makes him truly either good or great; all noble actions, all inspiring thoughts, all sublime creations are begotten originally of, and end in, emotion, as the very proper essence and life-blood of spiritual existence. As respects the emotion of reverence, this is universally recognized: even the French are cured of their old atheism; and no sane man, in the nineteenth century, dreams of establishing a system of national education apart from religion. What shall we say then to the coldness of our schools and colleges—to the unfriendliness of our whole national existence as respects all other emotions of the soul, and that divinest emotion of music in especial? The prose of the times is really very broad; and it is a prose which even that universal panacea, the Penny Magazine, cannot convert into poetry. There is only one remedy. We must cast our juvenile education in a new mould; we must throw off all scholasticism as a heavy rusted harness, that clogs but does not defend; we must teach the living plant to grow, not load the brain-chamber merely with volumes of barren memories; our classical scholarship must no longer be a crust within which an academical creature, half alive, curiously creeps; but we must turn it into a sword, and fence with it and fight manfully against the world, the Devil, and the flesh, and all other enemies of God and good things.

"*Der Jüngling soll die Flügel regen,
In Lieb und Hass gewaltig sich bewegen.*"

So did an old Greek youth at the Olympic or Nemean Games, when Pindar sang his virtue and his strength; and so should we also do, if we would follow Nature and listen to Aristotle, who, discoursing somewhere in his Politics about education, tells us, that the principal matters of the *paideia* are three

* And, indeed, much later than Queen Bess, as the reader will find by consulting Mr. Dauney's edifying dissertation on the History of Scottish Music prefixed to his edition of the Skene-tis melodies.

—Gymnastics, Music, Letters, and some add a fourth, Design (ἡ γραφικη). And he tells us also, in the same place, that an exclusive attention to one subject in the years of the παιδεία is by all means to be avoided, as it tends to cramp the mind, and prevent the free expansion of the vitalities. Now, if Aristotle were to rise from the grave to-morrow, would he not in all probability be surprised, and very reasonably, at many things in the conduct of our juvenile training, and especially in the matter of what is termed classical education? Would our Greek and Latin grammaticalities be likely in any degree to answer his idea of "Letters" (γραμματα), and the benefit to be derived therefrom? Might he not rather be apt to ask us, why, with all this prate about the letter of Greek, our young men for the most part know so passing nothing either of the letter or the spirit of their own language? And as to gymnastics and music, is it not clear he would look upon us, in both these matters, as very barbarians? Fox-hunting and Doncaster-racing might seem to him, perchance, like some small stunted uninspired "progenies vitiosior" of the Olympic Games; but where would music be found? What would he say to those pyrotechnic exhibitions, and public tumblings of sweet sound, called the Italian Opera, to which the gaze of the fashionable world is attracted periodically, and on the faith of which some people have been hasty to assert that the British are a musical nation, and musically cultivated? Truly we have music *in us*; if we would only draw it out in a rational way; but it never can come from Italy or Germany, or any where else; unless, indeed, life can be made to jump out of one man's body into another's; unless the rivers in New South Wales may be permanently reinforced by buckets imported from the St. Lawrence and the Amazons: but Aristotle would tell us, that music to the Greeks was an atmosphere out of which they could not breathe; a living habit stamped on their existence; a religion which hallowed every day to a people, that had the misfortune not to know the Sabbath. So the Stagyrte might be supposed to discourse, and pointing to many passages in his writings, and in Plato's, ask us, why we had been studying these volumes, or pretending to study them, so many centuries, and yet made so little practical use of them. There could be no answer to this question. We should stand convicted of superstition, self-contradicting, like that of the Italian brigand, who sanctifies his murderous deed with a cross; perhaps worse, of hypocrisy; calling the Greeks Lord, Lord, and doing not the things which

they say. Nothing but confession, and penitence, and reformation would beseem us. The Greeks were Greeks, and pure Greeks; living and breathing in the element of healthy Nature, which is always the element of the beautiful; not rich in picture galleries merely, hung up for show by a few lords and great men, but daily standing in the middle, as it were, of a living peristrepic panorama of the fine arts. So also we must be Britons, and pure Britons only in the first place; all our vital functions must rejoice in a free British cultivation, and a free British growth; we must encircle ourselves with an atmosphere of the nobler British instincts, purified from the dross of merchandize, and money-making; for if we do not these things we shall still remain mere formalists; having a name to live, as the Apostle says, while we are dead; and all our Greek, and all our classicality shall be vanity and a lie.

ART. II.—1. *Les Fastes de Versailles.*—By H. Fortoul. 1 vol. 8vo. Delloye, Paris. 1839.

2. *Le Palais de Versailles.* By J. Vatout. 1 vol. 8vo. Didot, Paris. 1837.

3. *Galerics Historiques de Versailles.* By M. Gavard. Folio. Paris. 1837.

WHOEVER wanders through the green alleys of the park and bosquets of Versailles, or paces the endless galleries and ever-succeeding suites of rooms that compose its stately palace; be his object curiosity for the present or inquiry for the past, a feeling of sadness as well as reverence must be excited in his breast as he wakes with solitary step the long silent echoes of this, the once brilliant abode of courtly elegance and regal grandeur. The slightest tincture of historical lore will revivify such ground to a mind of even ordinary sensibility: the trees would utter music, the shrubberies tell their tale, the stones themselves would seem instinct with life and voice to the least poetical imagination, if it could by possibility forget that at Versailles it was treading in the steps of all that was once the brightest and the loveliest of Europe; of all that was great and powerful in those stirring and energetic times when the nations of this quarter of the globe were assuming their present relative stations, and when Versailles was the centre of the politics, the arts, the literature and refinement of the civilized world. True it is that the sterner virtues which hallow the plain of Marathon and the walls of Iona had sel-

dom, if ever, their echo on this spot: the patriot and the religionist, at least in the usual acceptation of these words, rarely appeared among the demi-gods of this French Olympus; the very idea of simple and natural excellence was almost unknown to the gay, magnificent crowds that peopled this now deserted abode. Man existed here in an artificial state; the good he aimed at, while within the circuit of Versailles, was good only in a peculiar and restricted sense; and the deities, if deities he worshipped, were never more exalted in purity than the muses, while they more frequently took the form of Mars or of Mercury, of Bellona or of Venus. The originator, the creator of the whole, by whom and for whom it existed, assumed, as is known, the attributes of the God of Day; and his motto, which still glitters on the walls of the palace, "*Nec pluribus impar*," stamped at once the character of the place and of its inhabitants.

But though the severer development of the human mind and the more pure and beneficent of its operations, found little room for exercise and scanty encouragement to action within the precincts of the court residence of the Bourbons, the full tide of human passions boiled and swelled, ebbed and flowed here with a more than ordinary concentration of fearful violence. Pride and ambition, avarice and selfish cruelty, the thirst of blood and the fever of lust, the mean workings of intrigue as well as the heart-gnawing anxieties of jealousy, hope, fear, revenge and murder; even love,—for love was once no stranger at Versailles,—all have borne their parts in the great dramas enacted here; and none from the sovereign to the page but was a slave to one or more of these imperious masters. State crimes and state virtues, whatever their kind, have all been brought into exercise at Versailles: at one time the lives and fortunes of neighbouring nations hung here by no firmer link than the flimsy thread that determined whether a window accorded or not with the indications of the mason's plummet; at another the gloomy conscience of a royal penitent, anxious perhaps to compound for earlier errors, was worked upon in the confessional to sign the edict that should banish liberty of worship from his realms, and sow in its place the first seeds of future revolution; the unfortunate exiles who had lost a rival throne, were received here with a generosity and a delicacy of feeling that have never since been equalled; and again in later times the virtues of other and still more unfortunate sovereigns, exalted by the melancholy exigencies of the times, here shed the parting ray of their lustre on the halls and groves, soon to be visited

with the long night of political oblivion.—The evil probably prevailed over the good in the springs of action thus assembled and made to exercise their power. We are perhaps warranted in so concluding from the effects which the system of Louis XIV. and his successors ultimately produced; for we can certainly trace back most if not all the faults of the eighteenth century to the foundation of folly and extravagance laid so widely and deeply in the seventeenth. Had not that monarch introduced the system of state mistresses, had he not carried on the war of aggrandizement, had he not levelled all the boundaries of the old laws and customs to pamper to his own will, or his own caprice, France perhaps had not seen the public profligacy of the regency, nor the private libertinism of Louis XV.; the aristocracy would most probably have preserved their fortunes, their territorial influence and the love of the people; while the clergy would have kept their moral hold over the nation, and known how to stem the great social and political cataclysm that afterwards swept and purified, though it ruined and remodelled, the entire framework and appearance of the Gallic community. It cannot be denied that the great French Revolution was the offspring of the system of the Grand Monarque; but it is perhaps idle to speculate in the present day on what might or might not have been the results of courses of action that were never adopted; or to place men on their trial before posterity when posterity itself is possibly not acting a whit more prudently, or with any greater regard to what may hereafter result from its own political systems and constitutions of society.

We would rather turn from the gloomy side of the story of Versailles to look at it in a favourable light, for we do not desire the ungrateful task of criticising what once was great and magnificent, and universally reckoned to be good. Our present purpose is rather to seek out a bright spot of the system identified with Versailles, and to trace the march of what constituted the peculiar glory of Louis XIV., the fine arts of the 17th and 18th centuries, as they existed in France from the accession of the third monarch of the house of Bourbon to the melancholy dethronement of the fifth.

Aware, therefore, of all that may be advanced against the Augustan age of the French nation, and by no means taking up the gauntlet as its apologists, we leave to Voltaire the task of being its special defender and judge; and pass on to inquire into the mutual action which the court system and the cultivation of the fine arts exer-

cised on each other during that period. From the enlightened taste and the really patriotic enthusiasm of Francis I., who was in many respects the greatest monarch that had till then swayed her sceptre, France had made a rapid advance in the fine arts; and was in possession of a school of native artists that bade fair to rival, if not ultimately to excel the longer established masters and more cultivated skill of the Italian states. The immediate successors of the monarch in question, though they did not equally encourage, yet by no means neglected the branch of civilisation that had been favoured by their ancestor. Henry II., for example, was as fond of art and was as kind a patron of artists as his father Francis I., but he was not a man of the same energy of mind or the same activity of body: he was well calculated to fall in with the general inclination, but not to lead the fashion of his age;—and what may be termed his premature death tended by its political consequences greatly to check French art and refinement of every kind. The ambition of Catharine de Medicis, working on the infantine minds of the two next sovereigns; the gloomy religious wars to which the fanatical tyranny of these monarchs subsequently gave rise; and the lamentable period of the reign of the last of the Valois; all these went well nigh to banish art, or at any rate so far disturbed and discouraged those who cultivated it, that the good effects of what Francis I. had done were nearly obliterated. The dreadful massacre in which Peter Ramus lost his life, and Jean Goujon was shot while chiselling a public monument, was the signal for the peaceable lovers of the fine arts to gird up their loins and betake themselves to more favoured regions. They did so:—France with a few exceptions was left to herself, and Henry IV. on his entering Paris, came into a ruined city, no longer the abode of the Muses. The public mind was too much absorbed by the change of dynasty and the turmoil of civil and ecclesiastical discord to attend to the embellishments of life: parties were contending, not in the senate, but in the tented field, for political supremacy;—Catholics and Protestants disputed not so much with books as with swords; Art found no place of quiet abode in a country so distracted within itself; nor was there any hope of fresh progress for it until Henry IV. was firmly settled on the throne.

The last quarter of the 16th century, considering the bright period that had preceded it, and the state of art on the other side of the Alps, was a time of darkness for France. That great architect and man of

science, Philibert Delorme, was a worthy continuator of the school of Jean Goujon, Germain Pilon, and Jean Cousin, but he was about the last original genius of that class of artists; and with him the spirit of what is technically termed in France the school of the *Renaissance* may be said to have become extinct. He was, we have said, the last originator; for though great architects and men of excellent taste sprung up after him, at no very long interval of time, yet when they appeared before the public they came forward as imitators, of classic, or at least of Palladian elegance; they no longer professed to be members of a French school with its own peculiar standard of taste:—and hence, to instance architecture alone, that part of the Tuileries which is contemporary with Henry IV., the Hôtel de Ville, and the Church of St. Eustache at Paris, may be mentioned as probably the latest of the really *original* buildings erected by French architects.

It may be said that the school of the *Renaissance*, itself a branch of the earlier schools of the Middle Ages, was in its decline only keeping pace with the general falling off of the antecedent styles in other countries of Europe. The objection is valid to a certain extent. The Italian schools were daily extending their influence at the termination of the 16th century; but yet it is not to be conceived that the influence of such men as Goujon, Cousin, &c. could so suddenly become extinct had not other and extraneous causes, foreign to art, contributed to effect the change. For instance, the Elizabethan style of architecture and even the remains of the Tudor, the pointed Tudor school, remained longer in force in England than the style of the *Renaissance* in France: not that the English was, properly speaking, at that time an original school, led, as we believe it to have been, in great part by foreign artists; yet had not the troubles of the civil war intervened, symptoms are not wanting to show that a purely English school might have been resuscitated. We cannot therefore but infer that the French school, which was at its brightest period under Francis I. and Henry II., would have continued to produce great original works, had not its progress been checked by the untoward course of events. The architectural wants of northern nations being comparatively greater than those of the south of Europe, there is every probability that the schools of England, Germany, and France, in this branch of the fine arts at least, would have retained the superiority which they gained during the middle ages, and would have developed their principles

of taste to an indefinite extent, had they not all been more or less thwarted and finally cut off in their growth by wars and political troubles.

The death of Henry IV. was in its consequences a great blow to civilisation in France, plunging the country as it did into the intrigues and wars of the early days of his son's reign; but its effects were in part modified by the rise of the great cardinal, and by the international communication which was then becoming daily more and more common between the various populations of Europe. The Italian schools had fully established their pre-eminence;—Rome was then the centre of study, as it has been ever since:—art had become a matter of foreign importation into France;—Pougin and Claude Lorraine were of Italy rather than of Gaul; and in fact every thing was prepared for the flood of Italian taste that Mazarin afterwards let in upon the country.

It is about this period, 1627, when Richelieu was coming into power, and Louis XIII., yielding partly to his melancholy temperament, partly to his fondness for the green solitude of the woods and the diversions of the chase, used to lodge for the night at the miller's in the remote village of Versailles, that our interest in this place commences. That sovereign pitched upon the spot as one entirely buried in the woods, where courtiers were never likely to interfere with him, and as being at an easy ride from the stately abode of Francis I. and Henry IV. at St. Germain; the requisite estates were soon made crown property, and the modest chateau rose which afterwards served as a nucleus for the gigantic constructions of his successors. It is not our purpose to go into the details of the history of Versailles, of the various epochs of its growth and alterations, of its rise or fall; we intend rather to consider it in the different phases of its existence, as indicative of the actual condition and the progress of art at successive periods; we leave therefore to the regular chronicler, and to none more able than M. Vatout, to describe all the changes that successively took place in this great palace, and refer our readers to the large work of M. Gavard, mentioned at the head of this article, for the admirable graphic illustrations that give ocular evidence how the building grew and prospered.

When Louis XIII. constructed his little chateau on the site of his mill, just on the brow of the eminence where a long valley, opening for miles towards the south-west, afforded an enchanting sylvan prospect, it was by no means his intention to make it

any thing more than a hunting seat; and it was in fact one of the smallest of the royal residences. Built of red brick and coped with stone, surrounding a small quadrangle, and itself protected by a fosse, it was the complete type of what a monarch who loved the country might wish as his place of comfortable retirement. It sufficed for his easily satisfied desire of rural elegance, and formed an agreeable contrast to the more rigid and stately magnificence of St. Germain. At this latter place, on the brow of a long table-land, formed by a bending of the ever-winding Seine, stood the royal chateau, the Windsor of France, in which Francis I., after Fontainebleau, so much delighted, and which Henry IV. had so greatly embellished. The part erected by the former of these monarchs, a great pentagonal pile in red brick, half castle and half mansion, stood on the summit of the hill; it still remains there, shorn indeed of its splendour, and vilely desecrated by the bad taste of the present day, which has converted it into a prison; but yet stately and royal in all its outline. The part added by Henry IV. consisted of pavilions and connecting galleries sloping down the side of the hill, and intermingled with gardens that ended only at the river's brink. Of this nothing but two of the smallest pavilions is now to be seen; the giant hand of destruction and the plough of revolution having literally effaced the very traces of its foundations: but it was here that Anne of Austria kept her court, and it was here that Louis XIII. soothed his ennui, as best he might, in the stately circle of his gloomy attendants. He mounted his horse in the morning and galloped over the hills of Marly to the woods of Versailles, to avoid his wife, whom he hated, and Richelieu his minister, whom he feared; Versailles became the abode of his predilections; and as such was remembered with filial affection by his son, who, on determining to erect a palace such as had never before been seen, and in the newest style of Italian taste, preserved intact the interior of the court built by his father, and thus handed down to us a precious relic of the first half of the 17th century.

“As you approach by the Place d'Armes, where the town dies away at the foot of the railings of the Chateau of Versailles, you distinguish the different parts of which this imposing mass of buildings is composed; you see the movement of its lines and the arrangement of its edifices. In the midst of all these wings opening and resting one on the other you discover, in the central part and in the furthest removed of the various planes of building, a *morceau* of a peculiar style of architecture. It is modest and retiring, com-

pared with the adjacent masses of masonry, but it wears a serious air, that attracts attention much more surely than all the blanchéd walls by which it is surrounded: it shines among them like a little diamond of great price enchased in metal of which it was easy to be prodigal. This is all that remains at Versailles of the chateau built by Louis XIII. The architecture of the time of Louis XIII. breathes a perfume of *vieille gentilhommerie*, which hardly survived it. After him royalty imposed its solemn and uniform livery upon every thing; whereas in the monuments in brick of the first half of the 17th century we still see the aristocracy of ancient times shining forth,—an aristocracy of good stamp, and though of noble bearing yet without fastidious external display; slightly countrified, still smacking somewhat of the old country manor houses, which it had hardly given up inhabiting, and yet full of urbanity and elegance, and of a frank and open character.”—*Fortoul*, p. 28.

M. Fortoul has here happily characterized the style of a period little known and still less relished in France, but one which is perfectly appreciated in England. The times, the habits, and the customs of Louis XIII. and his court correspond to those of the end of James I. and of the unfortunate Charles: a period which, whatever may be the political opinion entertained as to its acts and their results, is one peculiarly grateful to all who love chivalrous and noble deeds. At that period the nobility and gentry of France and England, though somewhat lessened in their baronial privileges and in the rather dangerous power they had possessed in the time of the Valois and Tudors, still kept up great state in the country in their ancestral halls amid their numerous retainers. They had not yet learnt to congregate in towns or to flutter in numbers about a court, as afterwards under Louis XIV. and Charles II.;—they still maintained the grand feature of a noble hospitality, and lived for the most part loving and beloved amid their tenants and friends. Though not very learned they were beginning to improve; and they had already shown themselves just appreciators of the arts, both in their residences and in their personal habits of luxury and ornamentalism. Holbein had enriched the galleries of many an English noble, and he was followed by Rubens and Vandyke; while Inigo Jones was beginning to give a decided bias to the national taste, and to add his share—no small one indeed—to the cultivation and diffusion of the fine arts. In France we know how much Jean Goujon and his school had done in Henry II.’s time:—Poussin and Philippe de Champagne had already decorated part of the palace of the Luxembourg for Marie de Medicis, and

had left France for Italy; Claude Lorraine was flourishing; Puget was developing his sculptural genius; and the future designers of the park and palace of Versailles were laying the foundations of their after-fortunes. Vouet was then the leader of the French school of portrait painters; and he had, like Vandyke, grand materials to work upon. At that period the graceful costume of Spain was in full vogue throughout the south and west of Europe,—that costume the best that our ancestors ever wore. The ample folds of the mantle, the sober dignity and even grace of the vest and the broad hat, the elegant display of fine linen, of convenient and well fitting boots, and the easy adaptations of the whole to either magnificence or modest plainness, everything was in favour of the portrait painter of those days. For the fairer portion of creation the elegantly proportioned length and swell of the silk or velvet robe, the gracefully tapering and yet not too much confined waist, the modest and becoming dress of the neck, and the coquetish *espièglerie* that lurked in the delicate little curls of a beauty of the first Charles’s or the thirteenth Louis’s court; all this made the painter’s a task of comparative ease and enjoyment. As a matter of art it was one of the greatest injuries that Louis XIV. caused to Europe to banish, as he ultimately did, this elegant style of dress, and to patronize in its stead the unnatural wig and stiff coat of the men, and the untidy negligée or the buckram armour in which the ladies of Versailles and, in imitation of them, the world, were made to delight. To carry the comparison still further, if we could suppose Vandyke himself set down to portray a beauty of the court of George III. or of Louis XV., it may very well be questioned whether he would produce anything beyond the wretched daubs that used to be called pictures and likenesses about the year 1770. Spain was still a great and powerful nation in the time of Louis XIII.; and from her rough and picturesque country, where the aristocratical ideas of the age, like those of monarchy, found their most stately and solemn type, she sent forth tastes, fashions, and manners that subsisted in the world long after her power had begun to decline. Spain was always original; and it is to be lamented that so much of what she has done for the embellishment and improvement of social life should have been so slightly preserved, so seldom copied in later times, and so little studied. To any one familiar with the solemn canvasses of Velasquez, the real dignity of his figures, aided in no small degree by their dress, will be vividly apparent as compared with the contemporary productions of France.

artists:—and there can be no hesitation in placing him and Vandyke at the head of those who knew how to delineate the noble patrons and the gentle beauties of their times.

Every thing relating to art in the days of Charles I. and the Commonwealth in England, of Philip IV. in Spain, and of Louis XIII. and Richelieu in France, was grand, solemn, and to a certain extent melancholy. Art partook of many of the lights and shadows of the time; in one particular branch, and in some respects the most permanent, architecture, the traces of this state of things have come down to the present day. The part of the palace of Versailles built by Louis XIII. is the most simple in its arrangement, and almost the most gorgeous in its decoration of the whole edifice. It includes the famous Cour de Marbre, and the state bed-room of Louis XIV.; the well-known *Œil de Bœuf*, and the *Petits Appartements* of that king. The internal decorations were made by Louis XIV. it is true, but the general spirit is that of his predecessor; on the other hand, the spirit of the *Siècle d'Or* and of the *Grand Monarque* is shown in the Long Gallery, and in the stately saloons of Peace and War by which it is terminated at either end. A splendid monument of the ecclesiastical architecture of that period is found in the church of the Val de Grace at Paris, built by Anne of Austria in fulfilment of her vow on the birth of Louis XIV.; it is Italian throughout, but is bold and in many respects original, and it is one of the most elegant edifices of that date now remaining in France. Another instance is the church of the Jesuits, dedicated to St. Paul and St. Louis in the Rue St. Antoine, also in Paris. Cardinal Richelieu performed mass in this church at the epoch of its termination, and all the solid grandeur of the time is displayed in its façade as well as in its dome. The capital contains another fine façade of the same date, that of St. Gervais, and another curiously tormented and altered erection in the western part of St. Etienne du Mont. All these are monuments not much attended to by strangers who visit the French metropolis; but we adduce them as some of the few remaining instances of the grand and rather solemn style that characterizes the epoch of the great cardinal and the melancholy king. The corresponding edifice in London that will at once occur to recollection is Inigo Jones's splendid fragment of Whitehall. O, si sic omnia! had all our British palaces been like this!—Louis XIII. was not more governed by his minister Cardinal Richelieu, than his kingdom was tyrannized over by that proud and able ecclesiastic.

His influence over the political condition of the country is foreign to our subject, but his enlightened protection of the fine arts entitles him to rank amongst the greatest statesmen produced by France. The Palais Royal originally constructed by him was at that time the centre of all that was refined, learned, and artistical of the court and capital. The cardinal himself was, if not an artist, at least a warm admirer of all that related to art, a fabricator of dramatic pieces if not an original author: and Richelieu laid the foundation for Mazarin, just as the latter paved the way for Louis XIV.

Cardinal Mazarin may be regarded as one of the most enthusiastic patrons of arts and artists, and one of the most earnest promoters of courtly refinement to be found in the annals of the French nation;—for though an Italian by birth, by circumstances he was altogether a Frenchman. The splendid collection of fiction which he formed, and the library he left to the College des Quatre Nations, now the Institute, are too well known to need more than an allusion; but he who would learn the private state of this ecclesiastical minister should traverse the long galleries of the Bibliothèque du Roy at Paris, and examine the arrangement of the suites, the ornamentation of the walls and the decorations of the ceilings. They form one of the richest series of examples of domestic splendour that we are acquainted with; and the paintings, principally, we believe, by the hand of Lebrun, are well worthy of study. Another Parisian instance of the taste of this epoch is to be found in the ancient hotel of a president of the parliament, the most eastern mansion on the Isle St. Louis, built by M. Lambert in the time of the cardinal, and decorated throughout by Lebrun and Lesueur:—the paintings of the Great Gallery are here as fresh as on the first day of their exhibition, and all bear testimony to the grand and solemn taste that characterized the day.

The mention of Lebrun, leads us naturally to Louis XIV., and to consider the state of the fine arts in his half century of glory. The causes that led this monarch to raise the immense structure of Versailles are very uncertain: the idle story that he wished to fly from St. Germain, because he could not bear the sight of St. Denis, where he knew he should be one day buried, is more than improbable, especially since he continued to hold his court in the old palace of Francis I. for twenty-one years from the date of the first works begun at Versailles. M. Fortoul says that the monarch was led to the scheme as much from love for Mlle. de la Vallière as from any other cause; but he does not

make out a very clear case in proof of his assertion:—the grand fêtes that took place on the opening of the new chateau were no doubt given in her honour: so also was the grand carousel in front of the Tuileries: but Louis would have built quicker had love been his real stimulant. We are inclined to attribute it partly to his desire of rivalling other monarchs, partly to that of placing his own magnificence out of all danger of eclipse by that of any of the great lords of the land; and partly to his warm perceptions of, and relish for all that promoted art. The Spanish monarch had already been installed at the Escorial, the Popes had long dwelt in the Vatican; and for the French court to be lodged more splendidly than either of these, the courts then imitated as the most polished throughout Christendom, it was necessary to have a residence of greater size and more modern luxury than the half-feudal, half-palatial chateau of St. Germain. To effect this, Louis XIV. offended deeply what now would be called all rules of good taste in pitching the royal residence amidst woods, well suited indeed to the hunting tastes of Louis XIII., instead of fixing it on that ample *plateau*, the terrace of St. Germain, which overlooks the plain of St. Denis, and almost that of the capital. If the inspirations of Mlle. de la Vallière went for any thing, they may have been influential here in making the monarch sigh for a quiet valley and soft bosquets: but the truth is, that the taste for the picturesque hardly then existed,—or, if any where, only in Italy and Flanders. Louis, troubled with few ideas of the kind, laid out in his own mind plans which, had they been realized, would have made the valley of Versailles one of the sweetest spots in France. As an example, it may be mentioned that the king's original intention was to turn the river Eure out of its course and to bring it into the Seine at Serres, instead of leaving it to flow through Lower Normandy. St Germain too, it should be remembered, was not equal to the royal chateau of Blois, or to that of Chambord, and hardly to Fontainebleau; nor was it so much superior to the chateaux of several of the nobility as appeared necessary to a young king, who remembered the insolence of the Fronde. Jealousy, therefore, of some of his courtiers acted probably as a stimulus to the alterations and enlargements of Versailles. An old story that throws some light on this subject is so well told by M. Fortoul, that we hope to be excused for repeating it in his words:—

“Mazarin had scarcely been dead four months, when the intendant Fouquet invited the king and the court to an entertainment

which he had prepared at his chateau of Vaux. This chateau, recently built in the neighbourhood of Melun, had acquired such a reputation for richness and elegance that it was confidently said St. Germain and Fontainebleau could not be compared with it:—it had cost eighteen millions of livres: the gardens were the first essay of a young man named Le Nôtre, who promised to excel in this style even the Italians, by whom, however, the art was supposed to have been carried to perfection; nothing had ever been seen so majestic and so grandly distributed. As for the chateau, marbles, balustrades, and columns had been lavished upon it:—it was a prodigy of luxury and novelty. An artist, a young man also, who had recently arrived from Rome, and was named Charles Lebrun, had adorned the interior; it was said that the pictures which he had painted there would cause a revolution in art, and would at length create a real school of painting which France would be able to oppose to the glorious schools of foreign nations. On the afternoon of the 17th August, 1661, the court came to visit the chateau. The king, the queen-mother, monsieur, madame, and a number of princes and seigneurs were assembled there; but the queen was unable to come on account of her pregnancy. The court began by visiting the gardens, and examined with evident pleasure the water-works and basins, to which forms of great beauty and variety had been given. The king appeared to share the general satisfaction expressed on this occasion: he was observed, however, to stop before the coat of arms of Fouquet, which met the eye on every side, and which was charged with a squirrel, and the motto *Quo non ascendam?* It has been said that Colbert, who was present at this fête, then first informed Louis XIV. that Fouquet had offered 200,000 livres to Mlle. de la Vallière as the price of her virtue. The king was at that time enamoured of this young lady: he, however, concealed his anger, which this intelligence had worked up to the highest pitch, and partook with good grace of the supper served up after the promenade, and the honours of which were performed with infinite tact by Madame Fouquet. After supper he went with a perfectly composed countenance to the play that had been prepared, and for which a theatre had been erected at the bottom of the great alley of fir trees. Torelli had made all the machinery, &c. of the piece, and Lebrun himself had condescended to paint the scenes. Molière gave the first representation of his comedy *Les Facheux*; and Pélisson, who was employed in one of Fouquet's offices, had composed the prologue. The comedy was exceedingly successful. Menage declared that it was one of the best that Molière could write, the verses were perfect, the characters happily and vigorously traced. The king was quite charmed at it; he desired to express his satisfaction to Molière, and while he was complimenting him, M. de Soyecourt, the greatest sportsman in France, happening to go by, the

king added,—“There’s an original whom you have not yet copied !” Molière took from this hint the subject of the new scene of the *Chasseur*, which he was determined on adding to his comedy, and soon after set to work upon it. After the representation was terminated, the court went to see the fireworks, which were much admired. While the petards were battling with the waters, and the rockets were marking a thousand glittering paths through the air, La Fontaine, placed in a corner, was considering the pleasure he should have in writing the details of these fêtes to his friend, De Maucroix, at Rome; he was already collecting the rhymes for his narrative, and thinking of his beloved patron, Fouquet, who would enjoy “*une fortune à laisser la renommée.*” On a sudden the noise of the royal trumpets succeeded to that of the fireworks, for the king, desirous of returning the same night to Fontainebleau, had ordered the mousquetaires to be in attendance. Louis XIV. all this time let no indication escape him that could dissipate the enchantment of the innocent hearted poet, and before leaving he desired Fouquet himself to accompany the court on its intended excursion into Brittany. The Intendant went thither; but he was arrested at Nantes a few days after, and transferred successively to Angiers, Vincennes, and at length to the Bastille. His trial was held before the parliament, in a chamber composed of the relations and friends of Colbert. The examination lasted three years; and at the end of this time Fouquet was condemned to banishment. Louis XIV. was not to be turned from his purpose either by the intreaties of Mlle. de la Vallière, or the verses of La Fontaine. He even once said, ‘if his death is decreed by the parliament, I shall allow it to take place.’ He thought the members of the parliament had but badly ministered to his anger; he increased the punishment, and changed the decree of banishment into that of rigorous and eternal imprisonment. Before he was led to it the unfortunate Fouquet learnt that the king had just given orders to make Versailles surpass, not only the chateau of Vaux, but all the palaces in the world; that Le Nôtre had been entrusted with the laying out of the gardens, and Lebrun with the decoration of the apartments; that fêtes which had never been paralleled had already been given in the palace, for which Molière had also written comedies; and that in fine, Louis XIV. had concentrated round his person all the éclat of luxury, of art, and of genius, which the unfortunate Intendant had had the culpable idea of sharing with the monarch.”*—*Fortoul*, p. 51, &c.

This fête and the episode attached to it, form a fitting introduction to a series of similar entertainments, of which Versailles was afterwards the scene, and of arbitrary acts of power equally inexcusable and equally calling for the hand of retributive justice. We need not do more than allude to these festivities, for they are so mixed up with the personal history of the monarch, and of the great characters of the day, political and literary, that they are fairly parts of history, and are besides, in the recollection of every reader. It rather concerns us to remark that from this period the age of Louis XIV., properly so termed, commenced, and that the arts of every kind now began to take that universal hold on the nation which they have never afterwards lost, with the exception of the melancholy period of the Revolution. The school of Louis XIV. was now definitively established; it soon rose to such preeminence in the opinions of the north and west of Europe, that France became the centre of taste and of civilized arts: and a bright galaxy of great names it was that then appeared in this western clime. To specify only a few out of many eminent men; Lebrun, Jouvenet, Nicolas and Pierre Mignard, Noel and Antoine Coypel, Bon and Louis Boullogne, Vander Meulen, Rigaud, and Watteau, of the painters;—Coysevox, Puget, and the two Coustons, of the sculptors:—Puget again, Francis and Jules-Hardoin Mansart, and Gabriel, of the architects; Lenôtre, the creator of landscapes, and Keller, the great founder in bronze;—all these names shed their full lustre on the period in which they lived, and on the monarch by whom they were protected. To go into a detailed criticism of their works would be superfluous: all that we contend for is that they formed part of one and the same great school, that they participated in a sort of community of principles, and that they may be very well judged and appreciated in a body. They drew their inspirations from one and the same source; they had all the same principal patrons; their models were all taken from the same court; and their works were all submitted to the same fashionable crowd, or the same junta of connoisseurs. Hence little variety is to be found for the painters in their style of face, of position, of dress in their portraits; Pierre Mignard being perhaps the one who showed the greatest indications of originality, notwithstanding the bland style and soft accommodations of his palette. In their historical compositions they differed more widely according to the liberty given to them by their subjects, the palm being closely disputed between Jouvenet and Lebrun. Of the sculp-

* We have only to add to the above, that although doubt has of late been thrown on the very existence of such a person as the famous iron-mask of the island of St. Marguerite, yet common tradition is nearly unanimous in believing that he was the ill-fated Fouquet. We doubt whether Fouquet’s sentence was reckoned any thing more than an excusable *coup d’état* in those days.

tors, no doubt can be entertained in assigning the first place to Puget, and after him to Coysevox;—of the architects, Jules-Hardoin Mansart, the builder of Versailles, Marly, Trianon, Clayny, and the Invalides, is by far the greatest: but he was ably seconded by his illustrious contemporaries, and was rivalled in the degree, not the kind, of his peculiar merit by Lenôtre, to whose genius for accommodating the works of nature to those of art he was more indebted than he was probably aware.

One of the principal characteristics of the whole school of fine arts in the time of Louis XIV. was the grandeur and magnificence of general design softened by the ideas of luxury and elegance that were becoming habitual to the nation. Thus in all the elaborate compositions of Lebrun that adorn the ceilings of Versailles, though every thing is majestic and royal, there is little either sombre or melancholy. The reigning monarch was of an infinitely more joyous temperament than his predecessor, and setting himself up like Apollo to give light and life to the whole universe, he affected the brilliant and dazzling rather than the terrific or gloomy. Hence the general character imparted to the whole school:—and as two of the best examples of it, the ceilings of the *Salon de la Paix* and the *Salon de la Guerre* at Versailles may be cited. The series of sacred pictures that surround the interior of the choir of Notre Dame at Paris, all of them masterly productions, are also good types of this school as contra-distinguished to all those of Italy. How different too from the Poussins, the Philippe de Champagnes, the Claude Lorraines, the Vouets, and the Valentins of a former day, imbued as they were with Italian ideas, and hardly to be reckoned among the painters of France. In sculpture the style was greatly changed from that of Jean Goujon, Jean Cousin, and their contemporaries; and it had suffered by the alteration: the *Milo* was the principal work of Puget, but it is doubtful whether it ought to be preferred to the *Diane de Poitiers* of Goujon. The admirable busts of Coysevox are in no small degree the basis of his fame, but they are not evidences of any improvement on the preceding school either in taste or execution. Still they were grand and correct as the sculptors of this age; and they did not fall further below their predecessors than the painters below those of the half century preceding them. In these two branches, however, of the fine arts, it cannot be denied that France under Louis XIV. had not equalled either her own painters, the Poussins, &c. of the period just

alluded to, or her sculptors of a still earlier epoch.

In architecture the styles had become so different from those of the 16th and the earlier part of the 17th century that it is difficult to institute a comparison. The Mansarts, however, uncle and nephew, certainly did effect a great change in French taste, and in fact fixed it for upwards of a century: they carried the Palladian principles to a high degree of refinement, and they superadded an abundance of minor ornaments which the severer and perhaps purer taste of the Italians would have led them to reject. If we take the chapel of the Invalides at Paris, or the chapel of the palace at Versailles, we shall find all the system of sculptured garlands, of fruits and flowers, of panels with richly ornamented mouldings, of the breaking up of spaces by the introduction of niches and figures, brought into full demonstration. The contrast of the excessive ornamentation of each of these sacred edifices with the plainness of many parts of the main buildings to which they belong, cannot but strike the most indifferent eye: but the cause is, that what the architect effected in one case the painter and the ornamental decorator was left to do in the other: and again it was perhaps a religious feeling, that the house of God should be more magnificent than the house of man, that led them to establish the distinction.

As a whole, the façades of Versailles towards the garden are the grand constructions on which the fame of their architect mainly depends: nor indeed can any thing be devised of more courtly elegance or more stately beauty than the endless series of windows and columns and statues of which the whole erection is composed. The building was admirably suited to the purposes and the taste of the monarch, whose intention was to make his court not only the most magnificent, but also the most elegant of Europe. Louis XIV. is entitled to the name of "the Great," for this the main idea of his life: he wished to be first in all that appertained to monarchy; in power, in civilisation, in literature, in art: and on the whole he succeeded: he was the great king of the epoch. Versailles was all that such a sovereign could wish: the palace in its extent could lodge the largest court that had ever been collected round a throne, and the extent of which may be judged from the fact that the *Grand Commun* accommodated 2000 servants every night:—in its internal arrangement and decorations it was all that the most sumptuous taste limited by no fears of ex-

pense could make it;*—and in its position it was a striking example of the victory gained over almost insuperable difficulties by labour and skill.

The framing a new system of court etiquette came therefore as a natural consequence when the court entered into possession of this splendid abode : and it was the completion of the monarch's scheme. In forming to ourselves a picture of what Versailles was in the bright and palmy days of its full glory, if we would rightly appreciate it we should take into account the ideas of the time : for this immense monument was in fact

“the expression of the monarchy such as Louis XIV. had conceived it; it was the faithful *resumé* of the work of the great king. We wonder sometimes that his reign, so fertile in men of great genius, never produced an epic poem :—but in fact poetry in these days adopted any form except this ; and the epopeia of the 17th century was Versailles itself. . . . During the two centuries that the French was an absolute monarchy nothing was done that had not either its cause or its effect at Versailles. All the policy of the time was debated on within its walls ; every cannon-shot fired in Flanders, in Germany, or in Spain awoke here an echo. . . . The history of Versailles is the history of civilisation during the two last centuries ; the chateau itself is one of those culminating points from which the sight of the mental eye loses itself in boundless prospects ; and as from the summit of the Alps we perceive the forests that clothe the shoulders of these mountains, the streams that issue from their sides, the towns embosomed in their shade, the empires divided from each other ; so from Versailles we discover the movement of the manners, the wars, the diplomacy, the literature, the arts and the powers that have agitated Europe for two hundred years. To place oneself on the balcony of Versailles is to view the whole world from the throne of Louis XIV.”—*Fortoul*, p. 7.

The ideas here suggested are ably followed up in the book we have just quoted. M. Fortoul has succeeded in laying before his readers a very pleasing and original outline of the whole of the reign of Louis XIV., Louis XV., and Louis XVI., as connected with the palace of Versailles and the scenes occurring within it. He puts the artistical point of view in the chief place of his plan, and round it he collects a vast

number of anecdotes and reflections that will repay the trouble of perusal.

M. Vatout, whose work we have mentioned at the head of this article, in leading his reader through the palace, as it is at the present moment, recalls to mind at each step that he takes the principal events connected with each hole and corner of the historic rooms through which he conducts us. He performs in good truth the office of a guide, but in a very agreeable manner ; and he supplies us with a considerable collection of anecdotes and circumstances either unknown or little remembered, which all throw additional light and interest on the times to which they refer.

With these two works, added to M. Gavard's wonderfully accurate representations of all the architectural details and all the decorative riches of the palace, the fire-side traveller, or the historical student, who never stirs beyond his library's threshold, may have a very fair idea of this central pivot of the ancient monarchy of France. The illustrations of the gardens, one of the most interesting parts of this royal residence, and of the *satellites*, as they are termed, or the small palaces that surrounded Versailles—the two Trianons, that is to say, with Marly, Meudon, St. Cloud, Sceaux, &c., are to be found in M. Fortoul's work, with an interesting notice to each.*

Versailles, as finished by Louis XIV., should not only be regarded by the historical examiner with his mind full of the events of the times in which it was constructed, and with the spirit of the great court and king, whether good or bad, before him ; but it should also be looked on as a portion of a system of royal display which is worthy of notice in all its parts ; especially when the question of art is concerned. Thus the immense park and gardens that surround it, in themselves the best and grandest examples of the magnificent ideas of the times, must never be omitted either by the reader or the visitor of this palace :—nor must the *ensemble* of Versailles, park, gardens, and all included, be contemplated without connecting it with the other palaces and domains of the crown. In truth, though the modern style of landscape gardening is by no means in accordance with the taste that prevailed in the time of Louis XIV., there

* M. Vatout after having examined all the documents public and private that were of any authority on the subject gives up the task of fixing the sum which Versailles cost Louis XIV. :—it varies according to different calculators from 16 to 120 millions sterling.

* Great praise is due to the pictorial illustrations of this book, and to the spirited publisher, M. Delloye, who produced it in Paris simultaneously with the Annual that bears the same illustrations in London. These plates give an accurate, and at the same time (what is very rarely effected) a picturesque idea of the Palace, its dependencies, and the surrounding scenery.

is much to admire in the system adopted by Lenôtre and other horticulturists of his age,—in the stateliness and solemn grandeur of his masses of wood, his bosquets, and his groves, the principal lines and the lights and shadows of which accorded so well with the architectural magnificence and stiff forms of society in the days when he lived.*

We should bear this in mind when we examine the rural system of Lenôtre as displayed at Versailles, at Marly, at Meudon, and at the Tuileries, and in many a noble chateau throughout France; and we are quite sure that he is entitled to the praise of being the greatest master in his art. To one standing on the great terrace in front of Versailles and looking down the long valley to the west, one of the finest specimens of cultivated nature that is any where to be found is developed: there is nothing mean, nothing little, to be perceived

* In England we have certainly gone into the opposite extreme in our ideas of horticultural elegance: it is all very well to surround the *cottage ornée* with the green lawns and undulating groves and glades that form the only kind of landscape gardening now tolerated; but to think that a stately feudal castle or a Palladian villa must necessarily look well in any kind of artificial rustic scenery that we may choose to form round it, is inconsistent. All styles and orders of architecture were formed with certain intentions, grew up in accordance with certain customs and ideas, made part of the national mind of the people that originally used them; and there is always something that shocks the eye when they are found incongruously or inconsistently applied. For a feudal castle to be surrounded with "tall ancestral groves," with deep fosses bathing the walls, or with broad and ample terraces, all this is very well; but to see the same edifice placed in the midst of a nicely shorn lawn, with beds of roses and geraniums fantastically interspersed; without any outward character of stern defence, without any thing that can remind us of the approaches of a baronial tenement in former days—all this is absurd, and destroys the illusion that the mind would gladly form to itself. We are not sure that the comparison might not be carried still farther, and that particular styles of residences should not only be accompanied by their own appropriate styles of rural cultivation, but even limited in accordance with the style and class of persons who are to dwell in them. Thus it may be very well for a nobleman of extensive territorial possessions and long lines of proud ancestry to inhabit a cottage or a forest lodge at the seasons when taste or rural pursuits are supposed to lead him thither, because it may be taken for granted that he possesses houses as various in their nature as his estates are in their position and natural qualities; but for the tallow-chandler who has realized his few thousands to go and build his "Gothic castle" at Richmond, at Highgate, &c. is grossly absurd, because by no force of the imagination can any ideas of antiquity or feudal power be attached to the line of the Stubbsses or the Stileses, &c. There is ample room for the formation of a strict code of etiquette, or rather of good sense, in matters of this kind.

in any direction; nothing that can offend the eye or convey a disagreeable impression to the senses. A rich expanse of groves and woodlands, an undulating succession of well cultivated hills, and a series of magnificent terraces sinking one beneath the other immediately under the feet of the observer,—every thing has a beautiful, elegant, and royal air of richness and luxury. One of the great charms of Versailles, and indeed of most of the royal and noble residences of France (as they were originally formed) is, that every thing is in keeping, and consistent with all around it: it is all real;—no sham, no make-believe; royal, or noble, or ecclesiastical, just as the case may be; and the eye and the mind are alike satisfied. We speak of things as they were in France; not of things as they are.*

In all the subordinate chateaux of the French court, when they were in their full glory, at the time of Madame de Maintenon's coming into favour, the system of Versailles was repeated on a smaller but almost equally brilliant scale. Marly, indeed, though a satellite in some respects, eclipsed the central planet itself; that is to say, in elegance and the minor *agrémens* of court society. Upon all these residences we would recommend our readers to consult M. Fortoul for a spirited sketch of their condition; and should they visit Versailles they will find two or three rooms of the Cour de Marbre (once indeed the ball-rooms of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette) filled with highly interesting contemporaneous views of the various royal residences, just as they were about the time above indicated. These pictures are occupied in nearly all their foregrounds with groups of the principal personages of the court; the likenesses being highly finished in most cases, and the whole forming a highly instructive series of illustrations of all that has been written on the age of Louis XIV.

At the time of this great monarch's death Versailles was the complete expression of

* It should not be forgotten that the influence of the Court of Louis XIV. was felt as much in England as in any other part of Europe, introduced as it was by Charles II. and maintained even after the Revolution of 1688, notwithstanding the hostilities of the two countries. This part of the history of England, the social influence of our Gallic neighbours on ourselves, is too well known, as to its general fact, to need more than a cursory allusion: but to the lover of domestic history, and to those who amuse themselves by tracing the whims and fancies of mankind in their fitful course of wandering from the inventive nation through all the imitative populations, there is an ample field of inquiry with regard to what we may call the Gallo-mania of England at the end of the 17th century.

the social tastes, and the social ideas of France: and to form a really accurate idea of what that age did, and thought, and wished for in matters of art, we must always recall to our imaginations Versailles in its primitive glory. When the aged king was dead, the spirit of the monarchy received a mortal wound; absolute power had under him attained its highest pitch, consistent with the high degree of civilisation that prevailed at the time: after him the political influence of the monarch declined no less rapidly than his moral *prestige* over a nation that had become not less dissipated in its upper classes than miserable and degraded in its lower. Art did not so soon decline:—the first attribute it lost was grandeur, and the first symptom of this was shown by the taste of the regent in quitting Versailles for the Tuileries. Court etiquette relaxed; courtiers had become more demoralized than they had ever been; plebeian tastes began to infect the nobility; and Paris, under the influence of the regent and the infamous Cardinal Dubois, was a sink of infamy. Versailles never improved after this period; its true soul had fled with that of the monarch who had erected it: no one else was capable of inhabiting it as it deserved; and as a sign of this the state bed-chamber of the *grand monarque* was never afterwards inhabited. Louis XV., giving himself up to an unrestrained life of debauch, and preyed upon by hundreds of intriguers of each sex, destroyed many of the internal arrangements of the great edifice to suit the exigencies of his mistresses. M. Fortoul well observes that Madame de Maintenon's wish at Versailles was the chapel; that of Madame de Pompadour the *Salle de l'opera*: the comparative excellence of these two buildings is an exact measure of the relative tastes and ideas of the times.

The latter is very sumptuous no doubt, and when it was first erected was a marvel throughout the world; but it does not stand the test of time like its neighbour the sacred edifice; this latter is as magnificent now, compared with other chapels, as it was then; the former is surpassed by twenty other theatres in Europe.

The general school of art declined in the same way as the court:—elegance was preserved, and even voluptuousness of idea introduced, but grandeur and originality were gone. Bouchardon, the younger Coysevox, and Vanloo, did not sustain the reputation of Mignard, Lebrun, and Jouvenet:—Gabriel the younger erected nothing that could be compared with Mansart's works:—the younger Coustons had degenerated from the elder, and from the traditions of

Puget or of Coysevox:—Lenôtre had no one to replace him. Whoever has studied the whole of the subdivisions of the French school must be aware of what is here advanced. There cannot be a more convincing proof of it than the general fact that Louis XV. attempted nothing grander than the erection of Choisy and the Petit Trianon,—not to speak of his harem at the Parc aux Cerfs:—he added the theatre to Versailles, but he destroyed one of the grand staircases, and he spoilt many of the best apartments: instead of founding any new and great institutions in favour of art, he tamely and coldly patronized what already existed, and art, as might have been foreseen, inevitably declined. It was at this time that the ponderous decorations of the interior of noble mansions were no longer formed of solid marble, crystal, and stone, but gilded wood; with an universal and undue charging of all objects with ornament, breaking up the grand lines that give force and dignity to architectural compositions, and frittering away labour and expense upon parts that would have remained far better had they been simple. No farther improvements were made in landscape gardening: Lenôtre was implicitly followed; and this to a certain extent was fortunate, for it kept things from deteriorating so soon as they would otherwise have done:—but the genius of natural and artificial gardening was extinct: nothing except imitation remained. Dress, which first of all began to affect simplicity, at last became ungraceful, inconvenient, and unnatural:—witness the common habit of the end of Louis XV th's time, as compared with the beginning of the same century;—the curling wig, which might or might not be *possible*, changed for the absurd cauliflower or the pigtail; the *négligé* of the ladies, which at least had some plausible excuse on its side, driven out by the monstrous hoop; and the long locks of hair, its natural colour altered for the stiff toupée and the disgusting use of powder. All had declined; all was getting disorganized; all was going wrong: there was a malady at work in society itself which affected all the outward demonstrations of human intellect: the state itself was hastening to decomposition; and art, the constant index of civilisation, was degenerating with scarcely less rapidity.

The melancholy period of Louis XVI., although the personal virtues of the monarch and his queen for a time seemed to check the evil, saw the woes and ills of society galloping on to their final goal. Under them little was done at Versailles, little at the other palaces:—one name alone of any

really great eminence appears among the painters, Vernet:—one only, Soufflet, among the architects. The sole act of any notoriety ordered by Louis XVI. at Versailles, was to cut down all the trees in the gardens and to replant them:—a melancholy type of what was coming upon the palace, upon the kingdom, and upon himself! Marie Antoinette, on the other hand, laid out the beautiful gardens of Petit Trianon,—but this was not in the style of France; England, Switzerland furnished the models; French art was dead. All, however, that the martyr-sovereigns did is hallowed by their death; and to the visitor of sensibility the little relics they have left behind them in the great palace, like the scenes that under them made so many parts of that edifice remarkable, form some of the most attractive causes of interest that occur to his notice.

But here our inquiry stops; the infuriated mob from Paris are in the Cour de Marbre, the dead bodies of the guards are on the staircase; madness and treachery are without the palace, fear and indecision within:—the court sets out for the capital, and the palace becomes the monument of the dead.

ART. III.—*Mikhail Vasilivitch Lomonosov*,
Sotchinenie Ksenophonta Polevago. (M.
V. Lomonosov. By X. Polevoi.) 2 vols.
8vo. Moskva, 1836.

THE name of Lomonosov identifies itself with Russian literature, as that of its great legislator and *Musagetes*, and in some measure the very founder of its language. His history, before us, if history it be, is, however, singularly written. Although this book does not contain a line of preface indicating the author's object or plan,—he having reserved such explanation for the final page of his second volume,—the first lines of his first chapter evince that far from a regular biography, Xenophon Polevoi (who must not be confounded with Nikolai Polevoi, author of the History of the Russian nation) has adopted for his composition the more attractive form of romance; for we found ourselves *in medias res*, among a train of carts laden with fish, pursuing their route to Moscow in the intensely severe winter of 1728. After this there could be no doubt as to what was to follow; for Lomonosov being of no family at all, there were no pedigree, family records, or documents, to be searched into. Yet if facts were wanting in the life of this eminent man, we cannot altogether

approve of the way in which their place, as it seems to us, is supplied; namely, by assuming the form of a novel.

Unless in those comparatively few instances where great talents have been united with singular misconduct, if not open profligacy, the life of a literary man or artist presents notoriously the fewest points for a novelist. Almost as well might a romance writer search for a hero behind a counter, or in a counting-house, as in the study or the studio. The Germans, it is true, have attempted to bring into vogue what they call *Kunst-romane*, a species of fiction in which a slight outline of story—hardly can it be said, of plot,—is made the vehicle of discussions and opinions on matters appertaining to literature and art, and generally put into the mouths of real personages. Without stopping to inquire how far license of imagination is allowable, or whether it does not partake quite as much of falsehood as of legitimate fiction, we may without fear of contradiction assert that such productions would be absolutely caviare to English novel-readers. Even Schoppenhauer's "*Johann Von Eyck und seiner Nachfolger*," though a work of a more strictly biographical nature, and replete with information relative to the chief masters of the early German school of painting, seems very little, if at all, known in this country; therefore we need not be surprised if Hagen's *Nürnbergische Novellen*, wherein figure Albert Dürer, Peter Visscher, Adam Krafft, and other distinguished worthies of art, have not yet risen upon our own literary horizon. In regard to Heinse we have little reason to regret that his *Kunst-romane* has excited no attention in this country, because, with much eloquent enthusiasm on topics of art, it is also debased by unblushing profligacy, both in the maxims it inculcates and the scenes it describes. Its object seems, not to purify and spiritualize our feelings through the influence of art, but to apotheotize sensuality, and cloak the deformity of vice by representing its enjoyments as indicating an exquisitely organized perception of sensuous beauty. His doctrine, in short, proceeds to the length that this perceptive power, or *Kunstsinn*—for which our language perhaps offers no corresponding term—excuses or rather vindicates all immorality, by tracing it to the principle from which emanates refined art.

We now return to the production that has led to the above remarks. The reader is already apprised how the narrative opens, after the most approved romance fashion, and with an incident admirably calculated to excite strong interest in favour of the

poor penniless lad, whose ardent thirst for knowledge and instruction has driven him an outcast from his home, though cheered with the brightest anticipations,—with dreams of felicity from which he is shortly to be wakened to stern and even bitter realities. It is not improbable that this seductively striking situation determined the author to depart from the regular course of biographic narrative, and adopt that as the starting-point: the idea once fixed upon, it would follow almost as matter of course, that some latitude of invention should be allowed, and fictitious details interwoven with historical facts. In the present instance too much has been sacrificed to the temporary effect thus produced. It is undoubtedly advantageous to produce favourable first impressions; yet first impressions may sometimes be too favourable, inasmuch as they may lead to very disadvantageous after-comparisons when the expectations held out are not subsequently fulfilled. Such is the case here: though sufficiently attractive in itself, the scene alluded to is injudicious as regards the general plan and character of the work; not only because it contains more of stirring adventure than any thing else in the volumes, but also because it is more extended and carefully worked up than those more stubborn materials which required great art first to shape and mould. The gush of the romantic, which promises a good deal, is suddenly dried up and exhausted. We shall not give any extracts from this apocryphal chapter—apocryphal, as regards its action and persons; for the fact itself, apart from those embellishments, is tolerably familiar to English readers.

Passing by therefore the hero's first patron, Pimen Nikititch, the travelling fish-merchant, who after much demurring consents to let Lomonosov accompany him on the road, and afterwards introduces him to a monk, Father Porphyrius, we may state that Mikhail Vassilivitch reaches Moscow without mishap, but only to awaken to a sense of his solitary and unfriended situation, the reverse of the illusions his fancy had created. The fine opportunity for description which here presented itself is however totally thrown away by the author; a picture of the ancient metropolis of Russia as it then existed, and of the impressions it was calculated to produce on such a mind as Lomonosov's, would have lured any one to dwell upon its more prominent features: instead of this we are merely told that the various edifices and other objects which now first presented themselves to the eye of the stranger lad, suddenly transported from the bleak wilds of Cholmogora, filled him with awe and be-

wilderment. In fact graphic delineation of any kind does not appear to be Polevoi's forte, for on no one occasion has he even attempted it; this is the more to be regretted because, instead of being redundant, such description would have greatly aided the historical colouring of the work, and imparted a charm in which it is now altogether deficient. Local portraiture is to narrative what scenery is to the drama.

Through the means of Father Porphyrius, Lomonosov is admitted into the Zaikonospasskoi school, which he finds the very reverse of what his imagination had pictured as a seminary of learning; there he is not only subjected to many mortifications from his companions, but discouraged also by his instructors. He bears up, however, against the united checks to his zeal, and distinguishes himself at a public examination before Theophanes the celebrated Archbishop of Novgorod, (the Russian Chrysostom,) whose eloquence and talents recommended him to Peter the Great, and who had so large a share in the counsels of that monarch and his successors. After the examination, the prelate retires into another apartment where, while partaking of a collation with the archimandrite and other principals of the college, he sends for Lomonosov, commends his diligence, puts some questions to him concerning his studies, and assures him of his protection. Thus encouraged, the youth ventures to express his dissatisfaction at the dilatory and tedious school-routine to which he is subjected, and complains that he is merely learning words while thirsting for knowledge, in the branches of mathematics and physics more especially. Lest his sincerity should betray him into indiscretion the Archbishop dismisses him, and changes the conversation, nor mentions again until his departure his new protégé, whom he then recommends to the archimandrite and prefect. Flattering as is the notice of so high and eminent a personage, Lomonosov finds the consequences far from agreeable. He now in fact receives his first practical lesson, not in natural philosophy but in the philosophy of life, and discovers that a great man's favour is sure to provoke the ill will of other claimants.

Mortified at having been obliged to listen patiently to the unpalatable truths which Lomonosov unguardedly uttered as to the defective system of education, the superiors at the institution, instead of making the most of the éclat with which their pupil has distinguished himself, resolve to mortify him in turn, and make him feel that, though very secondary personages to the Archbishop of Novgorod, they are still his own superiors.

They exercise their authority, therefore, in such a manner as to render his situation more irksome and disagreeable; and Lomonosov at length determines on going to the archimandrite, who alone seems well-disposed to him, and solicit permission to remove, if only for a year, to the university of Kiev, in order to apply diligently to philosophy and mathematics and attend the professors in those classes. Objections and difficulties are surmounted, and in the company and charge of a Father Antonii he sets out for Kiev for one year, filled with delightful anticipations of enjoyment amidst the literary stores of the university library, which the Archbishop had told him equalled the finest collections he had visited in Italy. Indeed he had little else than the pictures of imagination to occupy him on the road; for we are told that the Pater could not satisfy any inquiries relative to the various monuments of antiquity existing in the venerable city of Kiev. We regret, therefore, that the author did not provide him with a more intelligent companion; or else gratify our curiosity by taking upon himself the office of cicerone, and describing what it seems the Pater could not.

Arrived at Kiev, Lomonosov soon discovers that its university was not then at least the seat of philosophy and the muses. With few exceptions, the students themselves are described as a set of idle, riotous, unruly and ill-disciplined youths, for everything corresponds to the picture which Naræzhny has drawn in his novel of "The Bursak." Disappointed at finding he can gain no instruction in the sciences to which his taste more particularly inclined, and completely disgusted by a public disputation supported by the most puerile arguments, Lomonosov returns to Moscow before the expiration of the allotted term.

About a twelvemonth afterwards, that is, at the beginning of the year 1735, an order comes from the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, enjoining a certain number of the most promising young men to be sent to the northern capital for the purpose of receiving a more complete course of instruction. Lomonosov is included, but not without the interposition of the Archbishop Theophanes in his behalf. He at first experiences some disappointment on learning that he will not be placed in the Academy itself, but in the Gymnasium attached to it; but he is now at all events in the road he has so long been anxious to enter, and has only to prosecute his studies and gratify his yearning for both physics and mathematics. Matters go on so smoothly that the reader grows apprehensive of a calm, and of the narrative itself becoming only some extracts from a

collegian's log-book. To avert this most terrible of all disasters, the author here brings another character upon the stage,—we presume a fictitious personage,—named Vinogradov, the one among his companions with whom Lomonosov forms the closest intimacy. To this his new and first friend he relates the history of his boyhood, and the circumstances attending his flight from his native village; by this means the biography is completed, up to the date at which the first chapter takes it up.

This fictitious auto-biography may, perhaps, be deemed more exceptionable and hazardous than the general plan itself. Auto-biography is the most alluring and fascinating of any; it is capable of conferring a powerful interest upon incidents in themselves unimportant and even trivial; and the minuteness otherwise producing only tedium, here serves to heighten the spirit and eloquence of the writer, who reveals, as far as language can, the actual impressions of his own mind. He dives into the depths of his proper existence, and brings to light much that lies in the hearts of all; but that lies buried there without voice to give notice of its existence. We need not refer to Rousseau, Alfieri, and others equally known, but cannot omit mentioning Rahbek's "Erindringer af mit Liv," as a delightful specimen of personal biography, and more especially in the earlier portions. Doubtless both a similar kind and an equal degree of interest may be imparted to a work of fiction so moulded; but then the value arising from truth no longer exists. However complete the deception, however tasteful their design and forms, gilded frames are not gold, nor artificial stones gems. Fictitious auto-biography is a contradiction in terms; and though allowable enough for the novelist, becomes falsification rather than fiction when attributed to a real individual. We give nevertheless a passage or two from this portion of Polevoi's book, to afford our readers the means of judging how it is written.

"I was about ten years' old when my father first took me out to sea with him in his fishing vessel. Conceive what an event for me at that age! Steering our course as far as 70 degrees north latitude, I had leisure to contemplate some of the grandest spectacles, the most magnificent phenomena of nature, such as perhaps I shall never behold again. A boundless expanse of waters—not those of the Finland Gulf, but of the vast Northern Ocean, presented to me a scene I was never wearied of gazing upon. During a calm, it delighted as an image of perfect tranquillity and repose; yet I loved better to behold it agitated by the storm, upheaved from its depths, when its

surges dashed over our vessel and tossed it to and fro on the swell of waters, as if it was their toy—a mere splinter of wood. At such moments I fancied that the elements were stirred up by passions like our own; that in its wrath the sea wished to punish, by engulfing them, the daring mortals who, braving its power, had defied the dangers of its surface. The whitening foam, the shrill whistling of the winds, the fierce encounter of wave dashing against wave—all had for me a mystic language, devoid of meaning to the understanding, yet full of expression to the soul. Earnestly was I wont to listen to it, yet was filled with gladness when such discord of the elements abated, when the wrathful ocean desisted from its chidings as I fancied them, and lowered its voice to a gentle whisper. Again all was placid, and we glided over a glassy mirror. Even these seasons of calm were not without their wonders, or their dangers. Sometimes would rise upon the unruffled surface a huge mass, which on nearer approach we discovered to be one of the giants of the deep, floating upon its upper confines."

Passing over what is said of whale-spearing, and of the risks encountered among masses of ice in those seas, it will be more to our purpose to quote from the account here given of Lomonosov's early passion for reading. Having exhausted the library of his instructor, the parish priest, whose collection was confined to a few volumes of a religious and devotional cast, he is fain to borrow what books he can from the Raskolniks, or Dissidents, in the neighbourhood, who it seems willingly accommodated him in the hopes of gaining a proselyte. What kind of reading their bookstores supplied; whether any likely to attract a boy eager for information; or what disgusted him with those to whose friendly offices he was thus indebted, are points on which no information is afforded; in consequence of this reticence all that is said here on the subject is exceedingly unsatisfactory and obscure. Continuing this part of his youthful history Lomonosov is made to say—

"After I had separated myself from the Raskolniks, I began to look upon their books with aversion. In the meanwhile I was consumed by a thirst for information. I had long before read all the books that belonged to our parish church; and therefore again made application to my friendly instructor, entreating him to lend me some books on other subjects: but he replied that he had none, and that in fact there were none such in the Russian language;—if, therefore, I wanted to gain instruction from books, it was requisite that I should first of all study Latin. 'What is Latin?' asked I, 'and how may it be learnt?'

'Latin is a language in which there are books on all sorts of learning; and for Latin, there are schools at Moscow, Kiev, and Petersburg.'

"This first suggested to me the idea of going to Moscow; yet how was the scheme to be accomplished? I dropped a few hints of such intention in order to see whether my father would be likely to concur in it; but as soon as he comprehended my drift, he raised such a storm, that I hardly knew how to appease him. My malicious step-mother only made matters worse: not content with agreeing with my father as to the folly of the scheme, she began to lament that her husband should have such an ungracious, 'ne'er-do-weel' of a son; in short, to make a most terrible hubbub, till at length the old man was on the point of turning me out of doors. The affair terminated by my getting sundry slaps and blows, and being ordered to drive all such whims and nonsense out of my head.

"But fate, it seems, was determined to keep alive my passion for reading, by adding fresh fuel. Being at the house of Christopher Dudin, one of the wealthiest men in our village, I chanced to spy out some books that were not devotional offices or things of that sort. This discovery, I well remember, threw me into a fit of ecstasy; with what rapture did I turn over their leaves, almost devouring them with my eyes. You, of course, long to know what books they could possibly be?—an old Slavonic Grammar, and a treatise on Arithmetic printed at Petersburg, in the reign of Peter the Great for the use of nautical students. Both the language and the subjects of those books were then quite a mystery to me, but a most captivating one. More than once did I implore Dudin to lend me those precious volumes; no entreaties, however, could obtain from him this favour, not even for a few days. I therefore resolved to get possession of them by stratagem, and with this view, to make myself as agreeable as I could to his two sons, I became their play-fellow, made them toys, amused them by telling tales, till at length they were ready to do whatever I asked. When I first mentioned the books I had seen, requesting them to bring them to me, they hesitated; but by dint of entreaties I prevailed. The long-sought prize was now my own; those precious books were thenceforth my inseparable companions; I read them every day and every leisure hour of the day, till I had them perfectly by heart. They were for me the doors into the temple of knowledge."

Throughout the whole narrative here put into Lomonosov's mouth, the author appears to have been checked by fears of forsaking the character of a biographer, if he filled up too freely the scanty outline afforded by his materials. It is like an attempt to copy an unseen picture from a print, where the colouring has to be supplied by guess. Cer-

tainly there is very little colouring here, very little of freshness and variety of tints.

We must now follow Lomonosov and his fellow-student, Vinogradov, to Marburg, there to be instructed in chemistry and mining, and to attend some courses of philosophy under the celebrated Christian Wolf. This course of study promises ill for the interest of the narrative, or for anything in the shape of adventure; nevertheless it is at Marburg, amidst philosophy and professors, that we meet with the most novel-like chapters in the whole work. Lomonosov falls in love with the daughter of the tailor at whose house he lodges. On this occasion the author has given freer reign to his imagination, describing the various scenes of this episode at some length, and with considerable effect; elsewhere, we should commend them for the nature they display, but here they detain us too long from matters of higher importance in a literary life. Notwithstanding the father's positive refusal of consent, and his friend's remonstrances on the indiscretion of such a step, Lomonosov marries Christina, and is for awhile satisfied and happy. He not only applies himself with fresh diligence to his professed studies, in which he had been very remiss while engrossed by an interest that excluded all others, but occupies his leisure in endeavouring to improve, or rather establish, the system of Russian versification. He succeeds almost beyond his hopes, and produces his *Ode on the Taking of Khotiu*, which he sends to St. Petersburg. A literal English translation of this piece is to be found at page 628 of our First Volume, though no translation however ably executed can express the beauties and peculiarities of the original language and the structure of the composition. This production, so different in style from anything that had preceded it, and in which Lomonosov had taken for his model Günther's* *Ode to Prince Eugene*, might have obtained for its author the immediate patronage of the Russian court, had not the death of the Empress Anne taken place shortly after.

This season of tranquil enjoyment, during which his fireside evenings are devoted to the study of German and French literature,

is of no long duration. First come vexations and perplexities, then more pressing embarrassments. For awhile Lomonosov goes to Freyburg, where he studies metallurgy and mining under Berg-Rath Henkel; on another occasion he visits the Harz mountains for a similar object; and on his return from this latter excursion finds matters at home desperate. His wife, now a mother, is no longer the blooming Christina, but worn-out and dispirited by constant anxiety: while his creditors become daily more and more importunate. He therefore determines to evade them and make his way into Holland, and from thence to St. Petersburg. An unforeseen danger, however, awaits him: he falls into the hands of a Prussian enlisting corps, is forcibly detained as a recruit, and kept so strictly watched, that only after a considerable time and at the utmost peril of his life he effects his escape, and reaches Amsterdam. From hence, through the friendly offices of the Russian ambassador, he obtains a passage to Petersburg.

With this event concludes not only the first volume, but all the romance of Lomonosov's history, which taken as romance is dry and tedious. The second portion of the work is almost of a distinct character from the first, at least its interest is of a different kind; and recommends itself to us by a quality not likely to ensure much favour with those who turn to it as to an ordinary tale or novel, for it throws some light upon the state of letters at that period, and, though desultorily, brings us acquainted with several characters of more or less note. At the time of Lomonosov's return the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna had just mounted the throne; but of the revolution which placed her on it no mention is made, though it was one which, even as simply related by the pen of history, is replete with such strong interest. During the twelvemonth succeeding the decease of the Empress Anne, that is from Oct. 17 (28), 1740, to Nov. 25 (Dec. 6), 1741, the Russian court and capital were the scene of a series of political intrigues, conspiracies, and counter-conspiracies, arrested only by the decisive measure at length taken by Elizabeth, who, by advice of her favourite Lestocq, caused the infant Ivan, together with his mother the Regent Anna Karlovna, and her consort Peter Ulrick of Brunswick, to be seized, and herself proclaimed empress. Of the fall of the Regent Biron, who was actually dragged from his bed in the dead of night; of the disgrace of Munnich; of the subsequent banishment of these two powerful rivals, we hear nothing, not even by way of reference or allusion. The name of Elizabeth herself is mentioned

* Günther was one of those characters who are well fitted "to adorn a tale,"—who, gifted with talents and unchecked by principle, throw themselves as vagabonds upon society and submit to be shuttlecocks of fortune. His habits of intemperance, disgraceful and degrading, unfitted him for everything. The appointment of court poet had been obtained for him at Dresden, but when admitted into the presence of the king, he was so intoxicated as to be unable to utter a word. After wandering about from one town to another, he died at Jena, in 1723, at the age of twenty-eight.

in one or two places, and we are allowed a glimpse of her in the scene where Lomonosov is introduced at Zarkoe-Selo; but her personal character is, perhaps discreetly, kept out of sight. If there be any truth in history, her dissoluteness was full as great as that of the Second Catherine, and even more openly scandalous. Abandoned to disgraceful amours, it was not so much her personal ambition as that of her favourites, seconded by her own apprehensions, that at length induced her to seize the crown.

To return to Lomonosov. The attestations he brings with him from Germany, together with the letters from Amsterdam, immediately procure for him a place and a salary at the Academy of Sciences; and he shortly afterwards obtains an appointment as Adjunct-Professor of Chemistry and Physics. Even this degree of success, however, is followed by great discontent, not as regards himself personally, but because he does not find that earnestness and activity in the cause of science which he had expected. Some of the professors are men of ability, and all perform the duties required of them with due attention. But there is a lack of energy and enterprize in all their proceedings, a want of unity of purpose, that provokes if it does not discourage him. He is impatient to achieve for science what Peter did for the empire:—to re-model, improve, extend,—to legislate afresh, and introduce more efficacious modes of instruction. In short, he is urgent that the Academy should do something more than its mere duties,—should enlarge the scope of these, and provide courses of instruction in Eloquence and Poetry, History and Antiquities both domestic and classical; so as to comprehend that cycle of knowledge which he himself strove to embrace. His remonstrances obtain no more satisfactory answers than “wait a little,” and “in time.” If, however, he finds few supporters within the Academy, he meets with some powerful patrons out of it. Foremost among these are Count Peter Ivanovitch Shuvalov, and his relation the young, talented, accomplished, and generous Ivan Shuvalov, at that time a page in the court of Elizabeth, but since immortalized as the Mæcenas of letters and arts in the age of Catherine II. In the meanwhile he had some pleasant rencontres, as the following anecdote will show. It should be observed that most of the professors at the Academy were Germans, and very few of them at all acquainted with the Russian.

“On one occasion, one of his learned colleagues, whose well-powdered wig gave him a consequential air, told him that it was his intention to compose a work on Russian

Literature, the materials for which he was then collecting. To this piece of intelligence, which was communicated as an important secret, he added, do not fail to call upon me to-day, in order that we may have some conversation together about this undertaking of mine.

“Lomonosov was filled with astonishment at what he had heard, being well aware that the intended historian of Russian Literature understood scarcely three words of the Russian language; curiosity, however, induced him to pay the requested visit. The professor received him most cordially, offered him a pipe and glass, and then drew forth a paper containing a list of questions written in German, beginning as follows:—

“What is the Russian word for *Literature*?

“What Russian authors have written upon its history?

“What books are there in Russian, which treat of the subject?

“Do the Russians write now as formerly, or has the language undergone any changes?

“On hearing these singular queries, and many others of the same sort, it was with the utmost difficulty that Lomonosov could keep from bursting out into laughter; for it was clear that the learned professor and future historian ought to go and study the Russian alphabet, as a first and necessary step towards collecting *materials* for his important work. Nevertheless he contrived to check his risibility, and replied with as much gravity as he could muster up.

“‘My good sir, these will go but a very little way; you require a much larger stock of materials to commence with.’

“‘Well, I am getting them together as fast as I can. My plan is already adjusted; I have determined upon the system I shall follow; all therefore that I now require is, names and dates. There is very little you see now to do;—you approve of the idea; that is enough!’

“‘But how can you have formed any system, when you yourself are quite ignorant—that is, unacquainted with the subject itself?’

“‘Unacquainted with the subject! What has that to do with the matter? The first thing is to settle the system,—all the rest is easily come at. The plan has occupied me half a year; and it may possibly be two years before the work itself is completed,—for that I will not answer. However, let us proceed methodically; let us take the questions I have set down, one by one.’

“‘Would it not be better for me to write down the answers at once with my pencil on the margin?’

“‘Oh! no, no! I shall want all the margin for my own annotations. Now do let us proceed methodically; have the goodness therefore to tell me again, what is the Russian term for literature?’

“‘It is precisely the same, *litteratura*, unless you prefer *slovestnos*.’

“‘Aye! that’s it, *zlovestnos*.’”

“Lomonosov was about to point out his odd mistake, but checked himself, thinking it would be an endless task to set the learned professor right every time; and therefore let him go on heaping blunder upon blunder.”

This most certainly seems downright caricature; but we have met with instances which almost surpass it in absurdity.

Two years pass away before Lomonosov thinks of sending for his Christina and her little Minna to come to him; nor does the separation seem to occasion him particular concern. We are, it is true, assured that his still straitened circumstances have prevented his sending for his wife; yet further than this it appears to be a matter of perfect indifference, if not to himself at least to his biographer. However needless to display the more sacred feelings of the mind to vulgar readers of biography in general, in an imaginative work like the present some trace of emotion would surely not have been misplaced. Well might we say that the romance concluded with the first volume, when we observe so chilling a contrast between the enthusiasm of the impassioned lover and the staid prudence of the married man. The same Christina who is so important to the novelist becomes a mere cypher for the historian, who with more truth than poetical flattery tell us that notwithstanding Lomonosov continues attached to his wife, he esteems her as the prudent mistress of his family, the tender mother of his child. What has become of all those sunny, rainbow-tinted visions of ever-blissful rapture that presented themselves to the enamoured Marburg student as imperishable realities? Still we are far from censuring this terrible falling off as partaking of inconsistency; we only regret it should be so very natural and common a case; one, too, that would take place in all novels, did not novelists until lately invariably make a point of not exhibiting those whom they have paraded as lovers, in the prosy characters of man and wife.

But we must abandon the task of following the biographer step by step, and attend chiefly to what is more immediately connected with Lomonosov’s literary life, his pursuits and productions. He is in general known merely as a poet, yet an erroneous estimate has been formed of his powers in this respect.

* The drollery of the blunder cannot be expressed in a translation, for *zlo* means *bad*; therefore as far as it has any signification at all *zlovestnos* would mean *badness*. More force of equivoque might be obtained by converting *zlovestnos* into *slovenliness* as the synonym of *litter-ature*.

“He assured others,” says Polevoi, “and perhaps really believed that poetry occupied him merely as a relaxation and amusement, while science engaged his unremitting exertions, and was the task to which he bound himself; the fact was precisely the reverse. His task was poetry: he wrote verses according to the rules of rhetoric. Take up the best of his odes and you will find it modelled perfectly according to rule, and decked out with rhetorical figures and embellishments; but hardly will you discover in it any genuine enthusiasm—any real warmth of inspiration. In his scientific writings, on the contrary, how many grand and bold ideas present themselves! And with what intense ardour of feeling, with what complete abandonment does he appear to have devoted himself to such studies! Nature expressly formed him to shine in that sphere, and his whole life affords proof that he readily obeyed her impulses.”

“His own attachment to science led him to regard with sincere affection all those who devoted themselves to its cause *con amore*. It is true he met with very few such among his colleagues, but of those few he became the warm friend. The one with whom he connected himself most intimately was Professor Richmann, a German by birth but a Russian in heart; a warm lover of his new country. The similarity of their studies united them still closer, for Richmann was Professor of Physics and Natural Philosophy; to these pursuits he addicted himself with extraordinary diligence, and engaged in a variety of new and important experiments, which he freely communicated to Lomonosov, who, notwithstanding the variety of his other acquisitions and pursuits, took more especial interest in whatever related to the study of nature and its phenomena.”

“Their intercourse was not long in ripening into friendship, cemented by the most cordial sympathy of tastes and opinions. So far from contenting themselves with performing what lay in the course of their duties, they extended their views beyond the limits of their studies. The theory of electricity had then been recently started; it was a subject that engaged the earnest attention of both; and while they regretted that they were so badly provided with the means of prosecuting their researches, they complained more bitterly than ever of the slow progress made by the Academy, of the dilatory course adopted, and of the apathy of their colleagues.”

Although the event itself does not occur till a later period of the narrative, we may as well briefly notice in this place the death of Richmann, who fell a victim to his enterprise in the cause of science, being killed by lightning while making an electrical experiment, during a tempest, in July, 1753. Notwithstanding that this melancholy occur-

rence was severely felt by Lomonosov, it did not damp his ardour nor deter him from prosecuting his own inquiries on the subject; and what interest he took in it will be evident from a conversation with Richmann shortly before the fatal accident just mentioned.*

"Do you know that our theory has already been investigated?"

"By whom?" hastily inquired Lomonosov.

"Oh! certainly by no one here at St. Petersburg. But guess where."

"In Germany?"

"No, in America, at Philadelphia."

"Surely you are not in earnest?"

"Here is an English book, which gives an account of our theory," said Richmann, putting down on the table a volume entitled *New Experiments and Observations on Electricity*. "The author, who is an American printer of the name of Franklin, astonishes me by the penetration he displays. Like us, he has long occupied himself with electricity and the nature of the *Aurora Borealis*, yet the work is but lately published."

"And when did it first appear?" asked Lomonosov, with the anxiety of one who is on the point of losing the honour of a discovery.

"Two years ago: see here the date 1751."

"And are you quite sure that his theory agrees with ours?"

"So it would seem. However, at present I have only glanced over the book, being anxious to lose no time in informing you of it. We can now examine it together more carefully."

"But you know I cannot read English. How vexatious and stupid it is that people do not write scientific works in Latin?"

"How interesting," continues the author, "to observe the sympathy of genius existing between two such master-minds as those of Franklin and Lomonosov! Both wrote upon the same subject, made nearly the same experiments, and in more than one instance arrived at very nearly the same discoveries. But the man who stole lightning from heaven, as D'Alembert calls Franklin, had long made both electricity and meteorology his study; while Lomonosov on the contrary had been able to devote to it comparatively but little time, taking it up only at intervals, among a number of other learned and scientific pursuits: nevertheless he developed many ideas similar to those of Franklin, although he was utterly ignorant at the time of what the latter was doing. It is enough to say that among the numerous titles of Lomonosov to fame, his labours in electricity constitute one; for he afterwards satisfactorily proved that he was not aware of those of Frank-

lin, and that his own theory, respecting the electrical matter of the atmosphere, is nowise indebted to the American."

After many other proofs, he adds:

"My ode on the Northern Lights, written in the year 1743, and printed in my '*Rhetoric*,' in 1747, contains my opinion on that phenomenon, as produced by the motion of the ether in the atmosphere."

We possess a still more convincing proof in Lomonosov's own character: least of all men was he disposed to take to himself the credit of the labours and discoveries of others. Whatever he did was his own; it was the product of his genius, and remains the property of his age and country. Nevertheless it is a most singular and interesting coincidence that the same ideas should at the very same time have presented themselves to two of the most remarkable men of the eighteenth century, who had no intercourse with each other—Franklin and Lomonosov.

We shall not suffer the various jealousies, bickerings, and squabbles between Lomonosov and his brother academicians to detain us, further than to remark that Trediakovsky, whose literary reputation is akin to that which Blackmore enjoys among ourselves, entertained a feeling of strong personal enmity towards Lomonosov; and that Müller the historiographer had on one occasion a serious fracas with him, which is detailed at some length.

We pass on to the celebrated Alexander Sumarakov,—celebrated, because, although not gifted with any extraordinary talents, his name is certainly one of permanent historic note in the annals of Russian literature. Not only was Sumarakov a very prolific writer, but there is scarcely any department of poetry, except the epic, which he left un-essayed. From tragedy down to farce, from psalms and hymns to burlesque odes, from satires to songs, from elegies to epigrams, every form of composition was exercised by him: so far he was useful in his generation, and was doubtless the means of exciting others to more successful efforts. He is one of those who, being overrated by their contemporaries, are as much undervalued by posterity.* And yet some of his pieces

* It deserves, perhaps, to be here mentioned that of the prose pieces printed among his works, two have lately been claimed as belonging to others: viz. the Dialogue between Montezuma and Cortes, which is asserted to have been written by Marshal Suvarov, and to be his only literary attempt; it may consequently pass for a curiosity. The other is the oration delivered by the architect Bazhanov, on laying the foundation of what was to have been a new palace in the Kremlin at Moscow; this piece, it is supposed, may have been corrected by Sumarakov:

* Kheraskov has alluded to it in his *Rossiada*.

are far from contemptible; and though his diction and versification are upon the whole somewhat antiquated, many exceedingly happy and well-turned expressions are to be met with in his works. It has been too much a sort of fashion to censure Sumarakov indiscriminately; the consequence is that the reader takes him up with prejudices ill calculated to lead to an honest estimate. A more liberal critic in the *Otechestvennaya Zapiski*, says, "it may fearlessly be asserted that Sumarakov's works are so far from being contemptible, that even at the present day we have very few indeed that would not suffer by a comparison with them." Bowring, on the other hand, tells us that "his dramatic compositions are for the *most part* gross and indecent;" from which we suspect that he was entirely unacquainted with him. His farces, it is true, are occasionally coarse in expression, but not a whit more gross, and certainly far less immoral than many pieces not only tolerated but applauded by our refined and moral public. Even in the work before us Sumarakov is not exhibited in the most favourable light, probably on account of his having been in some respect the rival of Lomonosov.

"Sumarakov had written a great deal. His tragedies were performed by the cadets, and afterwards at court in the presence of the empress, to whom they gave great satisfaction. This success so flattered the vanity of the young author, that all his thoughts were now directed to the establishment of a permanent theatre; and accident befriended his scheme. In the seclusion of Yaroslavl, Volkov, the son of a merchant at Kostroma, had built a theatre; that is, had erected a stage almost literally with his own hands, painted the scenery, got together a company of performers, and astonished and delighted his country audiences. Who would have imagined that the Russian stage would have for its founder a merchant's son in an obscure country town? So, however, it was: but then much of his success must be ascribed to the talents of his company, to Dmitrevsky, who afterwards obtained the name of the Russian Garrick, to Popov, Shumkoi, &c. The fame of their performances reached Petersburg; Sumarakov lost no time in engaging them, and by the aid and credit of his connections was enabled to carry his project at once into effect. His father, Peter Pankratievitch, was a man of some consequence, and held a situation near the person of the grand duke; and Sumarakov himself, who was by no means easily daunted or repulsed where he had a point to

carry, pushed the matter so actively among those who had any influence at court and in the higher circles, that they did all they could to aid his scheme. In the meanwhile his pen was not idle; he obtained public notice as a poet and was greedy of more; on which account Lomonosov was a thorn in his side, because, without the aid of friends and partisans, he manifested himself his superior in talent, and what was still worse, ridiculed his attempts at poetry, as a silly passion for writing verses."

It would thus seem that there was a considerable degree of pique and jealousy on both sides; nor on that of Lomonosov were such feelings particularly justifiable, for it would have been more consistent with his general character to have encouraged as far as was in his power any manifestation or even symptoms of talent among his countrymen; more especially when he himself felt how many disadvantages and obstacles literature and science had then to contend with in Russia. But we are told that Sumarakov looked upon the drama, and tragedy in particular, as a sort of property of his own, one in which he had an indefeasible and vested right; therefore as soon as he learnt that Lomonosov was engaged upon his tragedy of *Demophon*, he told every one that his rival was copying and borrowing from him. The biographer himself, however, is obliged to acknowledge that—

"These apprehensions were altogether groundless, there being in reality nothing to fear. As was the case with the greater part of his poems, Lomonosov sat down to the task of writing his drama without any kind of internal impulse. He engaged in it at the advice of Ivan Shuvalov, who seeing the success of Sumarakov's theatrical pieces, and finding that they were greatly relished by the empress, was anxious that his friend and protégé should display his talents and superiority in that as well as other walks of poetry. Thus originated, it was hardly likely to prove a really poetical production; and in fact it is not only weak and spiritless but even dull and below mediocrity. It is incontestible that Lomonosov was not gifted with the slightest degree of dramatic talent; and after his first experiments he desisted altogether from farther attempt."

This being admitted, Sumarakov might surely have been treated with a little more consideration; particularly as we afterwards find that he made conciliatory advances to his rival. To lower him more than necessary, when in one, and certainly not the least difficult or important department of poetry, he was confessedly superior to Lomonosov, is not the way to exalt our opinion of the latter. Could we be certain that Lomonosov would have materially added to his fame by

the manuscript being found among his papers, might have led his editor, Novikov, to give it a place among his works.

employing his pen more frequently on literary and poetical subjects, we should regret that he did not do so, instead of occupying himself, as at one time, so much with mosaic painting. For a long while he suffered this fancy—we can scarcely term it any thing else—to engross his leisure and divert him from all except his duties as professor in the Academy. He was constantly importuning his powerful friends Woronzov and Shuvalov, to prevail upon the Empress to furnish funds for conducting experiments upon a large scale, and establishing a mosaic manufactory. Though we cannot but admire the variety and extent of Lomonosov's inquiries, and his excursions into all the neighbouring dependencies of science, we cannot help regarding it as a waste of time, when he applied himself with so much assiduity to what is so mechanical as a branch of art, and so tedious in execution. Had he directed his attention to it merely with the view of discovering improved and more economic processes it would have been different; on the contrary, he actually occupied himself, at intervals, for months and years in operations from which nothing more important resulted than some pattern specimens of his workmanship, and a picture, we are told, representing the battle of Pultava, intended by him for the church of St. Peter and Paul. Some of his friends indeed remonstrated against his thus misapplying his time and talents, instead of proceeding with his History of Russia; but Lomonosov contended that these occupations were peculiarly connected with his chemical pursuits, which had led him to the discovery of a better mode of preparing the requisite materials. Certain it is that these hobbyhorses avocations gave rise to his poem *O Polze Stekla*, (on the Usefulness of Glass,) written in the form of an epistle to Shuvalov, wherein he has enumerated and described the various services of a substance whose commonness causes us to overlook its value. They who are disposed to condemn all poetry of this class will hardly make an exception in favour of this production of Lomonosov's, which cannot be said to contain any very striking passages, or much poetical ornament: yet the subject is by no means without its poetical aspect; for what other human invention has so materially assisted the sciences, revealing to us the wonders of creation from the most distant of discovered planets down to the minutest insects?

Among the biographical pencillings interspersed through the volume—portraits they can hardly be called—that of Popovsky will at least serve to show of what materials the latter portion of the work is constructed.

"While his enemies were thus annoying and persecuting Lomonosov, he unexpectedly discovered an individual after his own heart. Among his pupils was a young student named Popovsky, whose quickness of talent and more than ordinary literary abilities had not escaped the Professor's observation; though he did not fully know what he was capable of producing, until Popovsky ventured to show him his elegy entitled *Zemlya* (Winter). On perusing it Lomonosov at once perceived that there were in it flashes of real talent. This agreeable discovery and the attachment the young poet evinced towards his preceptor, brought the Professor and his pupil into a closer intimacy. The mild and pensive character of the latter, and the fiery, impetuous nature of the former, sympathized in the love which they bore in common to literature.

"Popovsky's poetical style accorded perfectly with Lomonosov's ideas, because he had penetrated into and adopted his mechanism of versification; nor was the Professor at all displeased to find that he himself had been taken as a model. In fact, at that time the real road to poetry was ill understood; it being fancied that the imitation of what was good in itself could not possibly produce what should prove to be bad. Popovsky considered that by imitating Lomonosov he was following him; but the latter advised him to select other models. 'Take courage,' said he, 'and translate something from Horace.'

"'From Horace?' exclaimed the astonished youth, 'how is that possible, when we have as yet not a single poetical translation in our language?—and yet you advise me to make the attempt with so consummate a poet as Horace, the most finished and accomplished classic model!'

"'So much the better—you will then have the honour of being the first to translate a classic author into Russian verse.'

"'I dare not make the venture.'

"'Young man, you do not yet know what you can do. You do not know the strength of your own abilities. Proceed fearlessly, and success will attend your efforts.'

"'The pupil determined to show at least his docility; and in the course of a little time brought Lomonosov a translation he had made of one of Horace's Odes; of no very great merit in itself it must be owned, still the first translation of the kind in Russian. At present it is hardly possible for us to appreciate the value of such an attempt, or the difficulties attending it. Nay, if we take into account what was then the state of our language, how unpolished, and how ill adapted to express with any kind of grace even ordinary ideas;—if, further, we make allowance for the reverential prejudice in which the classics were held, we must in all fairness admit that Popovsky had accomplished something extraordinary, and that Lomonosov was justified in congratulating the young poet on his success.'

In the course of time Popovsky brought

under his arm another young aspirant to poesy and the bays, and whom he introduced to Lomonosov as Mikhael Matvievitch Kheraskov. The latter was rather scandalized—at least in no small degree astonished—at the uncerecermonious freedom wherewith Lomonosov expressed himself with regard to two of the literary celebrities of the day.

“‘You have not the honour of being acquainted with M. Sumarakov.—It is a pity, for he certainly is a very great man indeed!’ said the Professor, laughing very heartily.

“‘You may jest as much as you please,’ observed Popovsky, ‘but for all that, his fame spreads everywhere; the whole town talks of him.’

“‘The whole town talks of him, does it?’

“‘Yes: the actors he sent for from Yaroslavl, have just been performing one of his tragedies at court, and there was no end to applauses.’

“‘Indeed!’

“‘Yes, I assure you it is a positive fact. The Empress herself expressed her entire approbation, both of the performers and the piece.’

“‘If such be the case, our friend Sumarakov will certainly burst with conceit.’

“‘But, Professor, (Kheraskov ventured to ask,) will not you yourself allow that there is great talent displayed in M. Sumarakov’s tragedies?’

“‘Forcing a smile, Lomonosov replied: ‘Some folks may find talent in them, but I should be very glad to discover anything at all in them.’

“‘Permit me, however, to observe that they are written in strict conformity with the plan adhered to by Corneille, Racine, and other great tragic authors.’

“‘I congratulate M. Sumarakov on the resemblance they bear to such eminent poets; though I could never fancy they resembled anything except the productions of his friend Trediakovsky.’

“‘What then, in your opinion, may M. Trediakovsky be?’

“‘An ass.’

“On hearing this decisive though laconic reply, poor Kheraskov’s face betrayed the utmost astonishment, and he was unable to utter a word; while Popovsky smiled, and Stellin, who laughed out heartily, exclaimed: ‘Envy—sheer jealousy and envy, my good friend. Besides, how can you allow yourself to fill these young people’s heads with such very free opinions?’

“‘I speak exactly what I think.—Would you have me disguise the truth from young men?’

“‘By no means, but yet—’

“But yet, indeed! But I say that if people had the honesty to tell stupid authors that they write stupidly; and are stupid fellows, we should be troubled with fewer of them. Here we Russians have just begun to learn our alphabet, and have got already a whole swarm of rhymers and verse-makers.’

“This last remark sounded by no means agreeably to Kheraskov’s ears, for he had then got a copy of verses in his pocket, which he determined should remain there, and not meet the frown of so severe an Aristarchus. Stellin almost immediately after took his leave, whispering to his friend as he quitted the room: ‘I would make any bet that that lad has an itch for poetry.’ Lomonosov smiled, then turning to his two young visitors, renewed the conversation, in the course of which he spared neither Sumarakov nor Trediakovsky. Kheraskov hardly believed his own ears; for he had always found much to admire in both; and indeed held them nearly in the same rank with the great man whom he now had the honour of approaching.

“‘It is very evident,’ observed he to his companion, as soon as they had got into the street, ‘that M. Lomonosov is no friend either to Sumarakov or Trediakovsky; and yet I should be exceedingly happy to be able to write as well as they.’

“In these words we have the full character of the future author of *Vladimir*, the *Rossiada*, and a dozen other heavy and wearisome productions.”

This censure is by far too sweeping and severe; and besides agrees very ill with the mitigating plea which the author himself offers in behalf of Popovsky’s translation from Horace. Most certainly the *Rossiada*—the only production of Kheraskov’s we ourselves have read—is not distinguished by eminent talent, but it is not deficient either in dignity or interest, and contains several spirited passages and ably-conceived scenes and descriptions; among others, those of the land-storm and the dreadful drought which threatened no less than the destruction of the Tzar’s army on its route to Kazan. The prophetic vision which Vassiau, the holy hermit, displays to Ivan, is as good as most poetical machinery of the kind. It must be admitted that the interest flags considerably in the last canto: still, with all its deficiencies, the *Rossiada* is quite as good, if not a better, specimen of the epic than the *Henriade*, almost the only one of which French literature affects to boast. Nay, though decidedly inferior to the *Lusiad* in poetical colouring, the narrative contains as much action, while it is free from that incongruous application of heathen fiction and machinery, so disagreeable in the latter poem. We are countenanced too as regards the author of the *Rossiada*, by the high praises bestowed upon his epics by both Derzhavin and Dmitriev: the first of whom has not scrupled to call him the Virgil of Russia.

Derzhavin himself makes his appearance in a chapter of the work before us, where the author furnishes us with a muster-roll of some

of the company assembled at one of the Princess Dashkov's literary soirées.

"Schlotzer, who was then a fresh importation from Gottingen, bore about him all the marks of a raw German student just let loose from the university. There was, however, something in this young man—he was then barely twenty-seven—that announced the scholar afterwards so greatly distinguished by his labours and researches in Russian history. But the repelling sternness of his physiognomy, the severity of his character, and the bluntness of his language, did not at all recommend him to the literary society of St. Petersburg; so that after about a year's residence in our capital he had formed no acquaintances in it; nor did he seem disposed to except any individual from the abuse he bestowed in general.

"Very different was the character of Pheodor Emin, who has been described by turns as a Turk, a Tartar, a renegade: in fact Heaven only knows what he was in reality. He himself pretended to be a Russian Pole, that is a Pole of Russian extraction. He could speak several European and Oriental tongues; was clever and ready witted; and in some respects might be considered a very agreeable, though not what could be termed a very respectable personage, for his conduct was not of the kind that would bear to be scrutinized. Nevertheless, as he was affable and accommodating with every one, he had every one's good word. Many strange and exceedingly mysterious reports had been bruited abroad concerning him, both as to his adventures, and his having been a renegade; but he himself affected to make very light of them, would laugh at them as absurd stories, and escape from any disagreeable remarks of the kind by the jesting levity with which he turned them aside. Besides, his youth seemed to contradict the multiplicity and variety of adventures laid to his charge.*

"Contrasted to the two preceding, was Prince Shierbatov, a polished man of the world, and accustomed to the best society; but who, having incurred the displeasure of the late emperor, and being in consequence

obliged to resign his command in the guards, now affected the philosopher, and aimed at the reputation of a studious and profound thinker. It is well known that he too was at this time engaged upon a History of Russia.

"Among others not entirely to be passed over in silence were Bulgakov* and Verevkin,† for in one sense of the term at least

* Yakov Ivanovitch Bulgakov, though mentioned very slightly by both Polevoi and Gretch, and merely on account of his literary productions, was so remarkable a character that we need scarcely apologize for introducing some further details respecting him. He was born at Moscow, October 15th, 1743, was fellow student in the university in that city with the celebrated Prince Potemkin, and the friendship thus formed between them continued for the remainder of their lives. Having completed his education, he obtained a post in the College for Foreign Affairs, and was afterwards sent, first to Warsaw as one of the commissioners on the part of the Russian government; next, in 1775, as marshal of the embassy to Constantinople, under Prince Repnin. In 1781 he was again sent to the Ottoman Porte, as envoy in his own person, and exercised his diplomatic talents with such address as to obtain the cession of the Crimea: but, in 1787, the intrigues of other powers prevailed so far with the Sultan as to induce him to declare war against Russia, and Bulgakov was imprisoned in the "Seven Towers," where he remained in strict confinement for seven-and-twenty months. He nevertheless contrived so far to elude the vigilance of his guards, as to carry on a correspondence with Potemkin and the Empress herself. The French ambassador, Choiseul Gouffier, offered to effect his release, on condition that he should immediately embark on board a frigate that was to be secretly in waiting for him; but he indignantly refused the proposition, saying that he would be indebted for his liberty only to the victories of his countrymen. In fact the successes of the Russians at Otchakov and Ismail determined the Sultan to release him without stipulations of any kind. It was during his imprisonment at Constantinople that Bulgakov translated the Abbé de la Porte's *Voyageur Universel*, in twenty-seven volumes; of which translation a fourth edition was published in 1813. Having regained his liberty, he proceeded by sea to Trieste, and from thence to Vienna, where he was received in the most flattering manner by the Emperor Joseph II. On his return to St. Petersburg, Catherine loaded him with honours and rewards; but at the same time new labours were imposed upon him. After visiting his relations at Moscow, where his father had died a few months before at the age of nearly one hundred, he proceeded to Warsaw, where he continued four years, when he solicited and obtained his recall. He now gave himself up to his literary pursuits until the Emperor Paul forced him once more to return to public life, by appointing him governor of Wilna. At length his health compelled him to solicit permission to relinquish his post, in 1799, and he retired to Moscow, where he continued to enjoy the society of many literary friends until his death, July 19, 1809. In his youth he had made a translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, which was first published in 1797, and a third edition of it appeared in 1800. His letters, among which are several to Von Visin and other literary characters, are said to be admirable models of epistolary style.

† Mikhael Ivanovitch Verevkin, who died in 1795, translated Sully's *Memoirs* and a variety of historical and geographical works.

* At the time here referred to, Emin must have been about twenty-eight years of age, having, according to the biographical accounts given of him, been born in 1735. This adventurer—for it is hardly any calumny so to style him, is said to have embraced Mahomedanism, and to have served some time in the corps of Janissaries at Constantinople; and afterwards to have resided awhile in London under the name of Mahommed Emin. He wrote the 'Adventures of Lysarchus and Sarmanda,' and some other now forgotten romances; also a 'History of Russia down to the year 1213,' in which he is accused of having used the privileges of a romance-writer much too freely. Considering the character he bore, it is most astonishing to find that he was the author of a devotional work, entitled "The Way to Salvation." He died at St. Petersburg, where he held the post of translator in the College for Foreign Affairs, April 18, (30) 1770.

they were both great writers, their pens exhibiting a degree of literary industry which is even now by no means very common among us. Verevkin fully justified afterwards the distinction he thus earned for himself, since the translations he published in the course of his life amount to upwards of a hundred volumes, and are, for the most part, of useful and approved works.

"There were also present two young subalterns in the Guards, neither of them above eighteen; whose names were then cyphers, although they have since become immortalized in the annals of Russian literature. Novikov had greatly the advantage of his companion: his physiognomy was highly agreeable and expressive; his person well turned; his address prepossessing; his manner quick and animated: while the other was, to all appearance, quite the reverse—dull, awkward, and bashfully reserved, until he would suddenly become inspired, and give proof that both soul and intelligence were concealed beneath such an unpromising exterior. This other was—DERZHAVIN!"

For the breaking up of the party we cannot stay; but must leave Derzhavin sitting content with the character of listener throughout the evening, Lomonosov to talk with Novikov, and Bulgakov and Verevkin to read to the company extracts from their translation of the Orlando Furioso, and Sully's Memoirs. *Respite finem* is the maxim to which we must now attend; therefore without attempting to follow any further the chronology of Lomonosov's life, all we can now do is merely to attend at its close. This was in some respects melancholy and humiliating;—one which it is painful for the admirers of genius, not merely to contemplate, but to admit as a possibility. Although he had been eminently successful, and infinitely so beyond his earlier prospects, what he had accomplished fell very short of his literary hopes and ambition. When he compared what he had intended to do, and what he might have done, with what he had actually achieved, he felt mortified and disappointed. His former spirit totally deserted him; nor could all the honours heaped upon him by his new sovereign (Catherine II.)—all the sympathy she manifested in whatever concerned him, restore him to his former self. The mischief had proceeded to an extent that admitted no recovery. The means to which Lomonosov had had recourse, if not with the hope of recruiting his energies, at least of lulling his chagrins, served only to embitter and cast a deeper shade over the final scene. He had allowed himself gradually to acquire habits of intemperance, that grew by indulgence; and when, at the express command of the empress herself, he determined to break at

once their spell and fascination, it was too late. The sudden, and so far, perhaps, imprudent change from excess to complete abstemiousness proved too much for his constitution: he sank rapidly, and was carried off, April 16, 1765, when only in his fifty-fourth year, a period of life at which many eminent men have not passed their literary meridian.

We shall not detain our readers by attempting any general estimate of Lomonosov's talents and powers, but content ourselves with observing, that though the literature of his country is more indebted to him than to any other individual, he can hardly be said to have enriched it with any permanent monument of his genius. While the great advance of science since his time has rendered his writings of that class comparatively valueless, his fame as a lyric poet, in which character alone he courted the muses with particular success, has been greatly dimmed by the superior lustre of Derzhavin. In regard to the portraiture which Polevoi has given of him, we should certainly have been better satisfied with the work, had it been more biographical. By attempting to impart to it in some degree the interest of a novel, the author chiefly makes us feel how very far it falls short of one: the introduction of fictitious characters and merely imaginary incidents tends to throw a disagreeable suspicion over the authentic portions. Therefore while we confess to have perused it with considerable interest, as contributing some materials towards the history of Russian literature, we can recommend the work only to readers who are similarly influenced, and willing to accept information of that one kind in lieu of plot and action.

Readers of a lighter class might be far better pleased with "The Kholmisky Family," a novel published a few years since, and of which we have met with some entire chapters, given as extracts in a periodical. Judging from these we should say that it is by far the most natural and manners-painting production of the kind that has issued from the Russian press; one that conveys a livelier and truer picture of the actual state of society in that country, and of the domestic character of the people, than any other that has come under our observation. It may seem extreme presumption in us, who are at present so imperfectly acquainted with it, to say, that in camera-obscura effect it may be compared with some of Miss Austin's productions; but if it answers upon the whole to the specimens which have fallen in our way, it must have a good deal of the same quality, and is perfectly free from that caricature and extravagance which so disagree-

ably disfigure what would else be clever productions; but in which, as too often the case with those of Veltman, grotesque buffoonery is substituted for comic power and richness; and, for pathos, what are little less than the contortions and ravings of the mad-house.

ART. IV.—1. *Esquisse Anecdotique de l'Histoire de la Littérature Française, depuis l'origine de la langue jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.* (Historical, anecdotal, and literary Outline of the principal Writers of France from the Origin of the French Language and Literature to the present period). Par Achilles Albites, B. A. and B. L. de l'Université de Paris. 12mo. 1839.

2. *Les Siècles, ou Histoire Générale pittoresque des temps primitifs, de l'Antiquité, du Moyen Age, et des Temps Modernes; par une Société de gens de lettres; sous la direction de M. A. C. Albites, Avocat.* Tom. I. Paris. 1839.

THE first of these unpretending volumes serves the double purpose of offering a concise, historical outline of the literature of France, and affording us an opportunity of making a few remarks upon the nature and origin of the French language. Like the work itself, however, which might have been, we conceive, considerably extended not only without prejudice but with absolute advantage for the reader, our own remarks must be rapid and brief; rather touching upon some portions of the outline presented, and these too principally in its earlier portion, than assuming a detailed survey of the general subject.

Abjuring formally then, in the outset, the intention of building a formidable battery, historical and philological, against the brain and patience of unhappy readers, to the manifest infraction of their peace, and, for aught we know, that of our sovereign lady the Queen into the bargain, we shall nevertheless feel ourselves at liberty to point the Ithuriel spear of our inquiry, at will, against the body of that "fiend concealed" who has for so long a time lain whispering in the ear of the Historic Eve a series of unwholesome phantasies and lying dreams, that have served to alter materially the fair face of the actual world: and though we do not expect to elicit truth

"Sudden as the spark
From smitten steel, from nitrous grain the blaze,"

yet we do expect even in this slight introductory effort, a mere prelude as it is to more serious attempts, to break cover for studious inquirers, and, from the somewhat dubiously situated Paradise of Philology, to

"Start the fiend in native shape
Confounded and amazed."

Nor, we trust, need the lightest-reading of our readers recoil from this short canto of our Inferno, in fear either of the enemy to be assailed, or, what is more probable, of the guide that is to befriend him, or expect to leave Hope at the entrance.

M. Albites commences his work with the question "How has the French language arisen in the world?" And the answer he gives to this stands in the following words—

"The districts watered by the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone, had in primitive times been peopled, as most of the other countries of Europe, by the Celtæ or Gauls, who came from the East, and by the Kymry, another Celtic tribe, who introduced among them the Druidical religion. Subsequently, in spite of her valour, Gaul no more than the rest of Europe, could escape the all-absorbing power of Rome. Fifty years before the Christian era, the victorious sword of Cæsar definitely subdued Gaul. From that moment she became *Roman*, in her institutions, manners, and language; so much so, that she supplied the Empire with many of those authors who gave some lustre to the decline of Latin literature."

We cannot seriously object in a work like the present, intended only for a slight and cursory view of French literature, that it does not enter into a more detailed examination of the first and preliminary question, since it would be a serious defect in a book intended for the multitude; but we must confess our surprise that more elaborate writers, expressly on philology, should not have taken the trouble of inquiring whence France derived that remarkable peculiarity of her dialect, which distinguishes it so widely from Europe in general; namely, its nasality.

We cannot afford space to enter largely into the matter here; but admitting, what no one probably can doubt, that all Europe has been peopled from the East, a fact established not less satisfactorily by physiology than by language, it next becomes a question whether any of the races that spread from the Orient to the plains of Europe indulged to any extent this nasal peculiarity, and how it was perpetuated to the French nation.

Of the Celtic tribes, who from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, and from the Alps to the Atlantic Ocean, peopled the west of Europe

in such early ages as to have been long considered the Autocthenes of the soil; and who, divided into two branches, the Galli and the Cimbri, formed, the first the states of the Edueni, Sequani, and Arverni, and the latter the Boii, Belgæ, and Armoricans;—extending hence into Britain on the one hand and Italy on the other; we have no literary relics to aid the present inquiry. The utmost that we know with any the slightest approach to certainty is simply this, that, dominated by the Latin, it formed the far-famed *Langue Romane*. We quote from our author:—

“But in the fifth century, Rome was no longer the queen of the world! The empire was invaded on all sides; Gaul fell a prey to the Franks, a Germanic tribe, and sunk, as almost every other country, into the deepest ignorance. The Latin language, though still partially preserved in monasteries, rapidly declined every where else and was transformed into a sort of jargon, which, on account of its principal source, was called *LANGUE ROMANE*, or Romance, the constituent elements of which were:—first, the old Gaulish; second, the Latin clipped and disfigured; and third, a sprinkling of the Teutonic introduced by the Frankish conquerors.”

Though the *Roman* was the earliest, it soon found a formidable rival in the *French* language, which was formed in the north of Gaul by a fusion of the vulgar Latin with the Teutonic idiom of the Franks: but it has been too much the custom for superficial writers to consider these two tongues as derived principally from the Latin, and by corruption; whereas it would rather appear that, as with the author before us, the first and most prominent place in their formation should be ascribed to the Gallic, or Celtic roots.

It is, however, in these two languages that we first trace a tendency to abridge the terminations of the Latin. We use the common form of words; but it is by no means clear to us that it properly conveys that sense we would attach to it; for if the Latin was not the principal root, is not the omission of the terminal syllable less a rejection of the Latin, by an abridgment of or refinement upon, that tongue, than an adherence to the older form of Gallic speech, to which that terminal was unknown?

M. Albites conceives, and with great probability and ingenuity, that the principle of rejection as to terminals was based upon preservation of the last long, or accented, syllable of the root, so as to give this, and this alone. In the words absolutely derived or retained from the Latin such most likely was the case; but this, we submit, was an

inferior portion of the language, from the arguments just adduced; and emanated, not so much from a fixed philosophical principle of grammar, as from the necessity of preserving, so far as practicable, an uniformity in the language; the larger portion of which, as our suggestions tend to point at, being Celtic, was destitute of these terminations.

With the last-mentioned race the elision of the terminal is owing also, in some material degree, to a principle not sufficiently kept in mind by philologists. Language when only orally retained, is subject to two processes of diminution, and one of them into two forms. The first of these is, a suppression of the vowel sound when existing to any great extent, as in the Greek, the Zend, and the Cingalese. The present pronunciation of the Romaic or modern Greek, and perhaps some, and possibly all, dialects of the ancient, have a direct tendency to the suppression of a too copious vocalization, such as reducing the diphthongs into simple sounds, the *oi* into *e*, &c. The same principle, and to a greater extent, is preserved in the Zend, whatever the date or authenticity of that language; and is even far more obvious in the Cingalese, where the vowels in writing are contracted into signs, and yet each word is of formidable length; but in the pronunciation it shrinks into semitic conciseness, giving little more than the consonantal sounds. These instances of contraction are the natural results of familiar intercourse between man and man.

The second tendency to which we have alluded, if arising in some degree from the same source, yet originates still more from an opposite cause; namely, separation and oblivion. As polysyllabic words are (we have elsewhere asserted*) only the aggregation of monosyllabic words;—and the Hebrew evidently has been, the Chinese as obviously is, proof of this allegation; so, in cases where the means of observation have been allowed, separation of men from their families or their fellow-creatures has been followed by elisions of speech; and in two forms; the initial, and the final, syllables: we need scarcely remind our readers that in the American penitentiaries, where solitary confinement had been carried to great lengths, it was found that the prisoner had lost both the commencing and terminating syllables of words; and that, in less protracted cases, it was only the final that were forgotten.

To reduce these instances to our present purpose it will merely be needful to observe, that the earliest forms of migration, like the

* No. 42, Art. Chinese and Egyptian Writing.

Welsh, probably never had, or if they had they lost, the redundant syllables; and wherever we fix the date of the more cultivated Celtic tongues, the approximation of their roots to the Latin never extends to the terminations. The Gallic, therefore, in its amalgamation with the Latin to form the two languages we have especially referred to, the *Roman* and the *French*, conserved its own principle, as established and derived from early migration.

In our present slight inquiry we cannot enter into the question of the source from which this termination was derived. We trust hereafter to show this, and to demonstration.

But since the derivation of European nations and tongues is from the East, it becomes necessary, in the second place, to inquire whether the nasality of the French is not recognizable there, and thus affords another instance of the connection of the East and the West.

The tongues of Hindostan immediately recur to us in putting this question; for there and in the Sanscrit especially, we find the nasal specifically marked and the nicer gradations of its utterance. If, through the Norman French of the Conquest our own tongue received this peculiarity in some degree, where the *n* consonantal lapses into the nasal, this into the fainter nasal of *m*, and sinks altogether silent in various words; as co-temporary or con-temporary; we must not, we suspect, be too fond of referring this to pure Latinity of derivation; the contractions of writing in the middle ages would not alone, certainly, bear out our suspicions, but they connect the point with the omissions of the nasal by Greek writers, as in *aggelos*, angel, sphix, sphinx: which also was precisely the mode of spelling among the ancient Romans, as we find from Priscian, and in the Tuscan, from Varro; so too among the Welsh, or earlier Britons, Ag or Agg stood for Ang, as Agel or Aggel, for Angel. The connection between the Greek and Oriental grammatical forms need not now be asserted, we presume; the Greek had little influence upon the French tongue; the Celtic portion of the Greek is not the identical, but counterpart of the Celtic portion of the Latin; and this last language scarcely acknowledges the nasality, save in its elisions in the scansion of verse, where, as though the final *m* were at will a nonentity, the vowel preceding it slides into the vowel commencing the next word, exactly as when the *m* does not intervene,—thus our fairer readers will notice,

where the *m* is twice sounded and once omitted altogether.

From the fact that the Brahmins (to whom it has pleased the learned of Europe to attribute all the civilisation of Hindostan,) having no pretensions to migration,—unless the faint tradition of silver and gold pyramids built in Egypt be a proof in their vindication;—it may be safely inferred that this nasality did not come to Europe or France direct from them, any more than from the Greeks. It is, however, as remarkable as it is unquestionable that, as we have previously shown, (No. 39, October, 1837, Art. Lassen,) the old Persian language of the arrow-head inscriptions establishes it to have existed in the time of Darius and Cyrus. The Celts, whom we trace to Persia by affinity of language, were eminently migratory; the Zend, found among a migrated Persian race, fire-worshippers, in India, strongly affects the nasal sound; and to this instance of Eastward migration we subjoin one to the West, namely, the Etruscans, whose language, says Porphyry, resembles the scream of the eagle; *i. e.* it was nasal. And regarding whom in the second title at the head of this paper it is observed that the Pelasgic idiom served to form the Greek and the ancient Italian language, the Etruscan, and that their Cyclopean labours have astonished succeeding ages.

From the foregoing it follows, we submit, that the nasal sound of the French tongue is derived through the Celts from Persia itself; and that the elision of final syllables in various words, has, though accidentally, yet necessarily made it more so.

The desinence of terminations in the French, and the consequent confusion of case, rendered necessary the perpetual use of the article, which the Latin and German disregard, and the Greek especially affects, as likewise the Arabic. To this last, we suspect, the use is due chiefly, but not entirely; for though the *l* as a liquid or vowel is interchangeable with *o*, while the Spaniards have adopted the Arabic particle *el* unquestionably, the Portuguese, widely as the Arabic language is transfused into theirs, retain the forms *o*, *a*, as masculine and feminine, exactly as the Greek. We do not hesitate, therefore, to avow our belief that in Spain, France, and why not in Italy, the introduction of the liquid is a substitute for the vowel form of the article, which, obliterated in Spain, remains untouched in the native language of that country till the 11th century, viz., the Portuguese; while the liquid and the vocalic still contest possession of the French and Italian languages: as the *du*

for masc. de *la*, fem. and *aux* plural, in the former; *il*, *gli*, *i*, in the latter tongue.

We must return to our author and Charlemagne.

"In the meanwhile (eighth century) the vernacular language, the *Roman*, continued to receive modifications, and towards the end of the TENTH CENTURY it was already divided into two dialects; that of the south of France, or *Langue d'Oc*, and that of the north, or *Langue d'Oil*; thus named from their respective modes of affirmation. The language of Italy was in the same manner distinguished by the name of *Lingua del Sì*.

"*'Il bel paese là dove 'l Sì suona,'*
says Dante."

We quote for remark some further extracts:—

"The *Langue d'Oc*, or *Provençale*, which had preserved greater analogy with the Latin, was harmonious, sonorous, and cultivated by the poets of love, the bards of the *gaie-science*, the Troubadours. The *Langue d'Oil*, *d'Oui*, or Wallon romance, spoken to the north of the Loire (the boundary of the two dialects), had departed more widely from its Italic origin, and felt more powerfully the contact of the Germans, Normans, and other barbarians. If the Troubadours were the poets who, at least in general, sang forth the feelings of the heart, the Trouvères, the rhymers of the *Langue d'Oil*, had for their portion, wit, satire, *gausserie*, and withal a great deal of naïveté. These were the qualities of the old Gaulish character; principally displayed in the *Fabliaux*, or Tales, but the warlike element of the north was likewise manifested in the *Langue d'Oil*. This heroic spirit was embodied in enormous chivalric poems, called *Chansons de Gestes* (from the Latin word *gesta*, exploits, achievements), or *Romans des douze Pairs*, because the Peers of Charlemagne were their principal heroes. It shone also in the *Romans de la Table Ronde*, the actors of which are the brave king Arthur of Wales and his knights, *Erranti che di sogni empion le carte*!*

"These remarkable poems were composed chiefly in the ELEVENTH and TWELFTH CENTURIES, when the prodigies of Gothic architecture were raised towards heaven.

"The ruin of the Provençal language was consummated by the cruel war waged by the northern lords against the unhappy Albigenes. The southern province, *Languedoc* (called so on account of the language there spoken), was filled with ruin and slaughter. These disasters covered the lyre of the Troubadour with a mourning veil, and silenced it for ever!

"The '*langue d'Oc*' is vanquished and becomes a jargon, a gibberish; the '*langue d'Oil*, *d'oui*,' is triumphant, and finally becomes the '*Langue Française*!'

"*'Habent sua fata*!'

"Another event greatly contributed to the success of the French language: William the Conqueror had carried it with his sword to England. The battle-cry of his army at Hastings was '*Notre Dame! Dieu aide! Dieu aide!*' William ordered that the French language should be the official language of business; he even commanded that in schools children should learn the French first, the Latin afterwards, provided they had time for it.

"No wonder then that some of the first literary monuments of the French language had England for their cradle.

"In the twelfth century, ROBERT WACE, the author of the *Roman du Rou*, a poem celebrating the exploits of Norman chiefs, thus begins a narrative of the battle of Hastings. He says that Taillefer, a minstrel, went before the warriors, singing warlike songs:

"*'Taillefer qui molt bien cantoit
Sur un cheval qui tost aloit
Divant eux s'en alloit cantant
De Carlemaine et de Rolant.'*

"In these antique lines the French language may be easily recognized."

The Troubadours and Troveres have been highly rated, but less perhaps from their intrinsic value than from the circumstances of the age and of their position. They certainly had a taste for nature; but in the absence of classic models, they soon learned to pervert it into the fanciful or brilliant. Poetry was with them assuredly rather the means than the end: for the spirit of the French people seems ever to have been too active and restless for the calm and contemplative enjoyment of the muse; she was with them a taste rather than a passion, an object of courtly gallantry rather than of worship. The Celtic races too retained their peculiar tendency even when they resorted to her aid. They imitated rather than originated; and theirs, the fanciful school, was formed by AN ABSOLUTE MISTAKE, of metaphorical for fanciful language. This is well worth illustrating.

We have elsewhere* noticed that the necessity of an historical poem led Ferdousi to compose his great work, the *Shah Nameh* or history of the Kings of Persia. Compelled to embody various adventures and wars into single achievements, and different historical characters into one all-accomplishing heroic personage, from the impossibility of preserving the interest of his narrative otherwise;—and even the present extent of his poem is fatal to its popularity;—compelled thus to employ figurative language and dress up history in metaphor, the allusions

* Who, wandering, fill many a leaf with dreams!—TASSO.

† See F. Q. R. No. 44, p. 214, Article *Arabs in Italy*.

which his more immediate audience might in the spirit of Eastern taste have received, comprehended, and allowed for, were by strange nations taken in their literal sense, as fanciful and fabulous, not allegorical. While the Spaniard, therefore, and the Teutonic races, the latter from their oriental origin, the former from their Arab masters and their own Gothic reminiscences perhaps, adapted their poetry to narrative ballads and the adventures and achievements of actual persons, the eager fancy of the French, like the vivid genius of Ariosto, ran at once into the channel of the imaginative and marvellous; adhering, as we have shown, to these foreign, Persian originals, but interpreting their historic allegory into romantic phrensy. The Celt in truth everywhere seems to have required the inspiration of a foreign genius in the peaceful art of poetry, and more especially in the narrative; The Earse, the Gael, the Carthaginian, were mute; as might have been the Roman, but for the influence of Greece.* Talent, sarcasm, shrewdness, brilliance, perspicuity; the graces of writing, not its majesty, were native to France; but her national genius was active not contemplative, eager rather than serious, more ardent than imaginative: its efforts at dignity were tinged with exaggeration, the impressions it produced more immediate than lasting, its powers were in the senses rather than in the soul; the triumph of effect, not the pause of emotion.

"THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

"In this age GUILLAUME DE LORRIS composed *Le Roman de la Rose*, a tedious and endless allegorical poem which enjoyed in France a great celebrity.

"It seems that the victorious 'langue d'Oui' had already acquired in Europe some reputation, for BRUNETTO LATINI, the master of Dante—the father of Italian poetry, wrote in French his *Petit Trésor* which is a sort of little encyclopædia of the learning of that time. He thus gives his reasons for having written in the French tongue: 'Et se aucun demandoit pour quoy ce livre est escript en Romans selon le parler de France, pour ce que nous sommes Ytaliens, je diroie que ce est pour deux raisons:—l'une que nous sommes en France;—l'autre pour ce que la parleure est plus délitale et plus commune à touz langages.'

"FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

"JOINVILLE, who died very old in the fourteenth century, was, both in language and style, very superior to his predecessor VILLEHARDUIN, the historian of *La Conquête de Constantinople* by the crusaders. He wrote with charming simplicity *La Vie de St. Louis*, his king and friend, whom he had ac-

companied to the Holy Land. 'Grans persécutions et miseres,' says he, 'le bon roy Saint Loys et tous nous avons souffertés et endurées outremer.'

"This age was rent by foreign and civil wars, and plunged in misery. They left neither leisure nor thought for literature.

"FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

"FROISSART, who, by the date of his death, belongs to this century, had wandered, 'en chevauchant,' on horseback, the highways and by-ways; less to meet with chivalric adventures, as the 'ingenioso hidalgo de la Mancha,' than to hunt after talkative 'anciens chevaliers, écuyers et héraults d'armes,' for he wanted to fill his romantic and animated *Chroniques de France, d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et de Bretagne*. Froissart, who had received from Sir Walter Scott the honour of being called his master, was not only an interesting chronicler, he was also a poet, and perhaps a better one than ALAIN CHARTIER, who was, however, deemed the most talented, but also, as a drawback, the most ugly man of his time.

"Nevertheless, on a certain occasion, he received a pleasing mark of estimation. One day, when Alain Chartier had fallen asleep upon a chair in the hall of the royal palace, the beautiful Marguerite of Scotland, wife of the dauphin who afterwards reigned as Louis XI., passed by chance through the hall. Seeing Alain asleep, the princess approached gently and kissed him. As the surrounding courtiers were astonished at this 'faveur,' Marguerite immediately said: 'Je n'ai pas donné un baiser à l'homme, mais à la bouche dont sont issus tant d'excellens propos, matières graves, et paroles élégantes.'

"Notwithstanding this flattering opinion, the true poet of the fifteenth century was CHARLES, DUKE OF ORLEANS, who, taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, remained in England twenty-five years. The charms of poetry relieved the weariness of his exile. Thus he sang the renewal of nature—Spring:

"Le temps a laissié son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye,
Et s'est vestu de broderye
De soleil luisant, cler et beau.
Il n'y a beste, ne oiseau
Qu'en son jargon ne chante ou crye:
Le temps a laissié son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye."

We may pass over Philip de Commynes, Marot, "the father of letters," and Montaigne; and need merely remark of Rabelais, that his spirit seems to have fallen precisely within the category of our preceding observations. With the furious storm of the Reformation raging round him, the lively Frenchman alone could not afford to be serious, and launched only the poisoned arrows of his wit in aid of the massive clubs and battering-rams of Luther and the Reformers.

* See F. Q. R. No. 44, Art. *Italy*.

"In respect to language, Montaigne, Amyot,* the graceful translator of *Plutarch* and *Longus*, and also poor Villon, the ragamuffin Paris poet—'gamin de Paris,' may be considered as the last representatives of the old naïveté of Gaul. Ronsard, who lived in the most enthusiastic period of the revival of classic literature; Ronsard, the contemporary of the Scaligers, of Turnebus, Muretus, Cassaubon, Erasmus, wished to change the character of the French language, and render it more learned; more similar by combinations of words and inversions to the classical tongues of antiquity.

'Mais sa muse, en Francois, parlant Grec et Latin,'

his hard-labouring muse did not long find imitators. But though the attempt of Ronsard at thus violently changing the forms of the French language was without result, it must, however, be acknowledged that the prince of poets, and the poet of princes, as he was called, had talents, and was not deficient in grandeur.

"Besides, the poems of Ronsard consoled the unfortunate Mary Stuart, recalling to her heart France and her happy days!

"Who has not heard the touching lines she traced on board the vessel which was conveying her to Scotland, at the moment when the shores of France disappeared from her eyes!

" 'Adieu, plaisant pays de France!

O ma patrie

La plus chérie,

Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!

Adieu, France! adieu, mes beaux jours!"

Upon which our author, eminently French, exclaims

* We subjoin a specimen of the French of this time from Amyot's translation of *Plutarch's* life of *Julius Cæsar*.—

"Mais la malveillance grande que luy porta Clodius, commença par telle occasion; cestuy Clodius estoit de bien noble maison, ieune d'aage, et au demeurant homme temeraire et insolent: et estant amoureux de Pompeia la femme de Cæsar, il trouua moyen d'entrer secrettement dedans la maison en habit et avec l'equipage d'une ieune garce menestriere, pource que ce iour-là les Dames Romaines faisoient en la maison de Cæsar ce sacrifice là solennel et secret, qu'il n'est pas loysible de voir aus masles, et pour ceste cause n'y auoit homme du monde sinon Clodius, qui esperoit qu'on ne le cognoistroit point, à cause qu'il estoit ieune garçon n'ayât point de barbe, et qu'il pourroit par ce moyen s'approcher de Pompeia parmy les femmes: mais estant entré la nuit dedans ceste maison grâde, dont il ne sçauoit pas les estres, il y eut vne des chambrières d'Aurelia mere de Cæsar, qui le voyant aller errât çà et là par la maison, luy demanda qui il estoit et comme il auoit nom: si fut contraint de parler, et dit qu'il cherchoit l'une des seruantes de Pompeia qui s'appelloit Abra. La chambrière cognut incontinent que ce n'estoit point la voix ny la parole d'une femme, et s'escria, et appella les autres femmes, lesquelles fermerent tresbien les portes et chercherent par tout tellement qu'elles le trouverent dedans la chambre de la seruante avec laquelle il estoit entré. Le bruit de ce scandale fut incontinent diuulgue par tout."

"Ah! there are tears in this adieu, and as it were, a vague presentiment of—Fotheringay."

We take another extract.

"SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

"The French language in passing through the hands of Joinville, Marot, and Montaigne, became by degrees more pure, more perfect. Its infancy was followed by adolescence; and now, arrived at the seventeenth century, it had reached maturity, and Malherbe, that severe tyrant of words and syllables, is the poet from whose hands it received the robe of manhood.

"Listen how Boileau describes this memorable literary epoch:

" 'Enfin Malherbe vint, et le premier en France,
Fît sentir dans les vers une juste cadence.
Les stances, avec grace apprirent à tomber
Et le vers sur le vers n'osa plus enjamber.
Tout reconnut ses lois, et ce guide fidèle
Aux auteurs de ce temps sert encore de modèle.'

"In order to appreciate the correctness of Boileau's judgment, here are some stanzas which Malherbe addressed to Du Perrier, mourning the loss of his daughter:

" 'Mais elle était du monde, où les plus belles choses
Ont le pire destin;
Et, rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses:
L'espace d'un matin.
La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles,
On a beau la prier,
La cruelle qu'elle est se bouche les oreilles,
Et nous laisse crier.
Le pauvre en sa cabane, où le chaume le couvre,
Est sujet à ses lois;
Et la garde, qui veille aux barrières du Louvre
N'en défend pas nos rois.'*

But the world had lain so long in an intellectual darkness, the dogmas of the schoolmen had imposed so severe a restraint upon the commonest efforts of the mind, and had chained reason so closely to the chariot-wheels of an assuming and dictatorial emptiness, which at every subtle turn prostrated and crushed the independent, substantive form of thought, that humanity could bear it no longer. It has often been remarked that there are at times absolute crises in the human spirit, when various individuals gifted with equal, though perhaps essentially differing powers, come forward with rival energies to throw off from themselves and the world, the yoke of an unsparing and blinded

* But she was of the world, where the loveliest things meet the severest destiny; and as a rose, she has lived the time that roses live—a morning.

Death has rigours exceeding every other: it is in vain to beseech him. Cruel as he is, he shuts his ears and lets us cry on.

The poor in his thatch-covered hut is subject to his laws, and the guard at the palace-gate of the Louvre cannot keep him from our kings.

tyranny. It is undoubtedly true that the social, like the moral and the physical body, is apt to stagnate in its humours by observing an undeviating course; and that an effort of nature follows to get rid of the humours, attended, however, according to circumstances, with various success. The weight of a moveless despotism over the faculties of the mind, bearing down or preventing every exercise of its powers, and this too, when activity is the very condition of its existence, at last becomes irksome and intolerable.—The efforts against this state of things are, and have probably always been, far more frequent than is generally supposed: but the want of eventual success to these efforts, and their restriction within the narrow circle of the mover's own immediate sphere, has perhaps frequently arisen from a want that we do not remember ever to have seen defined. It is not the want of motive power in the originator, so much as the absence of a weaker but more subtle assistant, who, if incapable of the original vigour and masculine energy of the motor, yet possesses the useful capacity of a recipient, a feminine principle of absorbing and fostering the first germ, and bringing it forth in an advanced stage of effectiveness and strength. The masculine energies of Luther found such condiscipulation and sympathy in the less vigorous, but more winning labours of Melancthon, Calvin, &c.; and eminent as were these last named men, their existence might possibly have been even unknown, had they not been called into the full exercise of their extraordinary faculties by a mind more extraordinary, at least in vigour, than their own. It is these adapted combinations, if we may use the term, that form the crises; the genius of the leader fills up the chasms of intellect, and inferior energies that assume the various parts appear almost in rival effectiveness, because each portion is combined by the leader's genius into one united effort; and the deficiency of the separate instruments is relieved by the mighty bass, that actuates and harmonizes the whole.

“Malherbe, the severe, and perhaps the too severe reformer of French literature, died two years after the English reformer of science, the author of the *Novum Organum*, the great Bacon; about the same time as DESCARTES, whose starting point was his *Discours sur la Méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans la science*. Descartes was the author in France of a scientific revolution analogous to that of the illustrious chancellor of Elizabeth. It may be said that both of them dethroned the ‘ipse dixit’ of the scholastics, and introduced as well in metaphysics as in natural philosophy the principle that Luther had already en-

forced in theology—the great principle of free examination.

“In the chronological, as in the analogical order, there now appears another amazing genius, BLAISE PASCAL, who, yet a child, dived deeply into mathematics by the strength of his own unaided thought; who discovered the weight of the air; and gave in the *Lettres Provinciales*, written against the Jesuits, the model of the most spirited French prose and the most triumphant logic. He was scarcely thirty-one, when one day his carriage having been nearly overturned into the Seine near the bridge of Neuilly, the great thinker considered this event as a warning from God, and from that time he always fancied himself on the brink of a precipice. He soon after died. On being opened the stomach and the liver were found dried, and the brains were almost of a solid consistence.

“‘Qu’est—ce que l’homme dans la nature?’ asks Pascal in his *Pensées*. ‘Un néant à l’égard de l’infini.’ What a train of meditation is opened by the following reflection: Man is only a reed, the weakest in nature, but it is a reed that thinks! L’homme n’est qu’un roseau, le plus faible de la nature; mais c’est un roseau pensant. Il ne faut pas que l’univers entier s’arme pour l’écraser. Une vapeur, une goutte d’eau suffit pour le tuer. Mais quand l’univers l’écraserait, l’homme serait encore plus noble que ce qui le tue, parcequ’il sait qu’il meurt; et l’avantage que l’univers a sur lui, l’univers n’en sait rien. Ainsi toute notre dignité consiste dans la pensée. C’est de là qu’il faut nous relever, non de l’espace et de la durée.”

We need not dwell longer upon the romantic turn of French literature to the days of the Scuderi, and which our author has passed unnoticed; the sources of real feeling and poetry had been opened by Shakspeare, Calderon, and Camoens; and the Knight of La Mancha had achieved a task to which his wildest aspirations had never aspired, by singly vanquishing and driving from the field the Amadis and Palmerins, and all the other flowers of chivalry.

We cannot pass by Molière, at once the Terence and Shakspeare of France; and add an anecdote of him, to give a specimen of M. Albites’ taste.

“Six years had elapsed since Shakspeare and Cervantes, kings of the drama and romance, had departed, when in Paris, in a house on the Rue St. Honoré, near la Halle, was born their brother genius, the immortal MOLIERE. It was in 1622. Since the Mysteries, the Moralities, the Sotties, strange dramas of the middle ages, had ceased to be performed, France had had nothing remarkable on the stage. In the seventeenth century Molière came, and presented his country with true comedy; Corneille had already bestowed on it tragedy. Like Shakspeare, Molière was both an actor and an author.

His first important step in the career was the comedy of the *Précieuses Ridicules*, in which, according to the precept of Horace, 'Castigat ridendo mores.' This aim he attained; for the mania of affected wit, which at that time infected the society of Paris, disappeared under Molière's lash. *L'Ecole des Maris* showed, in the education of women, the superiority of reason and mildness over severity and ignorance. In the *Mariage Forcé* Molière exposes old Sganarelle who marries a woman greatly younger than himself. Who could believe that, two years before, the author himself had fallen into a similar error! At the age of forty he had married the young Madlle. Amande, who was scarcely sixteen! Yet if she had but appreciated her elevated position!—the wife of such a great man! But, no, far from it, she rendered him very unhappy. Yet he never could cease to love her."

"One day Chapelle, a school-fellow, arrived at Auteuil with some *bons-vivans*. 'We are coming to dine with you!' cried Chapelle, as soon as he perceived him. 'You are welcome,' said Molière. He had a good dinner prepared, and prayed Chapelle to do the honours of his house, for, as to himself, feeling unwell, he retired after having merely taken a cup of milk. The beginning of the dinner was only merry; but during the dessert the libations (not of milk) succeeded each other in great number, and soon the reason of the guests began 'à battre la campagne.' At first it was a tumultuous medley of follies; but one grave word having by chance found its way there, the jolly fellows seized upon it, and behold! the conversation takes a serious strain. 'Life! what is life! what a sad thing is life! Away with life!' 'Gentlemen, a luminous idea strikes me,' cried one of the guests, 'we all agree that life is a stupid thing; why do we not rid ourselves of it! What if we were to go to the river and drown ourselves! Would it not be wonderfully glorious?'

"'Bravo! bravo! approved!' exclaimed all, 'let us go and drown ourselves!' They tumultuously vacate the dining-room and hasten to the river. The noise attracted a few inhabitants of the village; they made an attempt to prevent them from executing their project; the champagne drinkers become furious; they draw their swords and begin to pursue, but not with the firmest steps, their good-hearted would-be deliverers, who fly and take refuge in Molière's house. The tremendous noise awakes him; he gets up. Chapelle and his companions arrive, incensed with fury, and crying—'Villains, rascals, scamps, impertinents!—to prevent gentlemen from drowning themselves!' Molière, who perceives that the wine is still acting on them with all its strength, severely scolds the peasants and orders them to retire. Then addressing his guests—'You want to drown yourselves, gentlemen: egad! you are right: it is a very good idea. I have, however, greatly to complain of you—I thought we were better friends. What! you

nobly resolve to give up the game, and you go away without me! Ah! it is very wrong!'

"'He is right,' vociferated our drunkards; 'but let us repair our fault; let us go, Molière, and drown ourselves together.'

"'Certainly, let us be off;' said Molière, 'to the river!'

"But suddenly stopping;—'My friends, a reflection strikes me; is this a suitable hour for so fine and glorious an action? To-morrow, in Paris, they would say that we have chosen night from motives of timidity: they would perhaps say that it was a resolution of people who had just left the table. Will it not be much better, in order to have all the fame we deserve, to drown ourselves to-morrow morning in sober earnest, and in broad daylight? Our glory will then be immortal!'

"'Why, he is right!—he is always right, ce diable de Molière!'

"'Now, my comrades, go to bed; to-morrow the great feat.'

"'Yes, to-morrow.' 'To-morrow.'

"Next morning, at ten o'clock, the breakfast bell was heard. The boon companions were awakened from a very sound sleep. The fumes of the wine had subsided, and they felt themselves more disposed to eat a hearty breakfast than to take their last bath in the Seine.

Of Corneille and Racine we need say little; the immense difference on principle between the English and French stage, arising in great measure obviously from the causes we have pointed out in a preceding part of this article, preclude us from the task of appreciating genius so foreign to our own country and habits. With every admiration of their undoubted powers, we cannot help imagining that their object was rather a school than an audience; to edify and astonish more than associate with; to grace, ennoble, and elevate rather than sway; to regulate and form, more than to move. Their works seem poems rather than plays; imaginative more than impassioned; a painting in fresco preferred to reality. The very Claudes of poetry, where Nature must be dressed by Art. They have, to our judgment, more eye to display than to feeling, more tendency to declamation and sentiment than the truth of genuine impulses can afford to waste on them: they are, however, magnificent exteriors. The fault lies with the genus and not with the author perhaps; his genius is evident and great, but unfortunately his art is still more evident and greater. The comparison of the English and French stage bears some analogy to that between Greek and Roman genius.

We have passed over several names for that of Montesquieu; our object being to give, where it is practicable, novel views on a subject so familiar as French literature to our readers.

"The first strong attack against the manners, the institutions, the establishments of France and Europe in general, is that of the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu. The plan of these letters is of the same nature as Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. In spite of the success the *Lettres Persanes* met with, Montesquieu did not continue in the same career. A member of a family belonging to the magistracy, himself a president in the "Parlement de Bordeaux," he abandoned light literature to dedicate himself to the grave studies of law. He took such interest in laws, principally in their relation to history, that in order to have leisure for the production of some future work, he left his presidency and retired to his estate of 'La Brède.' Other motives also induced him to withdraw from the 'Parlement' (court of justice). He did not possess all the dispositions necessary for a tribunal; he was deficient in readiness of mind. He could do nothing without meditation. 'Cette continuelle présence d'esprit,' says M. Walckenaer, 'ce jugement prompt et facile, cette patience attentive qui suit dans tous ses détails les détours de l'intérêt privé; cette facilité d'élocution qui fait ressentir aux yeux des autres la vérité et la justice qu'on n'a qu'un instant pour discerner, qu'un instant pour faire triompher; toutes ces qualités indispensables dans un juge manquaient entièrement en Montesquieu.'

"He travelled through Italy, Switzerland and Holland. At the Hague he met Lord Chesterfield who offered him a place in his yacht to cross over to England. Here the Royal Society elected him one of their members. He professed to conform himself to the disposition of every nation. 'Quand je suis en France,' said he, 'je fais amitié à tout le monde; en Angleterre je n'en fais à personne; en Italie je fais des compliments à tout le monde; en Allemagne je bois avec tout le monde.'

"Montesquieu returned to *La Brède*, and published his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains*, written with the pen of a Tacitus. Fourteen years afterwards appeared his *Esprit des Loix*, an extraordinary monument of reason, erudition, and terseness of style; in which he endeavours to show what has been the essence, the spirit of laws public and private, among all nations, and at every period.

"A part is dedicated to the analysis of the constitution of England, of which he shows himself a great admirer. The work begins with this broad definition of laws:—'Les lois, dans leur signification la plus étendue, sont les rapports nécessaires qui dérivent de la nature des choses, et dans ce sens tous les êtres ont leurs lois: La Divinité a ses lois, les intelligences supérieures à l'homme ont leurs lois, les bêtes ont leurs lois, l'homme a ses lois.'

The President has been almost as unjustly decried of late as he was overpraised formerly: but with all his defects he was the

first in France to apply popularly, to the study of Ancient History, the spirit of original thinking engendered by Montaigne.

We quote the passage respecting Buffon—

"Buffon, a great naturalist and a great writer, kept apart still more than Montesquieu from the passions of the times, and devoted all his life to the composition of his beautiful *Histoire Naturelle*, of which on account of its elaborate though beautiful style, Voltaire chose to say, '*Pas si naturelle*.' Buffon died before it was completed, but he has had worthy continuators in Cuvier and Lacépède. It is Buffon who, having deeply meditated on the art of writing, uttered this truth: 'Le style est l'homme.'

We may add here an anecdote related by Grimm, and characteristic of this eloquent writer.

In the decline of his life a friend calling upon him, asked how he employed his time. "In correcting my works," he answered, "and improving the style in some parts. The greater part cannot be improved."

Our space warns us to conclude; and we take but one extract more; it is of Napoleon, of whom it was said by Fox that he would have been, or was, a greater poet than Homer!

"Napoleon Buonaparte, General, Consul—Emperor, re-established order. The muses began to show themselves, but the great captain, *membre de l'Institut*, mistrusted them; he allowed them words, but he did not like them to think. After having received from this master of military eloquence, from the new Charlemagne, that which the past devastation rendered so necessary—Laws and laurels, order and glory,—France thirsted for peace, and also for moderate liberty. This the great soldier refused. Napoleon performed only half the necessary task; he knew how to give order; liberty he willed not. He fell.

"Since that period France, in the midst of many vicissitudes, has progressed at last in her desired career. Literature, of course, has felt the influence of this direction. All the great questions which agitate the human mind have again been studied, and continue to be meditated: God, Religion, Morality; theories of Psychology, Metaphysics, Æsthetics; in one word Philosophy;—the Physical world, Political economy, Constitution of Property, Association, Legislation, Government;—none of these high subjects have been neglected. In an æsthetic point of view, French Literature was divided at first into two camps: one was that of the great champions of certain Aristotelian rules which are nowhere mentioned by Aristotle; who were at the same time great partisans of the literary forms of the age of Louis XIV., and were called *Classiques*: the other was the camp of the innovators, or partisans of the free forms which they saw generally adopted in foreign literature, and were called *Romantiques*. But now the liberal minded of the two parties are no longer adversaries; they have agreed to admire and love the good and the

beautiful wherever it may present itself, either in Racine, in Dante, Shakspeare, Schiller, or Calde-ron.

"Some persons, only partially acquainted with the actual state of Literature in France, have imbibed unfavourable prejudices. Their dislike is generally derived from having perceived that some French modern novels have an injurious tendency. But what literature, what period, is entirely pure, entirely exempt from bad or tedious books? Is it just to condemn all for the faults of a few?"

We give the author of these very slight sketches the full benefit of this very slight defence.

In thus lightly touching upon some peculiarities of the French language and literature, while reserving more detailed examination of both for a future occasion, we cannot help avowing a suspicion that the early grace and brilliance of the Troubadours and Troveres, refining upon Latin taste and concision alone, and uninterfused with any admixture of Greek vigour and amplitude, or of Eastern exaggeration of thought and feeling, produced the worst effects upon French genius in after times, by narrowing its basis and inculcating a severity of thought and chasteness of style in poetry that leads too nearly to emasculation. The Latins had refined upon the Greeks; the French refined upon the Latins; their poetry therefore has been in great measure that of the successors of Virgil; imitation of imitation, severed by one remove the more from Homer and from Nature. The error of Malherbe and others was, that in striving to perpetuate precision they forgot intensity; forgot that completeness to the ear is not by any means capaciousness to the mind, and that in guarding against inaccuracy of thought and slovenliness of language by exactitude and definiteness, they were risking the substitution of polish for nature, effect for emotion; and of closing at least one avenue of the sublime.

The thought and its expression are too closely connected to allow of two dissimilar processes for these two components of poetry; the ocean of human feelings cannot be smooth at the surface while passion is heaving the depths below: the labour of the former perfected, the poet must stop in his nobler impulse to polish and smoothe over his sensations: the sister-art of the chisel has divided a similar labour; or else in this and in all such cases the effect has been, that the obvious and external has outweighed the power within, and the artist of sublimity has sunk into the dancing-master.

Poetry as an art can never, in truth, bear any rules but those which nature herself

suggests to the poet. There are abundance of rhymesters undoubtedly who mistake their phantasies for her dictates, but passing by these Ixions, the real poet is as timid of others as he is confident in himself. If then he finds "a pre-established harmony" in force against him from the outset, he will either conform to it by curtailing his own spirit, give up the task in despair, or rush from mere terror into desperation; and the failure consequent on this last will deter farther attempt.

France had no proper ballad literature: her poets sung to the Court, not to the People, and their labours consequently partook of courtly affectation, not of popular truth. French poetry existed in its artificial state at home; it was rejected, or modified, so soon as it got abroad.

The Reformation, too, that forced a popular element into the social system of Europe, was rejected in France, and finally driven out by the Edict of Nantes. It fell on barren ground, sprang up, and soon withered away there, while in Germany and England it produced a hundred-fold, by crushing the remains of feudal tyranny and eradicating its very impressions from the mind. In Elizabeth's reign chivalry and its niceties was a taste, and of the court alone, not an idol of the nation; and the final influence of the cavaliers sunk in the great rebellion. Dryden, if a follower of the French, could not be called French, for he delighted to sleep on the precipices of obscurity and to dwell in the realms where light and darkness mingle. The admirers of Pope himself were astounded by the vigour of Johnson, and Goldsmith's simplicity produced a more lasting effect than the sweet artifice of Collins. The French school in England thus existed but for a day.

To Germany its effect was more injurious, as it was also more lasting there; patronized as it was by the Great Frederic especially: but the vigour of German genius threw off the yoke at length.

In France itself the cause of the artificial received its death-blow at the Revolution, though in this, its native seat, it has long staggered in convulsive energies and monstrous imaginations, the reaction of oppressed nature, the certain presage of approximate dissolution. The universality of "the Mar-seillaise" was the first diagnostic, and Beranger has completed the work of that prototype Hymn. We cannot enter upon the great names of living France at this stage of our article, but reserve the consideration for a better opportunity.

ART. V.—*Ludwig Tieck's Gesammelte Novellen. Vermehrt und verbessert. Acht Bande.* (The Collected Tales of Ludwig Tieck. Enlarged and Improved. 8 vols.) Breslau. 1838.

WE have lately combated in this journal, and not, we hope, altogether without success, the pretensions of the Germans to be regarded as models of taste and the leaders of literature in general. The success of these pretensions has been not in proportion to their justice, but to the cool assumption and self-complacency with which they were broached at home, and to the mystery and ambiguous reserve of their supporters abroad. Where men are disposed to praise, and ambitious, in praising, of displaying their own discernment, nothing favours their object so much as meeting with authors who are at once vague and heavy, dull and ostentatious; who furnish an indefinite outline which they can fill up at choice, or matter which they can safely interpret as they please, so obscure is its purport, and so few the competitors in the task of expounding studied no-meaning.

We are ready fully to acknowledge the valuable services which the Germans have rendered, and are rendering, to science; and we cannot but recognize in their literature an exuberant vitality which manifests itself in the most diversified, if not always the most healthy forms; but we must maintain that in no other country are the tares so thickly sown with the wheat, and that in none other is such caution necessary to avoid being bewildered by lights which blaze only to betray.

The Germans, too generally enveloped in clouds of speculation, are favourites with some, precisely because their writings frequently admit no end to inquiry. To those who delight to vacillate between given points—to shrink from conviction into doubt—to divest themselves of what they term individual, subjective, one-sided considerations, to view everything with abstract impartiality, but to decide in favour of nothing; to those who recognize with enthusiasm the claims of Power to our admiration, in whatever garb it may bestride the world, whatever path it may have chosen, and whether or not it have Right on its side; and who are fain to leave the pursuit of Truth out of the question, as something interesting perhaps, for certain local and personal reasons, to the animal called man, but as something merely subjective and therefore unworthy of true philosophy;* to these inquirers for inquiry's sake,

and travellers for the love of travel, the writers we allude to must be welcome companions, for they are on a voyage without a compass and wafting they know not whither. But to the English reader of the old school their way of touching everywhere and arriving nowhere, will scarcely prove attractive in the main, however agreeable and careless may be the life it promises. Even the Englishman of the present day, divested of national prejudices, untrammelled by home-spun politics and Scotch philosophy, and who cannot see without pain the unspiritual tendencies of his countrymen and the deficiency existing in the modern philosophical literature of his native country, will scarcely on that account be the more disposed to cry up the Germans, whose transcendentalism but helps them to shuffle off all fixed and binding principles, and whose whole philosophy indeed only serves to amuse idleness, and paralyze action. It is not, perhaps, asserting too much to state, that an immense number of educated Germans have neither a national character, a definite religious creed, nor any fixed political principles; their vanity is flattered if they can succeed in passing for foreigners, and their philosophy teaches them how to give to their religion and politics any shape which the exigencies of the time seem to require.

The "*Novellen*" of Tieck, of which eight volumes are now lying before us, furnish a striking proof of the facility with which the public mind in Germany is led astray, and of the numerous false directions in which it has wandered within the last fifteen years. Most, if not all of these works, are written to correct some erroneous tendency of the time, to exhibit some popular fallacy in its true colours, to show as in a mirror their folly to the gaping multitude, and thus warn them back to reason.

They throw also much valuable light on the radical defects of the German character, as well as on the nature of the absurdities in which our Trans-Rhenane cousins have of late years indulged. The reader, however, must not imagine that they are of merely local or temporary interest. They are lessons which men of all nations may read with profit, and which, until the utilitarians have perfectionized mankind, sent folly on her travels through the spheres, and left the dull world not a solitary absurdity on which to exercise its risible muscles, will never cease to be valuable. The Germans, though successful cultivators of nonsense, are not the sole lovers of that delightful weed: we ourselves have many dilettanti who tend it with the greatest care, and who have brought it to the greatest perfection, considering the cold-

* "Philosophy," said Hegel, "is utterly useless and fruitless—and for this very reason it is the sublimest of all pursuits, the most deserving of our attention, and the most worthy of our zeal."

ness of the climate, and the hard, ungenial nature of the soil. Tieck's Novelle—*die Wundersüchtigen* (the Marvel-Lovers or Marvel-Mongers), in which he shows up in their true colours magnetism and modern magic in general, and an account of which we intend to lay before our readers in the present article, will not just now be found very foreign either in matter or bearing to our own wants.

We would here observe that the tales of Tieck may still further be recommended to the English reader for the simplicity, purity, and beauty of their style, and for their uniformly unobjectionable character and tendency. Whether the author's object be to depict Catholic bigotry, as in his masterly story, '*Der Hexen-Sabbath*;' or puritanical hypocrisy, as in that sweet and simple tale, *Die Verlobung*; or wild passions and the workings of fanaticism, as in *Des Dichters Leben (Erster Theil)*, and in *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen*; or venial eccentricities and the comicalities of German provincial life, as in the exquisite Novelle, *Der Jahrmakkt*; he is always easy and natural, and never shows the slightest disposition to recur to the meretricious colouring of late years in such great demand amongst German novel-writers, as with the notorious wallowers in that fetid slough yclept the French romantic school. His principal defect indeed is, not straining after excitement, but too studiously avoiding it. Some of his tales principally consist of conversations and, though admirably penned, do not furnish the kind of matter which the English reader is accustomed to seek in works of fiction. Tieck should in fact always be read in a contemplative mood: he will certainly disappoint those who take up a story for mere temporary amusement, and remain passive in expectation of startling incidents, or a romantic denouement: his works on the contrary are sources of instruction, not directly conveyed, but to be extracted by mental exertion on the part of the reader himself.

The story of the "*Wundersüchtigen*," to which we propose principally to direct attention, is as follows.

In a small German town lived a gentleman called Seebach, who had, been in youth an active freemason, at a time when secret associations existed, the members of which gave themselves out for *illuminati*, and boasted the possession of supernatural powers. When the story commences, Seebach, a married man, with a grown-up son and daughter, has long withdrawn from any connection with these associations, but he still retains a lingering affection for their pursuits, and a tendency to credulity which requires

little encouragement to show itself with considerable force. Being involved in a law-suit in which no less than 20,000 dollars are at stake, he has occasion to turn over his papers in search of a document of essential importance to the success of his claims. This document he can nowhere find; but his eye is everywhere met by records of his former credulity in the shape of mysterious calculations, the work of his own deluded brains, or of pompous communications from foreign lodges. Whilst ransacking the drawers of his cabinet, in the presence of his son and father-in-law, a sheet of paper comes to light, the contents of which are so strange as instantly to attract the attention of all. In the centre of the sheet is a star from which lines radiate in all directions. Most of these lines are found to be texts or prayers, or else strange names of spirits, written in a very minute hand; and they all intersect, but in various ways, one and the same word, *Abracadabra*, which is sometimes written forwards and sometimes backwards, and in some places accompanied by stars, hieroglyphics, and other strange figures. In the centre stands the word *Adonai*, and opposite to it the name *Jehovah*, written in Latin and also in Hebrew characters. The back of the sheet bears a remark to the effect that this is a sacred amulet, of manifold efficacy in war, in cases of illness and against evil spirits; and absolutely indispensable to any person wishing to possess the power of summoning spirits of any kind.

About this time animal magnetism, magic, and other similar topics had engaged the attention of the public afresh, in consequence of the recent appearance of some new performers in these departments; and accordingly our trio regarded this wonderful amulet with interest as well as curiosity. The document of which they were in search, however, they could nowhere find, and Herr Seebach began shortly, almost in spite of himself, to wonder whether the magnetists could be of service in discovering it. A few days afterwards there arrived in the town a very mysterious adventurer, one Sangerheim, who made the acquaintance of the Seebach family, and on hearing of the loss of the above document, promised to find it. The knowledge which he manifests of their affairs astonishes all, fills them with strange presentiments, and prepossesses them in his favour; with the exception however of the daughter, Clara, who from the first shows a decided dislike to the whole proceedings; and the more so because her lover Schmalting, instead of being an affectionate and attentive companion as formerly, now comparatively neglects her

to attach himself to masonic and magnetical studies. Sangerheim inquires of Seebach whether besides the house he lives in, he is not the owner of another empty one somewhere in the outskirts of the town: on being answered in the affirmative he requests to be conducted thither, stating that there alone can he obtain the information necessary for the recovery of the document. To this house accordingly the father and son accompany him, and remain at his request in an ante-room, whilst he proceeds to an inner apartment. They listen, and in a short time hear a confused noise, as of the clashing of weapons or blows on the tapestry: then voices as of persons in angry dispute reach their ears: a distinct "No! No! It cannot be!" are given, as answers to various questions of the magician. All this is at length interrupted by a loud noise like the report of a pistol; alarmed at which Seebach and his son rush to the room where the magnetist is operating, and find him in a great heat and violently excited. He seizes the hands of both as they enter, and exclaims—"Give me till this evening and you shall have a certain answer. I am still strenuously opposed; the adverse powers refuse to yield; but this will no longer be the case when I have performed another operation at my own residence." The father and son take leave of him with minds altogether puzzled and perturbed by the scene; and in the evening their bewilderment reaches its height, for a note arrives in which the operator informs them that the document is contained in a certain drawer, in a cupboard in the old house, where the father at once recollects that he placed it many years before.

Whilst the males of the family are perplexed by this affair and can think of nothing else, but feel in consequence more or less forcibly attracted towards magnetical and supernatural pursuits, Clara strongly expresses her instinctive repugnance to the whole. It is out of her mouth that Tieck condemns that passion for the marvellous, which so often banishes quiet from the breast and ruins the brightest intellect. The voice of nature and simplicity is raised, and its lowest tones suffice to silence the loud and impudent pretensions of mystery and magic.

When her father and brother leave the house to follow the directions of Sangerheim, Clara, weeping bitterly, throws herself into her mother's arms.

"You will perhaps blame me," she says, "for seeing nothing but what is childish and absurd in these strange proceedings which have so excited us all. I cannot tolerate them; and I can find no other words to ap-

ply to them. If these things are true (and they happen before our eyes, we cannot deny them), why then life itself is a burden to me. All security seems lost; I have no longer any pleasure in thinking or acting, for to me the charm of existence was that everything took place simply and unconsciously, and that all thoughts and feelings existed for themselves. Now it seems all things are mysteriously connected, and stand in some secret relation to each other. This juggling with ghosts is to me insufferable. Can anything be imagined more directly opposed to the really spiritual than a ghost? All this commotion has so agitated me, that I would rather be delirious from fever at once, than hear these things talked about—much less have to witness them." "Console and compose yourself, my child," said the anxious mother, "you speak already as if you were feverish. I think I understand you, but your expressions seem to me too violent. All which you so despise, constitutes for many intelligent men the great attraction of life. What would many excellent people give if they could be convinced of the marvels which now take place around us, which we never looked for, but which were, so to say, forced upon us!"

"This is precisely what pains me," said Clara; "I can imagine nothing more waste and desolate than the hearts and minds of men who wish for these things, and can hunt after them. A cheerful look from the dear innocent eyes of a child; its castles of cards which it builds with so much trouble, and demolishes with a laugh;—the business of the house; baking, knitting and sewing; the day-labourer who supports his family by the sweat of his brow;—yes, anything out of our daily life you may name, even its meanest objects, are more noble and dignified than these novelties which make such imposing pretensions. Would that the twenty thousand dollars had been lost, if they could not be recovered without bringing all this mischief into the house!" "I cannot quite agree with you," said her mother; "I know no more than you what to think of the matter; but at any rate we must be grateful to the man who has made us so much richer than we were." "Never," answered Clara, "if I can help it. I have been accustomed to smile at our clergyman, in whose ideas of Christianity, the evil spirit always plays the most prominent and essential part, but I now begin to be of his opinion. Satan only is the father of these arts, and they who learn them, sell themselves to him. He is plagued sometimes by "ennui," and then knows no better pastime than by some false show to make men stupid and ridiculous. This must be the case. These detestable conjurers think they can master him, but he plays with them, like a cat with a mouse, and at last they see with horror that they have been caught from the first in his toils, and have made themselves his, body and soul.—My unfortunate Schmalzing! He is a little gold-fish that those cruel conjurers are angling for with their iron hooks, and finely will they enjoy

his sufferings when they have caught him. What a strange and hard fate, that I should have a passion for this man, whom I now, strictly speaking, can hardly esteem. I love him, and have given him my whole heart; that I feel;—I cannot be happy without him;—and yet there is so much in him which I cannot reconcile with myself. You will see, this vampire, this Sangerheim will make my darling, my chosen one, quite, quite crazy. I cannot but laugh in spite of myself. Forgive me, dear mother.' She burst into a loud fit of laughter, and then cried all the more bitterly."

After the recovery of the document, Herr Seebach felt all his youthful love of mysticism revive, and attached himself closely to Sangerheim, who made him many pompous promises of initiation into marvellous secrets. His son Anthony, however, was not quite so far gone; he felt that the new science, whether true or false, was not likely to contribute to the happiness of the family; and so, though half a convert himself, he determined to oppose its progress. He was the rather disposed to take this side of the question from his natural cheerfulness, which rendered him averse to the contemplation of marvels, some of them of very serious if not appalling character. His sister's situation strongly interested the youth, and the first effort he resolved on was to endeavour to recall Schmaling, who was magic-mad, to sober reason. For this purpose he could imagine no better plan than to prevail upon an individual of the name of Anderson, a man of great tact and talent, to personate a magician, bamboozle Schmaling by some miraculous manœuvres, and then show him how easily and grossly he had been deceived. Anderson promised to undertake this; and it was agreed that the scheme should be executed at the house of Professor Ferner, a friend of the Seebach family. The pseudo-magician had lately arrived in the town, and had made many friends from his insinuating manners, and from the facility with which he adapted himself to his company. He seemed formed to win all who knew him, so pliant was his mood, so versatile his character, so expert was he in drawing out those with whom he conversed to the best advantage. He was the soul of society, but rather from inspiring others than from figuring prominently himself. Every one in his presence felt wiser and wittier than he had ever known or shown himself on other occasions. The pseudo-magician's exterior was not very prepossessing; he was small, strongly built, with a thick neck, broad shoulders, and a head pressed down between them. Such was the man who was to bring Schmaling

at once to his senses, and to the feet of his mistress.

On an evening previously agreed upon, Schmaling, who had never seen the co-operator, was invited to meet him at Professor Ferner's: Anderson arrived, and was announced as the Count Feliciano, a name well calculated to inspire the novice with awe, for it was that of an individual who, in the capital of the neighbouring state, had lately caused the greatest sensation by his magical exploits. The scene which ensued, we give in our author's words.

"Schmaling entered the room earlier than he was expected, trembling with eagerness. The pseudo-Feliciano saluted him coldly, and assumed towards him and also towards the Professor and Anthony a dignified and condescending demeanour. But little was said at first, and the party sat down to an excellent supper, where the wine circulated very freely. It was some time before the conversation became lively; Schmaling was silent from awe; Anthony and the Professor knew not what part they should play; and Anderson appeared to aim at embarrassing them. At last in order to banish this constraint, he began to speak of his travels, and the Professor was astonished to hear the confident tone in which he described distant countries, and the correctness of his criticisms on works of art. He spoke of Egypt, the deserts of Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Persia, like one who had spent his life in visiting them. Schmaling at length became more confident, and ventured to lead the conversation into a channel which might satisfy his ardent curiosity. He was agreeably surprised to find the magician freely communicative on his favourite science, and that he did not deny the marvellous cures attributed to him;—hinting even that the philosopher's stone was no fiction, that many had possessed it, and that many still lived who were acquainted with it. 'You hold then,' said Schmaling modestly, 'the singular story of Flamel for truth?' 'Certainly,' answered Feliciano, 'for I was acquainted with the good man in India, a hundred years before Paul Lucas heard of him.' Anthony was not a little startled at this assertion, which appeared to him calculated to damage the speaker's credit, but Schmaling was already in such ecstasies that it only increased his enthusiasm. 'It is singular,' said Feliciano, 'at least it seems so to us initiated, whose life is not as chaff before the wind, that men should call things strange and inconceivable, than which properly considered nothing is more simple and natural. Was man then originally created in order, like a butterfly, to drink dew from a flower, and then like it to perish the next instant? Does not the Scripture say the contrary? And if the wisdom and knowledge of the patriarchs and other saints, carefully preserved from generation to generation, is communicated to the man chosen to hand it

down to posterity, why should we call it inconceivable or even strange? Our first forefathers lived for centuries; and he who is not unworthy of them, may even now equal their longevity. We have also perhaps this advantage over them, that we can combine the science and arts of modern times with those of ancient days, which have been lost for the mass of mankind. Thus I may say to you, and you will I hope wonder at it no longer, that I have seen and known many of the great men of past times. It was granted me to be a friend of the great and noble Dante. Many national commotions, many historical revolutions have I witnessed, and whenever my mind was disturbed by these mundane transactions I withdrew into the deserts of Egypt and Arabia, or betook myself to my favourite plains by the Ganges, where I passed my days again by the side of Flamel and several other adepts. I have remarked that during the three last centuries our art has fallen very low, for it is as long as that since our circle welcomed a new comer.'

"Here Schmaling timidly asked, whether it was possible to join these holy men, who might almost be called immortals. 'Can we hope' said he, 'that these lofty spirits will not reject a disciple, who must always be unworthy in their sight?' 'All depends,' answered Feliciano, 'on the path which the disciple takes, whether it is the right, and whether his teachers perhaps may not have rendered him incapable of initiation.' 'And how is the true to be distinguished from the false?' said Schmaling. 'In many ways,' replied the magician; 'I myself may safely say at once, that I can impart to you the best and most certain information. But in the meantime, is there a child in the house?' said he, turning to the Professor. 'I have two boys,' answered the latter, in the greatest embarrassment; for all this had not been previously agreed upon, and Herr Ferner could not comprehend what it was to lead to. 'How old are they?' said Feliciano. 'One twelve, the other only nine.' 'Then let me have the younger one here,' said the other; 'and do not let the servants disturb us.' Ferner left the room embarrassed, and not knowing what to think. He came back in a few minutes with a laughing fair-haired boy, with large, clear, and sparkling eyes. The magician called the child to him, gazed on him earnestly, told him to show his hands, placed his own palms on his head, and then in a few seconds asked in a solemn tone whether he felt anything. 'Ah!' said the boy, 'I feel so well, so calm,—as if I should like to sing; I feel as light as if I could fly; my eyes seem as if they could see through the walls.' 'Keep still, my son,' said Feliciano, with the greatest solemnity, 'and as there is nothing else here for the purpose, look attentively at the clear surface of the water in this bowl, and tell me what thou seest.' Anthony and the Professor were in the greatest as-

tonishment; they had not the slightest idea what was to be the result of these manœuvres which they had never anticipated. Schmaling was lost in admiration. The greatest silence prevailed. 'I see,' said the child, 'a young gentleman, a handsome young gentleman, tall and thin and nicely dressed: it seems to me as if I knew him. I believe it is the gentleman here in the room. But he stands in a strange room, where I never was. Now another gentleman comes: he too is not old; but rather stouter. They are speaking together. All sorts of figures rise up, and suns and moons. They go on speaking—ah! here the child burst into a loud cry; 'ah! now a beautiful woman, so bright and shining like an angel, flies down between them, and kisses the handsome gentleman on the forehead.' 'Enough,' said the magician, withdrawing his hand from the child's head—'Do you see anything now?' 'Our basin,' answered the boy, 'and I am quite tired.' 'Youth,' said Feliciano turning to Schmaling 'thou art now on the right road; follow it with courage and steadfastness, and thy reward will not fail thee. The leader in whom thou confidest is the true one, or else the goddess of wisdom would not have descended, nor imprinted, as the child saw her, a sacred kiss upon thy brow.' He then gave his hand to the youth who kissed it with reverence and devotion.

"Anthony was in the highest degree confounded and surprised, and in the tumult of his feelings, could neither arrange nor collect his ideas. The whole of what had taken place was so foreign to their plan, Anderson seemed so changed, indeed so totally different, that on attempting to address him he could not utter a syllable. The magician gazed at him with such ardent piercing eyes, that he could not meet them, but looked on the ground in embarrassment. The Professor was equally perplexed, for the scene was so strange and unexpected, that he felt no longer at home in his own room.

"The magician was the first to break the silence. 'Anthony' said he, 'you thought to deceive your friend by the aid of a stranger, and in your shortsightedness you have deceived yourself. Know, then, that I am really and indeed that far-renowned Feliciano, whom the world has formerly known under other names. You are astounded. You still doubt?' He here took hold again of the child, placed it before the table, muttered a few words, looked fixedly at the ceiling for some time, moving his lips but giving utterance to no sound, and then again laid his right hand on the head of the child. 'What do you now see?' he demanded in an imperative tone. 'Green trees,' said the little boy; 'a village—now a pretty little cottage, with a meadow, and a stream, and a mill not far off. A young gentleman is walking there; I know him too; he often comes to our

house ; he is here now. Look, a pretty girl comes out to meet him and they go into the cottage together.' Anthony turned pale. He had risen from his seat, but sunk down again trembling and alarmed.

"The boy proceeded, looking still into the glass—'Now they are quarrelling in the room ; she takes a picture from her bosom and stamps on it with her feet. She tears her hair, and runs out towards the water, crying and shrieking.' The magician here took his hand from the head of the child : instantly a flash of lurid light gleamed through the room, and a loud clapas of thunder shook the house. The cloudy figure of a woman appeared on a sudden, with her hand outstretched as if menacing Anthony, who fell terror-stricken from his seat to the floor. Then all disappeared and the lights burned bright again as before. 'And now,' said Feliciano, turning to the Professor, 'shall I convince you too that I am the real magician and no impostor. Shall I tell you your most secret plans and thoughts, or predict your future fate ?' The professor, pale and aghast, could scarcely reply. 'You thought, said Feliciano, raising the terrified Anthony from the ground, 'that no person in the town knew of your connection with that unhappy girl whom you are sacrificing to your selfish feelings. This is the last hour ; you may still save her.' It was already late, but Anthony rushed out of the house at once, mounted a horse, and galloped to the cottage of his mistress. The magician had disappeared, but no one had seen him depart."

These exploits of Feliciano which soon became known in the town caused, as may be well supposed, the greatest sensation. Every one sought to make his acquaintance, and no party was complete without him. He found in a short time a great number of adherents and friends, and the most important individuals, and even the nobility were candidates for his favour. He pretended he could only stay a short time, because great and important matters required his presence in the north ; his secret studies, too, he said, prevented him from going much into society. Mysterious arts, wonderful cures, miraculous elixirs, and supernatural revelations, were now the only topics of conversation : old and young, wise and foolish, indeed, all the characters to whom we are introduced, with the exception of the forlorn Clara, give in to the delusion. The Professor's son who has now become a magical performer of uncommon proficiency, is inseparable from Feliciano, to whom his father appears to have consigned him. Anthony, after having married the peasant girl to whom his relation had been so strangely divulged by the magician, returns to swell the train of the latter, and

figures as one of his most ardent disciples. Sangerheim—whose character is that of many who are mixed up in such dramas ; and who is himself half-deluded whilst engaged in deluding others ; who with an original tendency to credulity, has practised deception until he has himself become its victim ; who has so long tampered with what is morbid and mysterious, as to have no sense left for the healthy and natural—Sangerheim is as much dazzled as the altogether uninitiated by the brilliant performances of Feliciano ; and he, together with Huber, the Physician, Schmaling and Anthony, throw themselves at the feet of the master, imploring to be fed with a few crumbs of his sacred knowledge. From amongst the crowd of his worshippers the sage chooses as his favourite Schmaling, the quondam lover of Clara, but whom now Sophia, the goddess of wisdom, has kissed and sundered from all mundane ties : he is an elegant, handsome, fascinating fellow, and the magician evidently anticipates that when once fairly launched and irretrievably committed as a marvel-monger, *il ira loin*. The picture which Tieck draws of the town, now that the magnetic and masonic fever has reached its acmé, is highly characteristic of the satirical style of this author, and raises a bitter laugh at the expense of our foolish human kind. It is a species of reform-mania, acted by very different performers, and under far different colours from any we are accustomed to see in this land of politics and practicality ; but whether the public dreams of an El Dorado of equality, or of a magnetic regeneration, matters little ;—the absurdity of the premises, the extravagance of the conclusions are the same. Every now and then in cities, states, or even continents, man is seduced from working at the arduous road which providence, his task-master, has ordered him to cut out, and which, whether he will or not, whether he deserts it for a time, or attempts to abandon it altogether, he must finally take, or lose himself hopelessly ;—from this he is ever and anon seduced, to find, like an idle labourer, solace in the intoxication of a dream, or to listen to some plausible plan for making a short cut to happiness. Whether a nation in the book of history is infected by political fever, or a German town in one of Tieck's stories suffers under masonic delusion—the moral is the same. The more men wander from the old, beaten track, the nearer they esteem themselves to the goal to which that track alone can lead them. The wilder their speculations, the more confident they feel of their certain and rapidly-approaching

realization. The more transitory and fantastic their dreams, the more assured are they of their reality, and that they have risen to stand for ever. Towards illustrating human delusion therefore, truth always has been, and always will be stronger than fiction. Man cannot imagine himself so weak and credulous as he really is.

That singular self-complacency which prompts the deluded to be superfluously confident, and to indulge luxuriously in day-dreams of peace and security, whilst danger is evidently imminent; that smile with which man is led by fate to the slaughter,—has been graphically delineated by Tieck, and frequently imparts at once the simplest and deepest tragic interest to his descriptive scenes. How fearful often is the storm-foreboding calm in the first part of the “Hexen-Sabbath:” the heroine, the beautiful Catherine, the boast of the good old town of Arras—a woman no longer young, but on whom every succeeding year has heaped fresh charms, who has been at once depressed and ennobled by suffering, and in whom melancholy grace finely tempers the lustre of full maturity,—collects round her a circle of friends, priests, gay knights, fantastic painters, none of whom can resist her magic sway, and which is all the more potent for being exercised without consciousness or effort on her part. How charming are their meetings; how unsuspectingly they sport like chosen children of fortune in the sunshine which has suddenly burst forth, and which they fancy will never be obscured, though passions of ill-omen soon forebode an angry change. It is in the fourteenth century; modern philosophy has dawned; the fastnesses of superstition have been invaded; our company (which is worthy of Boccaccio for an historian) fondly dreams that man has changed his evil ways, and that the earth is young again; when lo! Catholic bigotry rears at once its gaunt form, in this case more brutally ignorant and pitifully stupid than ever, as if to mock the first beams of modern civilisation, and at the outstretching of its dire hand, the fairy revels of the sweet Catherine and her accomplished company are at once and for ever closed;—she, the queen of all hearts, for having in frolicsome mood personated Venus (who by Catholic priests was very shrewdly held to be the most dangerous of devils) and for having held a Paphian court, is dragged to vulgar execution, for the cry of witchcraft having been once raised, none can stay the fury of the fanatics, until it has been glutted by a certain amount of victims; several of her friends share the same fate; others are dispersed; and a general gloom shrouds

the living, compared with which the contemplation of the sleep of death in which the heroine is wrapped affords a genial relief to the reader: indeed so tragic is the conclusion, that the clamourers for poetical justice who thrust upon Lear the burden of life to counterbalance, as they good-naturedly imagine, his load of other miseries, would sadly complain of it; the sole retributive chastisement which the author deals to the bigot-in-chief is showing that he is a poor, weak, ridiculous mortal in himself, the miserable victim of his own folly; but this only embitters the reflection that he possessed the power of destroying such exquisite creatures as the fair Catherine, and that compound of child-like simplicity, and original genius, the painter Labitte. Should Catholics really threaten England with ascendancy, we may be tempted to give a complete analysis of this masterly story which so well portrays some of the features it still carries under its modern mask. For the present we return to the “Marvel-Mongers,” who just now have especial claim on our attention.

The exploits of Feliciano, then, have completely turned our German town topsyturvy, and not a citizen meets another in the street, who does not hasten, instantly, without thinking of health, weather, or any of the traditional topics of conversation, to inquire after magnetism, masonry, and magic, or to relate the prodigious strides made in *the science* since the clock struck twelve at noon yesterday;—strides longer than the whole race of man had made for a thousand years previously,—or to contemplate with mingled awe and admiration the ultimate results of this wondrous movement. In the midst of the ferment, it is the grand object of the great Feliciano to gain over all the women, and to keep a fast hold of them. He succeeds with an immense number. A lady whom he calls his wife suddenly makes her appearance, and founds a lodge for ladies, of which she is appointed president; the members wear mystic signs, recognize each other by a particular salutation and pressure of the hand, and talk of nothing but the progress of wisdom and science: their ranks are every day swelled by fresh accessions, and they are joined amongst the rest by the mother of Clara. Indeed it is evident that the magnetic millennium may be considered to have all but commenced.

Clara is almost the only person who successfully withstands the prevalent infatuation, and in proportion to its progress her aversion to it increases. Having remained true to her natural instinct from the beginning, what others consider as adding farce to

demonstration, she only regards as adding absurdity to error. Is it not a satire of our author on German intellect, that the men in this story are all deceived with the greatest facility, and that a young girl is the sole representative of common sense?

"How can man," said Clara in an excited mood to her father, "be so perverse as to look for his salvation in that which is precisely the reverse of natural? In truth, as human beings we only feel right when everything goes on in the usual way, when that which evidently ought to take place, occurs simply and unostentatiously. Whenever a great deed is performed in our course of life, or a noble sacrifice is made, it delights us so much the more, that the godlike within us springs from our household nature, that we should all be capable of it, that there is no soul which may not reach a sacred dignity. We even shrink with repugnance from nourishment which seems foreign to us, or which has been prepared in a way displeasing to the unvitiated palate: but more disgusting than assasætida to the healthy taste, must be this highly-spiced farrago of superstition, credulity, and crazy stupidity to the healthy mind."

There was a considerable difference between Feliciano and Sangerheim, with respect to their characters and objects, as well as with regard to proficiency in their common profession. Feliciano was a thorough-paced adventurer, a consummate practitioner, trading on his own account, utterly devoid of principle, and utterly reckless of consequences. The most sceptical and least imaginative of mankind, he was a genius made to play with certain effect on the credulity and imagination of others. Sangerheim on the other hand was no true adept, but a fool who had considerable faith, not of course in the tricks he himself performed, but in the mysteries of which he sought to render himself worthy: he was, moreover, a tool in the hands of a secret society, which employed him at first for its own purposes, and afterwards as we shall see left him in the lurch. He was an adherent of the Catholic faith which the other rejected as a much too modern religion. These worthies converse on their respective systems of philosophy before a company of their disciples.

"Great Master," said Sangerheim, "your spirit is mighty, your voice is powerful as a storm, and you preach like one inspired. That which you prophesy I have understood;—but the superiors whom I must reverence also deserve your respect, and would perhaps cause you to modify your opinions, great as you are, and as long as you may have been a prophet." "Me," said Feliciano, "have I not perhaps long known these masters of yours? The question rather is whether they would know me were I to

stand before them." "What do you mean, Grand master?" asked Sangerheim. "You have always to ask; you know nothing without asking," answered the magician excited, "and yet you aspire to the rank of a master. You say you have superiors—Good. But there is perhaps one above all these superiors, one which they are forced to serve and obey, one who only imparts to them such a degree of knowledge as he deems convenient; and who thus allows them to promulgate various systems, all of which he still regulates from his elevation, and renders subservient to his will. Thus some call themselves Catholics; others Protestants; these are Rosicrucians, those Templars: here we have illuminati, and there rationalists. But may not all these be governed by some unknown, secret superior? And is not the tradition that this is the case preserved in your order—you know so much?"

"Who are you?" exclaimed Sangerheim, in the greatest trepidation.

"I am that I am," said Feliciano; "do you recognize me now? Whether I call myself Feliciano or one of my older names, is of little consequence to the uninitiated. But if you are indeed a Seer give me a sheet of paper and a pencil, and by means of a symbol I will tell you in an instant who I am. Only show it to nobody."

"He wrote something on a piece of paper, which Sangerheim took, and on looking at it instantly turned pale. 'I see now,' said he, 'that you are that true Superior, whose symbol is only shown to those of the highest consecration. I bend my knee and bow my spirit before you.'

"This last decisive avowal filled all who were present with the greatest reverence for the Count, who now rose, made a sign, which was intelligible to all, and said; 'By virtue of my office, I herefound a lodge.' All stood up. The Count took the hand of Sangerheim, and said: 'Young man, you are in a dangerous path, but you are so far advanced, that I can only warn you, I can and dare no longer guide you. You know the spirits, you summon them, and they obey you; but they know you better than you know them. To you they are strange, mysterious, inconceivable beings, but to them you are perfectly clear and intelligible; so much so, that they are conscious of everything which passes in your mind. But with a true magician exactly the reverse would be the case; he is beyond the understanding of his spirits, and fills them with fear and trembling: he makes them his slaves, and never admits them to familiarity. Therefore, beware!' The Count then left the room in solemn silence, and Schmalting followed him trembling."

The delusion has now reached its acmé in all quarters, and in some has shown symptoms of decline. The blundering tactics of Sangerheim, who always promised more than he could perform, have nearly undeceived Herr Seebach, and he appears willing

once more to abandon his youthful favourite pursuits. The manœuvres of the magnetists with the ladies gave rise to some scenes of not the most respectable description; the lodge which had been founded for the promotion of "divine philosophy" was more productive of amorous intrigues than any thing else: several ladies, married and unmarried, became violently attached to the magicians, more particularly to Feliciano, who rejoiced in a very wide circle of female admirers; the town was continually surprised by the news of a fresh divorce; and at length it began to be deemed very suspicious to belong to any of the new societies. With the exception of the elder Seebach, however, the men had hitherto remained firm in the good cause; but now, immediately after the conversation above recorded, Schmalting obtained an insight into the heart of the mystery, which quite satisfied his curiosity, and sent him home at once to his Clara, an undeceived, abashed and repentant lover. We have already observed that he was a great favourite with the magician, who was glad to have him constantly near, and whom he accompanied home after the grand scene with Sangerheim, and the extemporaneous formation of a new lodge. The novice could now hardly suppress the awe with which he regarded the unknown superior. The latter, who had drank a good deal in the course of the evening to enable him to keep up his part, could no longer resist the impulse to lay aside his assumed character, to relax with Schmalting as with a private friend, and to indulge in his native feelings. Continual restraint and hypocrisy were insufferable—he had for some time been seeking a confident, and now imagined he had found one in Schmalting. When, therefore, the latter, following him into his private dressing-room, exclaimed: "May I dare to accompany you, greatest of mortals—perhaps an immortal," he could scarcely prevent himself from laughing in his face. His self-satisfaction, triumph, and exultation at having so neatly outwitted his rival, and bamboozled the whole company, he could no longer conceal. The acolyte to his astonishment saw the master reel with a most profane motion to the nearest seat. "Ah! my child," said he, "you are here then—that's right—I want to chat with you a little." He then got up again, went to a cupboard, took out of it a glass and a strange-looking flask, and said, "I have drunk and talked rather too much to-night. That's wrong. I must now drink myself sober with some of this spirit which is ten times stronger than any we have been taking. Will you have a drop?" he continued, after emptying a glass himself. The astonished

Schmalting wetted his lips with some of the spirit, but could not swallow it from its burning strength. Feliciano smiled good-humouredly. "Child," said he, "no man in the world has ever pleased me so much as you; go with me and be my friend and true scholar, and I'll teach you all my wisdom. The other people are so stupid and disagreeable; I never met with any but you I could open my heart to. What is there more you want to learn from me?" The voice of the man faltered, and it seemed as if the Egyptian wine, as he called the spirit in the flask, had a contrary effect to that which he had anticipated. Schmalting was embarrassed, but could not at first give voice to his rising suspicions. "Great Master," he said, "I should like to know, if I may be allowed to spend a few minutes with you, in what manner the spirits have it in their power to injure Sangerheim?" Feliciano burst into a loud laugh, which he kept up for some time, and then replied—"Boy—boy—don't be a fool. What I have been talking about yonder, hang me if I can remember now, but I imagine that that fellow will get into a pretty mess with his spirits and tricks, for the dolt seems to believe in them himself." "Believe in them himself!" cried Schmalting, with the greatest astonishment. "Yes, my darling," continued the magician, "and for that very reason he will make a nice business of it. He deceives the world and his disciples, and that is just and proper; he conjures up ghosts in the way with which all of us are acquainted, but he must be the veriest ass in existence to be deceived by them himself. I see his masters as he calls them have made the man so inconceivably stupid, that he verily believes in the possibility of some miracle or other." Feliciano was now apparently so far gone as to heed none of the consequences which might result from his imprudent confidence. Having once set his tongue in motion, he could not stop it, so long as any of his secrets were behind. He first gave free scope to his affectionate feeling for Schmalting, telling him that he should receive all the masonic honours in a lump, that he was too handsome a fellow to be any longer a mere dupe, that he had a brilliant career before him, and that all the women would run into his arms. After these seductive promises, he proceeded to explain how he had accomplished the performances which had earned him his reputation in the town. He had spent some time there under the name of Anderson; had busied himself about the secrets of various families, which he regarded as his stock-in-trade; and had discovered amongst his multifarious inquiries the connection between Anthony and

the peasant-girl. Being himself the real Feliciano, nothing could happen more fortunately than his being requested to assume that character. Of the peasant-girl he had a full-length picture made, which at Ferner's house his servant exhibited for an instant at the proper time, making use also of the other apparatus for producing the thunder and lightning; the domestics of the professor having been first of all prevented from interfering. With regard to the child, he thus explained its ready connivance.

"'It was a sweet child,' he said, 'a remarkably clever boy. No one could believe it, who has not found it to be the case so often as I have, that the rogue is, as it were, ready-made in every child, and only wants calling out. Lying, natural to most children, only requires a little encouraging and rubbing up to succeed better than in grown-up people, who always err in being too cunning, too complicated. One of these children be ome quite inspired when employed to deceive its elders and superiors, and learns such a lesson far better than any at school. I had already instructed this boy as to the part he was to play.'"

He then proceeded to initiate Schmaling into a few of the general principles of his art.

"'My dear fellow,' said he, 'don't you see that he who means to deceive mankind, must never stick at trifles. If he appears very clever and cunning, the minds of people are instantly on the alert; they watch him carefully, examine cautiously his proceedings, and he is continually in danger of being found out. He who knows mankind need never be afraid of laying it on too thick. If you were to tell your disciples that you had been acquainted with Charles the Twelfth, they would laugh in your face; but if you were to broach the subject by gravely assuring them that you had cracked a bottle with Julius Cæsar, they would believe you. Therefore, my dear, let me persuade you to wander, with me as your master, through the wide world, and we will share together its spoils and treasures. Remember, I am chief superior—Ha! Ha! I've slipped through a good many lodges in my time, and in one of them some Rosicrucians showed me in great confidence a symbol which represented the Messiah, who is one day to come and found a heavenly kingdom upon earth. You saw with what exquisite assurance I nonplussed your great master with this trifle. No, as an honest industrious man I might starve, but as a celebrated charlatan I'm as rich as Cræsus, and have my men and women under me like a Sultan. Does not this prospect tempt you, my dear? You are so much handsomer than I am;—how you'll enjoy your youth! I have always wanted a charming fellow like yourself to render my exhibi-

tions complete. What an angel the women will find you;—who knows that we sha'n't get a queen into our net;—who knows—but come with me only—.'"

The Egyptian wine here took full effect, and the magician fell asleep. Schmaling, of course, now considered himself fully initiated; and having nothing more to learn he went home with a determination never to see the magician again. He prevailed upon Clara to forgive his past delusion, and the tale which he had to tell showed that he had good reason at any rate to consider himself effectually cured at last: so the young lady comforted him with promises as well as consoled him by her pardon. He needed consolation, for scarcely had he collected his senses, and told his pitiful tale, when the devotees of the magicians were hawking about the town the news of his abominable treachery. When Feliciano awaked from his Egyptian sleep, he had a terrible but vague recollection of having been remarkably indiscreet the preceding evening; Schmaling was no longer in his house; he caused him to be sought for at Sangerheim's and his other usual haunts, but without success; at length he heard that he was gone to Seebach's, and he guessed the truth: his measures were instantly taken: an anathema was hurled against Schmaling as a fallen brother, who had been found utterly unworthy of partaking of the blessings of illumination, who was about to betray the secrets of the order in the most scandalous manner, and to calumniate the masters by the most horrible lies: formal notice was sent to every lodge of which he was a member instantly to eject him, and every faithful member was ordered never to mention more the name of the atrocious apostate. The only result of this misfortune was that the other proselytes, warned by the dark fate of Schmaling, became more warmly attached than ever to their great masters.

Feliciano shortly left the place with a large troop of adherents for the capital of a northern state, where his success was far more brilliant than that which we have hitherto described.

But Sangerheim, instead of turning, like Feliciano, the difficulties which he encountered to his advantage, became every day more entangled, and less able to extricate himself from them. His wife, a poor nervous creature, whom he had magnetized for his mystical purposes until her whole system was shattered and wrecked, and by whose assistance he had been enabled to find the lost document in Seebach's deserted house, died suddenly in a fit of ecstatic delirium, in which he had tormented her

with questions beyond the stretch of her feeble powers. Of Herr Seebach he had borrowed a considerable sum of money, leaving in his hands as security a parcel, the contents of which he pretended were highly mysterious and valuable, and which he pledged himself to redeem on a certain day. The day came, but no Sangerheim presented himself to fulfil his sacred promise. Seebach, however, instead of opening the parcel, sought out the magician, and asked him what was to be done with it. The affairs of the latter had now arrived at a crisis. The foreign lodges with whom he had been in communication, and whose willing instrument he had ever shown himself, had now shaken him off. He at first believed that something great and good was to be effected by his labours, and understood that they were to tend to the progress of Catholicism; but he now knew not what to think, and was become in fine the sport of his own fantastical ideas, his morbid cravings for mysterious power, and his vague and chimerical belief. The terrible consciousness of his real nature and situation was ready to dawn upon him, but he still managed to keep it down by appealing to those visions of future glory with which he had hitherto so constantly fed his vanity and ambition. Thus he was at last become a fear and terror to himself.

In his own mind rose doubts and sorrows which threatened soon to undermine an intellect originally weak, and which had never been properly cultivated, but still farther weakened by neglect, or by slavish prostitution to a morbid imagination. He had thus within himself laboured to bring about a fate, which the force of circumstances also now rendered inevitable. But it was easier for the weak man to die in delusion, and save what he called his honour, than to avow his errors and enter at a late hour on the path of honest reform. He dared not even ask conscience for a real opinion of himself; much less was he likely to make full confession to Seebach, though the latter was evidently amiable and forgiving. Accordingly, to the astonishment of his creditor, he met him with a confident face, and promised him full satisfaction on the morrow. His resolution was taken. The next morning he invited Seebach and Ferner, together with Huber and some of his more attached disciples, to take a walk with him out of the town. He appeared in a very solemn mood, and disposed only to talk on serious subjects. On reaching a solitary place, he suddenly stood still and complained that what Feliciano had said was quite right, viz. that he found great difficulty in governing

his spirits, and had often severe struggles with them. "They do not easily tolerate," he said, "that a mere mortal should exercise uncontrolled power over them. I must never be off my guard for an instant. If I were to omit certain prayers, or neglect to take certain measures for my safety, my life would instantly be endangered. How many men who have at first succeeded in subjugating the world of spirits, have nevertheless at last died an unnatural or violent death." He then went on to say, with an expression of alarm and agitation on his countenance:—"Even at this very moment I am in danger from my familiar spirits. Excuse me, my friends—I must be alone for an instant—wait here. I will return immediately when I have made them recognize me as their master, and taught them not to menace me again." As he concluded this sentence, he assumed a triumphant mien, and appeared fully confident of his own powers. He left the company, which remained in the same place awaiting his return with the most excited feelings. He retired into a grove at a short distance, where a noise was soon heard as of several voices in dispute, amongst the hubbub of which the loud and imperative tones of Sangerheim were from time to time distinguishable. At length a loud report as of fire-arms burst on their ears, and then all was silent. They rushed to the spot and found the magician lying dead on the ground, and a pistol near him. "The spirits have murdered him," cried Hubert, "the miserable fiends! O dearest of my friends, thus then hast thou fallen a sacrifice to thy enthusiasm, and to thy ardent zeal for science." Seebach said nothing; to him the scene explained itself. Most of the illuminati of the town believed that Sangerheim had been destroyed by his familiar spirits, as a punishment for his errors, and for his wanderings from the true path taken by Feliciano and the orthodox adepts. The immediate followers of the deceased, however, rebutted all these explanations of his fate, and elevated him to the rank of a martyred saint. Even when Seebach opened the mysterious packet, and found in it only an old French grammar, three old almanacks, and a quantity of waste paper, far from being undeceived, Hubert, as their representative, exclaimed:—"The malignant spirits, not contented with his murder, have transmuted into these valuable pages the mysterious legacy of his wondrous life. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived—after a certain time during which the charm is allowed to last, the true writings will be found again to have taken the place of all this waste paper. I therefore

in the holy name of our art take possession of these documents, in order to save them from destruction. It is possible that somewhere in this volume, between the pages, or in the stops, or underlined letters, the mystery is explained."

Thus does folly ever flourish, and so little reason has the impostor who is only true to himself, to die in order to escape detection.

The town in which all these events transpired returned at length to its wonted quiet. Schmalzing and Clara married, and the former was wise or happy enough afterwards to sigh for no more mysterious magic than that of the smiling face or beaming eyes of his lovely wife, and to find in domestic felicity charms beyond the potency of magnetism or magic. But not till after many years had transpired, did Anthony return to the bosom of his family,—a repentant, but almost a ruined man. His wife had sometime before mysteriously disappeared; but Feliciano had given him to understand that he need not make himself uneasy on her account, for that she had made astonishing progress in the *science*, and was now enjoying her exceeding great reward. Ferner had heard nothing of his son; but some fifteen years afterwards, during a visit he paid to the south of Germany, found him at a fair performing as a conjuror; shame had prevented the poor fellow from returning home, but he was now reclaimed. Feliciano himself after numerous adventures fell at length into discredit with the public, and finally into general contempt. The tale terminates in a manner peculiarly characteristic of Tieck. Seebach in his old age shows a disposition to relapse again into the follies of his youth. His family observe to their great disquiet, that he is very absent in company, fond of spending his time alone in his private cabinet; that in short he is evidently attacked again by the old complaint. Letters arrive, written in a pious and mysterious style, and the old gentleman, though very little inclined to be communicative on the subject, cannot withhold in a confidential hour an intimation that he is in correspondence with some highly honourable and trustworthy individuals from whom he is in daily expectation of hearing something highly important. These letters came from the south of Germany, and spoke of secrets which were not to be desecrated by divulgation to the ignorant or unworthy, but which might by degrees be unfolded to the tried disciple. Seebach related to his new friends his adventure with Sangerheim, and the evident mistakes made by that worthy individual, as well as the doubts he had hence conceived with regard to the

whole subject. He received in reply a communication beginning as follows:—"Beloved Brother in the Lord: The information you give us with respect to our lost brother Sangerheim is not new to us. It is true that unhappy man was connected with us, and some revelations were made to him, as to a hopeful disciple. But when he left us he fell into the hands of certain lay men who busy themselves with projects of temporal aggrandizement, and thus desecrate the heavenly jewel." He was then indulged in the usual promises of something magnificent to be shortly revealed. If, said the writer, you are not for our church, you are at any rate not against it, and therefore we shall treat you with the greatest confidence. He was finally requested to receive a person who might come to him under the name of Emanuel as a messenger from his correspondents, and to entertain him accordingly; for Emanuel he was told would deliver the first jewel to his faithful hands. Seebach's expectations were now not a little raised; and they were shortly satisfied, for Emanuel did not long delay his visit. About ten days after his receipt of the letter, the servant announced that a singular looking stranger was at the gate, who said nothing but the one word "Emanuel." Seebach ordered him to be instantly admitted, and a venerable old man entered his cabinet, who closed the door solemnly behind him, and then began a mysterious conversation. Seebach felt himself wonderfully edified and strengthened; he had never before seen the doctrine of prophetic faith, and of a sole Catholic Church, placed in such a striking light. On taking leave, the stranger drew a packet from his bosom, kissed it with devotion, and handed it humbly and reverently to his host, saying: "Beloved brother, this is the first pledge of the high association, invisible to ordinary gaze. Spare the seals for the present, and break them not till the solemn hour of midnight. Till then you will do well to prepare yourself by pious exercises. It is true this precious gift will still be unintelligible to you, but its mere presence will protect you from all harm. The explanation will be sent you, when this moon has waned. But—silence! We show at any rate how we honour you, how highly we esteem you." The interview terminated by a solemn embrace; the sage left the room with a serious mien, and Seebach could not but confess that no human being had ever before made such a profound impression upon him.

In the evening he shut himself up and ordered that none of his family or servants should interrupt him. He was in a very ele-

vated mood. He read in the New Testament, and seemed to himself so young again, so full of new faith and hope, so pious and pure, that he was neither able nor willing to suppress tears of deep emotion. At length the clock struck twelve, and he opened the sacred packet, without breaking the mystic seals. He undid and laid aside cover after cover, and at length came to the jewel itself, which was no other than—the silly figure with the word *Abracadabra* written on it in various ways, of which mention was made at the commencement of the story. He burst into a loud laugh, which, however, soon gave away to serious reflections on his own inveterate folly. He then called his family round him, explained to them the whole affair, rejoiced with them that now at any rate they might all consider themselves cured of their delusions, and exclaimed:—"As it is granted us to be rational, my children, let us be so." The servants received orders to allow the sage, when he returned, to repeat the word "Emanuel" at the gate until he was tired.

We must here for the present take leave of our author; again assuring our readers that with respect to purity of style, moral tendency, and philosophic truth, no more estimable works can be found in the whole range of German literature than the "*Novellen*" of Tieck.

ART. VI.—1. *Póchod ot 1814.*

2. *Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1814.* Riga, 1839.

3. *Histoire de la Campagne de l'an 1814.* Paris, 1839.

4. *History of the Campaign in France in the Year 1814.** By A. Mikhailofsky Danilefsky. Petersburg, 1838.

THE fall of that gigantic despotism which had been formed from the ruins of all social institutions and swayed by the wrecks of all recognized principles, and which equally by its physical and moral constitution weighed down to dust the independence, not of kingdoms alone but even of the civilized mind, has now become matter of History; and of Philosophy also, as the most gorgeous and fatal of illustrations that point a moral or adorn a tale for the advantage of mankind. Every hour mocks the schemes of individual hopes; every year shows the

fallacies of general expectation; every age in its turn displays the fragments of mighty aims and established dynasties, the boast and worship of nations; but it takes centuries to produce so various and complicated a mass of mischiefs as France for the last fifty years has presented to our eyes, and so vast and wide a destruction of Princedoms, Virtues, and Powers, as marked the duration and accompanied the catastrophe of that fearful crisis.

Yet, in proportion to its fearfulness and extent, is excited the interest that attends the principal actor in that scene, the chief agent in the work of depopulation. All substances of nature are fused in the volcanic lava; the thunderbolt is engendered only by the war of the elements: scarcely less wild than the latter were the furious and frantic convulsions of that revolutionary paroxysm the direst energies of which were combined and condensed in the cold, stern bosom of its child and champion; whose fervid genius blended aims and accidents, strength and weakness, devotion and fear, courage, skill, wisdom, follies, ignorance, and terrors;—all powers, all properties of mind and matter in fact, to conduce but to the one end, of indiscriminate desolation.

So fierce a phenomenon in so enlightened an age, that marvelled at the worship of Moloch in former times, and yet crowded in emulation to idolize a fiercer destroyer; one, too, unsupported by superstitious reverence; is a fact strongly militating against that ideal approximation to the acmé of perfection which delights the sages of perfectibility. The name of liberty maddened half Europe in favour of France; the loss of liberty maddened all Europe against her chief; and we who have survived both the blooming canker and the counter-irritation, yet regret that the latter went so far, or no farther; and turn our eyes back in admiration to the former, as a glorious, even though a fatal destiny.

This spirit of exaggeration for the past, of necessity depreciates the present, and would fain trample it down to make room for an exaggerated future. The principle is in human nature, and acts most eagerly when it acts in masses; it is wise then in those who have views of selfish advantage, to exaggerate the benefits of the courses by which such advantage is to be reached, and to insist on removing all checks to the simultaneous action of the multitude: for this is the only way to attain the end and avoid foreseeing its consequences: a pause, a check, a single warning voice, might give time for reflection and awaken the dormant reason. Such obstacles must be removed

* London: Smith & Elder, 1839.

at whatever cost and sacrifice from the state. The democrat of this hour has the past example of France before him for this ; and Napoleon himself was but a type of the same passion, for Napoleon was the Demagogue of military France.

The writer before us, though strictly military, seems impressed with a tendency opposite to the last. Far from being a democrat, which no true courtier can be, he indulges, naturally enough, a leaning to the opposite side. He develops as little of political principles as a good Russian imperialist ought, especially one who has been aide-de-camp to an Emperor ; his bias is in truth exceedingly gentleman-like, for it is all for the court : and in his honest and national hostility to Napoleon, he strives for an antagonism of a singular cast, and would fain make Alexander the Demagogue of Absolutism.

This is exceedingly proper, no doubt : and if it is not practicable there is the less harm in it. But however popularly at home the Czar may be regarded as a father, none but a good Czarovitch,* if we may so use the term, unaware of the difference between his native serf and the free peasant of other lands, would hope to enlist the sympathies of freemen in favour of absolute power, and this too by showing that it sought, steadfastly and steadily through all things, its own objects alone. We, who have so recently seen and resisted the Russian tendency to intrigue and aggression, can feel little or none of that overflowing admiration which turns M. Danilefsky's very ink into gold fluent in praise of the Emperor, who sought always unchangeably to remove in Napoleon the great continental obstacle to his own acquisitions in the East.

The book, however, is almost entirely military ; and viewing it in this sense, independent of its absolute merits, we can cordially sympathize with the honest prejudices of the writer, the honourable and patriotic feeling with which he dwells on the services and deserts of his gallant countrymen in the great and decisive campaign of 1814, and the care with which he extenuates any faults or errors committed by them. Schooled as men are from earliest infancy in prejudice, in impressions that result from the collective experience of others, the attempt in maturer years to examine them all would be impossible ; and to deny, resist, or eradicate them without such examination would be ridiculous ; they are affinities of the social, and as such

the links of the natural, existence. The man then who boasts to be devoid of prejudice may be a philosopher, but is certainly a fool ; a deficiency in the heart is a defect in the head : if the passions are seldom right, the feelings are seldom wrong : and there was a general truth in the exclamation of Themistocles, " God forbid that I should not love my friends better than strangers !"

But making cheerfully such allowance for the author before us, we are by no means satisfied that he should claim a great deal more on this head, and go considerably out of his way to demand it. Grant him all the patriotism that beats warm in Petersburg, Moscow, or Odessa ; that bleeds freely at Borodino, exults in the plains of Leipsic, and marches in triumph towards Paris over the well-foughten fields of France ;—the reader who takes him as a guide along the way may well hesitate at yielding a farther indulgence, when he finds this to be a prostration of other powers to the writer's own idol. When the honoured of other hearts are to be debased ; the views of other statesmen to be depreciated ; the interests of other nations to be misunderstood or misrepresented, and vilified and sacrificed according to the wishes and phantasies of the ardent imperial aide-de-camp ; and this too in the shape of constant insinuation against all or every thing that militates against his nationality,—we are tempted to ask, Who made him a judge over us ? to recall the maxim, *ne sutor ultra* ; and to remind the writer of that first principle in his own gallant profession, not to occupy a larger extent of ground than he can defend.

It is obvious, as we have just intimated, that the writer before us is a devoted adherent of the late Emperor Alexander, and that he has a strong tendency to convert every thing into incense for this one idol. The book is clearly written for the atmosphere of Petersburg ; but it is intended to be read elsewhere, for a portion of it is designed to answer some statements in the Prussian account by Varnhagen van Ense : and farther, as censures by implication are included against England also, and this by an officer attached to the person of the Emperor Alexander, and therefore doubtless aware of that monarch's own private impressions and sentiments, the work is valuable as a sort of semi-official record of these. But from this very circumstance it becomes the more incumbent on us to set our readers on their guard as to some of the mistatements or exaggerations it contains.

It is nevertheless necessary to separate distinctly the political and invidious portion of the volume from the simple narrative of

* Child of the Czar (Prince).

the battles and operations of that so memorable campaign. This narrative, we are bound to say, does ample credit to the author, from the clear and soldier-like conciseness of the style and the general distribution of the events. Every thing is in proportion throughout; the connection of all the parts is carefully observed; and the transition from one to another portion of the narrative so easy and natural, and the succession of events so full and perfectly maintained, that complicated as such a course of operations must be at any time, and more especially when carried on upon so vast a scale, with so many various objects, such incidental diversities and changes of views, and such difference of interests, still the whole is combined by the author before us into one complete and unbroken series; one moving, mental panorama, that, while it forcibly depicts and impresses the whole course of the campaign on the reader, leaves him also favourably impressed with the unity and completeness of design, illustrated by the writer's skill, that formed and arranged the whole plan and movements of the campaign, and stamped upon the infinite complexity of the military operations a character of uniform might, simplicity, and singleness.

We commence our extracts from the opening of the volume.

"Russia had already celebrated, before the beginning of the year 1814, the anniversary of her deliverance from foreign invasion, with the appointed religious solemnities and public rejoicings. The grass had again waved green on the fields of Borodino, Tarootino, and Krasnoy, and, from the Moskva to the Niemen, towns and villages had risen from their ashes. Our country had revived with a fresh and vigorous life, and our sovereign, the acknowledged liberator of Europe, was at the head of his victorious legions on the banks of the Rhine. Austria, Prussia, the German Princes, Holland, Spain and Portugal, had thrown off the yoke of Napoleon, who was now engaged in negotiating with the Pope and Ferdinand VII. the terms of their re-establishment on their respective thrones. His near relation, the King of Naples, was only waiting for a favourable moment to take up arms against him. England having renewed her friendly relations with the continental powers, the flags of all nations were again unfurled on seas, on which, during the long period of ten years, not even the peaceful merchantman had ventured to set a sail. To ensure the general tranquillity of nations, there needed but to place an insurmountable barrier to the ambition of Napoleon, and that could only be done by crossing the frontiers of France.

"The campaign of 1814 ought not to be considered as a new war, but simply as the

continuation of the campaign of 1813, which the Emperor Alexander had opened single-handed, and in which he was afterwards joined by the other powers, in the hope of regaining their independence. The victory of Leipsic brought the allies to the Rhine, but did not put an end to the war. The negotiations at Frankfort failed of success, for this plain reason,—that neither side brought any thing like sincerity to the discussion. Alexander warmly insisted on the necessity of continuing the contest, and exerted himself to infuse the same spirit into his allies, some of whom were satisfied with seeing the French driven out of Germany, and pretended that the object of the treaties of offence and defence had been gained, and that Napoleon, forced across the Rhine, was no longer in a condition to trouble the peace of Europe. The Emperor at last succeeded in bringing over the Allies to his opinion, and in getting them to adopt the plan of operations which he had traced; in short, it was finally resolved to invade France, and by penetrating into the heart of that country, to oblige Napoleon to accept of such terms as should re-establish and secure the political balance of Europe."—p. 1—3.

We must, however, here enter our protest against the assertion that Alexander was either the liberator *par excellence*, of Europe, or even acknowledged as such by the Allies at the time. When we recall the ill-success that had in the previous campaigns attended that sovereign's arms at Lutzen and Bautzen, and that notwithstanding all their gallantry the Russo-Prussian force had been driven off the direct line of their operations into a corner of Silesia with hourly diminishing hopes, until Austria joined the coalition, and by her numbers speedily turned the scale against Napoleon, we are, we conceive, fully warranted in questioning this assumption of M. Danilefsky's.

The following statement, from one whose position enabled him to speak with full knowledge of the fact, is on that account highly interesting and important.

"Napoleon was still the recognised ruler of France, and it is certain that at this time the cabinets had not the slightest idea of wresting the sceptre from his grasp, and of handing it over to the representative of the Bourbons, who was residing in England as a private gentleman. On the occurrence of any important event, the latter would take occasion to remind the Allies, by letter, of his right to inherit the throne of his ancestors, and when they approached the Rhine, he requested them to proclaim his legitimate authority; but no attention was paid to his wishes. His brother, the Count d'Artois, with his two sons, was now on the point of leaving London for the Continent, in order to be nearer to the theatre of war,

but not one of the allied monarchs entered into treaty with the Bourbons, or flattered them with promises. Yet in the bosom of him, who was the soul of the alliance, there already lurked the intention of dispossessing Napoleon,—an intention, which though not manifested by any overt act, was no secret to two or three persons, who enjoyed his confidence. Still a sharp-sighted observer might, in some measure, guess the colour of his thoughts from the following maxim, which Alexander, as he drew near the frontiers of France, and indeed during the whole course of the war in that country, frequently repeated, both verbally and in writing, and to which he steadily adhered: ‘We should make the march of political arrangements depend on the success of our arms, and not fetter ourselves with any premature engagements; we should look to victory for the most advantageous conditions of a general peace.’”—p. 3.

The spirit and position of the great antagonist of Europe are next given, and with great fairness, by the author:

“Napoleon’s reflections had led him to precisely the same conclusion, and he acted accordingly. He was not shaken by the successive blows which had annihilated his armies in Russia and Germany. He bore his defeats with firmness, and, on his return from Leipsic, gave his exclusive attention to the assembling of fresh troops, to oppose the general armament against him. He used the utmost activity in the formation of his armies, and tried, by every means, to render the war national. In neither of these attempts, however, was he cordially seconded by the wishes of France, where all ranks were calling out for peace. The reflection of that military glory, with which Napoleon had dazzled France, was now felt to be a feeble compensation for the decay of agriculture and manufactures, the stagnation of trade, the conscription, the loss of husbands and fathers, and heavy taxes. But Napoleon heeded the voice of his suffering people as little as he did the counsels of his friends and the representatives of those public functionaries, who, after years of silence, now ventured to speak out their sentiments on the ruined condition of the empire, and the absolute necessity of peace. The child of victory turned a deaf ear to their respectful remonstrances, and told his advisers that he could not sit on a throne whose lustre was tarnished, nor wear a crown which was shorn of its glory. Inveighing against despondency, he exerted himself to rekindle the warlike ardour of the nation, and to rouse the spirits of his troops to a contest in which he hoped to regain the glory he had lost, and consequently that preponderance in the affairs of Europe which he had once enjoyed. In these circumstances, reconciliation was far off; indeed it was equally

distant from the thoughts of Alexander and of Napoleon.

“While the allied armies were preparing to cross the Rhine, the Duke of Wellington was opposed to Marshal Soult on the southwest frontier of France; and, on the Mincio, Field Marshal Bellegarde was in the field against the Viceroy of Italy; Count Benningsen was under the walls of Hamburg, which were defended by Marshal Davoust; the Hereditary Prince of Sweden had opened the campaign against the Danes, now the only allies of Napoleon; and some Prussian detachments were besieging Magdeburg, Glogau, Cüstrin and two citadels, still occupied by the French in Germany. Almost at one and the same time the war raged in the heart of France, at the mouths of the Elbe, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and on the plains of Lombardy; but the decisive blow was struck on the banks of the Marne, the Aine, the Aube and the Seine, where the shock took place between the armies in the presence of the Allied Sovereigns and Napoleon.

“It was here that an end was put to a long and bloody struggle, and that the fate of the vanquished was decided; for the successes of Wellington in the south of France, of Bellegarde in Italy, and of Benningsen at Hamburg, could not have produced the desired result, if Napoleon had triumphed over those armies against which he fought in person and whose movements and combats we are now about to relate.”—pp. 4, 5.

We consider M. Danilefsky as somewhat disposed to undervalue, in the latter part of the foregoing extract, the successes of the allied armies in other quarters, and more particularly those of the Duke of Wellington. The moral effect of this great leader’s achievements had, as we may probably take occasion to prove in the course of this article, the strongest possible influence on the results of the campaign of 1813, in inspiring the Northern Allies to offensive, decided movements; and the mere fact of his occupying Soult entirely in the south at this critical period of Napoleon’s fortunes, can never be considered a secondary point by any one competent to judge of military operations, and who considers the effects which that great tactician’s vast defensive genius, the very shield of France, must have had while aiding the fearful energy of Napoleon, who, as matters stood, was utterly unassisted by an equal mind.

What different results might have ensued had Soult been left to show front to the grand army of Schwartzburg on its advance, and hang on its retreat at the delicate crisis of Troyes, while Buonaparte was repelling Blücher; and how few might have been the laurels this last gallant vete-

ran could have gathered had Soult supplied the place of Macdonald at the Katzbach, or of Ney subsequently before Leipsic; or had he commanded in place of Marmont, &c. the French army of the North, while his master was arresting the grand army of Schwartzenburg.

"During this campaign, as in that of the preceding year, the forces of the allied Powers were divided into three armies, and remained under the orders of the same commanders-in-chief, who had led them to victory in Germany. The Grand Army, with which the Sovereigns were present, was commanded by Prince Schwartzenburg, the army of Silesia by Field Marshal Blücher, and that of the north, by the Crown Prince of Sweden. His Royal Highness, however, owing to the tardy march of the negotiations with the Danes, was late in reaching France, halted at Liege, and took no share in the campaign. Thus Schwartzenburg and Blücher alone entered the lists with Napoleon.

"In the Grand Army, exclusive of the Cossacks, there were present under arms:—

"Russians	{ Count Witgenstein	20,569
		Reserve 32,839
Austrians		130,000
Prussians		7,100
Bavarians		25,000
Wurtembergers		14,000
Badeners		1,000
Total		230,508

with 680 pieces of cannon.

"To this army also belonged three corps of the troops of the German Princes, amounting to 30,000; but of these, the corps of Prince Philip of Hesse Homburg alone came up and shared in the affairs which took place near Lyons in the month of February.

"In the army of Silesia there were two corps of Russians and two of Prussians, viz.—

"Count Langeron's	27,017
Baron Sacken's	26,556
General Yorck's	18,931
General Kleist's	20,000

Total 72,514

with 436 pieces of cannon.

"Two corps of the German Confederation were destined to form part of this army, but neither of them crossed the Rhine. One of them consisted of the troops of the Princes of Hesse, and the other was under the command of the Prince of Coburg: both together amounted to 44,000 men.

"The army of the north consisted of

The Russian corps of Baron Wintzengerode	35,237
The Russian corps of Bülow	30,000
The troops of the reigning princes of Germany under the command of the Duke of Weimar	25,000

Total 90,237

"To these are to be added the following troops, of which only a very small number took part in the war: some of them did not even cross the Rhine:—

Swedish Army	20,000
Mixed corps of Count Walmoden	15,000
Corps of Germans under the command of the Duke of Brunswick	30,000
Troops of the Netherlands	10,000
British	9,000

The following considerations, too, are important and must, especially the latter part, be taken seriously into the account. The vast value of a friendly population consists not merely in the number of troops it renders free and available for strictly military operations instead of scattering and occupying them in the essential task of securing supplies and preserving communications; it relieves also the chief embarrassments to the execution of bold and hazardous movements, by creating in the commander a confidence that the obstacles actually seen are the only ones to be surmounted, and that few or no unexpected difficulties will arise. This feeling, combined with unity of command, was at least equal to a force of 100,000 men, in the invaded at the time, and is always proportionate to the scale of operations.

"The grand total of the troops, destined to cross the Rhine, thus amounted to upwards of four hundred thousand men. The number of troops which France was able to oppose to the invaders is uncertain, owing to the wide difference in the accounts of the French writers on this subject. Yet, from their own showing, and judging by what we ourselves saw, we are fairly warranted to conclude, that the army with which Napoleon opened the campaign in person, in the middle of January, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men. Of course we do not include in this number, the army of the Viceroy in Lombardy, and that of Marshal Soult on the Spanish frontiers, the independent corps of Augereau at Lyons, and that of Maison at Antwerp, the National Guard, which took part in several engagements—or the garrisons of the numerous fortresses on the frontiers of France, to blockade which the Allies were obliged to leave behind them large detachments and even entire corps. In the course of the campaign, the ranks of the French army were filled up with more than fifty thousand men, partly drawn from Spain, and partly from the recruiting dépôts in the western provinces of France, whither the Allies did not penetrate, and where the conscription went on without interruption. But although Napoleon's troops were less numerous than those of his opponents, he had, in other respects, many advantages over the Allies. He was in the centre of his empire, where he was still blindly obeyed, and could avail himself of all its resources for the supply of men, arms, ammunition, and provisions. Fighting

in a country, whose inhabitants were on his side, he had always at command thousands of carts for the conveyance of his troops, and a host of spies to give him notice of the movements of the Allies. Granaries and cellars, which were carefully concealed from us, were freely opened on the approach of the French, who were thus readily supplied with bread and wine; their wounded or exhausted soldiers too, everywhere found shelter and assistance under the roofs of their countrymen.

"Very different was the condition of the allied armies, which had no magazines with them, nor assured communication with the right bank of the Rhine. They poured into a hostile country in severe winter weather, paying no attention to Napoleon's widely circulated proclamations calling on the people to take up arms, nor to those numerous fortresses in their rear, which are so thickly planted along the northern and eastern frontiers of France. We had to struggle not with the enemy's troops alone, but with hardships caused chiefly by the want of provisions; an embarrassment which it was the more difficult to relieve, because the arrangements, made by the respective commanders of the Allies, often clashed with each other. Time was wasted in written correspondence, complaints, and reproaches, while the soldier remained without food. The sick and the stragglers were despatched by the armed peasants concealed in the woods and hollows, from which they issued, especially in the month of February, and falling upon our small parties and couriers, interrupted the communications between the armies, and even between the corps. Still more hurtful was the submission of the allied armies to the influence of certain Cabinets, who frequently differed in opinion, not merely on the score of military operations, but on the very necessity of the war itself. We must farther take into consideration that the allied generals, who were not placed in immediate and strict subordination to one supreme authority, and who differed as widely from each other, in point of personal qualities, as they did in the degree of their dependence on the Courts, were in many respects inferior to him who was looked upon as the first captain of the age, and who was master of his actions and accountable to nobody. We were indeed superior to the enemy in numbers, and to a certain extent in equipment; but with us there was not, and from the very nature of a heterogeneous alliance, could not be, either unity of purpose or of will."

The Russians were distributed amongst the three armies, and the number of Russian troops present in France, with the three allied armies, was made up of

" 1. The guards, the grenadiers, and the corps of cavalry of the reserve -	32,839
2. Corps of Witgenstein -	20,569
3. " " Langeron -	27,017

4. Corps of Sacken -	26,566
5. " " Wintzengerode -	35,237

In all - 142,228."

Some peculiarities of the Russian force and position are also worth extracting.

"At this time there were two other Russian armies beyond the frontiers; that of Poland, under Benningsen, before Hamburg, amounting to about fifty thousand men, and the army of reserve in the Duchy of Warsaw, of eighty thousand, under the command of Prince Lobanof-Rostoffsky. In the course of the campaign, the latter, more than once, furnished reinforcements to the army in France. The total number of Russian troops, beyond the frontiers, amounted, in the beginning of 1814, to more than 270,000 men.

"Count Barclay bore the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army; but his immediate authority extended only to the Russo-Prussian reserve, with which he was personally present, and to which he communicated the orders of the Emperor and the dispositions of Prince Schwartzemberg. His influence over our corps in the main body of the armies in the field, was confined to a general superintendence of their equipments and supplies. This was no easy task, owing to their great distance from home, and consequently, from their resources, as well as to their being attached to different armies, in which they were placed under the orders of foreign commanders, who were under no direct obligation to give themselves much trouble about their well-being. The want of ammunition and accoutrements was often felt; not because there were none in store, but from the impossibility of bringing them up to the spot where they were wanted. Count Barclay was not present with these corps, and could not know of the instructions and orders given to them without his concurrence. With respect to provision, the Allies not only gave little help to the Russians, but often showed perfect indifference to their wants.

"The four persons who were more immediately attached to the Emperor in the preceding year, and who enjoyed the same share of his confidence in the present campaign, were Count Araktchéieff, Prince Volkonsky, Count Nesselrode, and General Toll. The duty of the first was to keep up the full strength of the regiments, and to have the parks complete. To communicate the Emperor's orders relative to military operations, to Russian or foreign Generals, was the duty of Prince Volkonsky, as head of his Majesty's staff. The diplomatic department remained in the hands of Count Nesselrode, who, as well as Prince Volkonsky, was constantly present with the Emperor. General Toll was always, as in the preceding campaign, at Prince Schwartzemberg's head-quarters, whence he sent regular reports to Prince Volkonsky, who submitted them to his Majesty. He also forwarded the Field-Marshal's orders to our flying parties, and, in cases admitting of no delay, even to the Russian corps in the Grand Army.

"While the Emperor confided his troops to the care of foreign commanders, he freely exercised a general influence over both military and diplomatic affairs, and was thus in continual verbal and written communications with the leading commanders, as well as with the ministers of the courts. In the course of the campaign he reconciled warring opinions, rekindled the ardour of those who were growing cold; and, steadily pursuing his aim—the overthrow of Napoleon—regulated the movements of that mighty, but complicated alliance, which, but for him, would not, it may be safely averred, have been crowned with success. His decided opinion was ever in favour of pushing the war to the last extremity; and he maintained it in spite of the general wish of the foreign cabinets. In rejecting peace, Alexander stood single in the camp of the Allies, as did Napoleon in France. The latter would not stand humbled and disarmed in the eyes of a world, which, but the day before, he had looked on as his own. And thus, like two giants, did the mighty rivals go forth, for the last time, to make trial of their strength."

M. Danilefsky's statement of the plan of the campaign, and the positions of the corps, may not be useless to our readers in understanding the subsequent details.

"The plan of the campaign in France was traced by the Emperor Alexander on the 29th October, 1813, at Frankfort on the Main, four days after his arrival from Leipsic: it is contained in the following letter, then written by his Majesty to the Crown Prince of Sweden.

"Here is the plan proposed by me, and entirely approved of by the Austrian and Prussian Commanders-in-chief. I hope your Royal Highness may find it equally conformable to your ideas. Offensive operations on the part of the Grand Army, between Mentz and Strasburg, offer many difficulties, as we cannot leave the fortresses behind us without observation. By entering France on the side of Switzerland, we meet with incomparably fewer difficulties, that frontier not being so strongly fortified. Another advantage attending this movement, is the possibility of turning the Viceroy's left wing, and thereby forcing him to a precipitate retreat. In that case, the Austrian army of Italy may advance on Lyons, so as to form a prolongation of our line, and by means of its left wing, to connect our operations with those of the Duke of Wellington, whose headquarters are now at Oleron, Soult having retreated to Orthez. In the meantime, Field-marshal Blücher, reinforced by the Bavarians, will form an army of observation of 100,000 men. But, without confining himself to mere observation, he may cross the Rhine near Mannheim, and manœuvre against the enemy till the Grand Army reach the field of action. All the four armies, viz: the Grand Army, that of Italy, Blücher's, and Wellington's, will stand on one line, in the most fertile part

of France. Forming the segment of a circle, the four armies will push forward; and diminishing the arc, will thus draw near its centre, that is, Paris, or to the head-quarters of Napoleon.

"Your highness offered to undertake the conquest of Holland. The proposed operations, which I have submitted to you in detail, will enable you to effect your object the more easily, that they will force Napoleon to oppose the bulk of his troops to our armies on the left of the theatre of war. If your Highness will advance on Cologne and Düsseldorf, or from thence in the direction of Antwerp, you will at once separate Holland from France. In that event, should Napoleon resolve to keep possession of the fortresses, the garrisons left in them will materially diminish the effective strength of his armies. On the other hand, should the garrisons be insufficient for their defence, your Highness will have little difficulty in penetrating into Flanders, and perhaps farther. The grand object is, not to lose a moment, that we may not allow Napoleon time to form and discipline an army, and to furnish it with everything necessary; our business being to take advantage of the disorganized state of his force. I earnestly entreat your Highness not to delay putting your army in motion in furtherance of our general plan of operations."

"The principles laid down in this letter, which, with a few modifications, formed the basis of the campaign, were fully developed by the Commanders-in-Chief, in the orders issued by them to the chiefs of corps, and to the heads of the various branches of administration in the armies.

"The movements of this army made up of the troops of six different powers, were complicated. On entering France it was divided into nine columns. The five first consisted of Austrians who had crossed the Rhine in Switzerland, the sixth of Wirtembergers, the seventh of Bavarians, and the eighth and ninth of a small number of Prussians and Baden-ers. The country to the left of Langres was occupied by the Austrians; that to the right, by the troops of the other five powers. We shall now follow the movements of the columns, beginning at the left wing, and proceeding to the extreme right, commanded by Count W tgenstein.

"The *First Column*, that of Count Bubna, marched through Berne and Neufchatel to Geneva. Having occupied that city, the Count sent detachments into the passes of Mount St. Bernard and the Simplon; and having thus cut off all communication between France and the north of Italy, where the army of the Viceroy was stationed, he advanced to the neighbourhood of Lyons. Owing, however, to the small number of his troops, he did not enter that populous city, but retired behind the Aisne, and remained there during the month of January. The command of the army; destined to assemble at Lyons, was entrusted to Marshal Auge-reau, who was waiting, to begin hostilities,

for the arrival of the troops, which had been ordered to be sent to him from the army of Marshal Soult, then lying on the Spanish frontier. Count Bubna, too, was expecting reinforcements from the Grand Army and from Germany. Thus it happened, that the two armies passed the month of January between Geneva and Lyons, in almost complete inaction. Their operations began in February; and they form the subject of a distinct episode, which we shall give in its proper place.

"The *Second Column*, Count Giulay's, formed the advanced guard of the Grand Army, and advanced to Langres by the great Paris road through Montbéliard and Vésoul. The *Third*, Count Lichtenstein's, formed the blockade of Besançon; and of the *Fourth*, or Count Colloredo's, one division marched on Langres, and took up a position on Giulay's left wing; while the other, leaving a force sufficient to blockade Auxonne, moved forward through Dijon and Châtillon to Tonnerre and Auxerre. The *Fifth*, the Prince of Hesse Homberg's, consisting of all the Austrian reserves, marched on Dijon and Châtillon. The troops of this column, with the exception of the single division of General Bianchi, who advanced to Langres, remained at Dijon during the whole of the month of January. The *Sixth Column*, commanded by the hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, and the *Seventh* by Count Wrédé, crossed below Huningen and at Basle. The Bavarians formed the blockade of Huningen, Belfort, Breisach, and Shletstadt, and both columns continued their route, the Prince of Wirtemberg through Epinal, Wrédé through Colmar and St. Dié, and took up their quarters between Nancey and Langres. The *Eighth Column*, or that of Barclay de Tolly, who led the corps of the guards, the grenadier corps, and the first corps of cavalry of the reserve, took the direction of Langres, serving as a reinforcement to Count Giulay, the hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg and Count Wrédé.

"Finally, the *Ninth Column*, Count Witgenstein's, on the extremity of the right wing, was destined to advance in the interval between the Grand Army and that of Silesia. The passage of the Rhine, by this column, took up more time than was expected, owing to the quantity of ice in the river. Count Witgenstein was the latest of all in crossing: he passed the river at Fort Louis, below Strasburg, but remained for a considerable time near the Rhine with his infantry, in order to watch the garrisons of Strasburg, Landau, and other fortresses, and thus to secure his advance."

The Austrian effective force was, however, materially diminished by circumstances, and we cannot but notice, in passing, the errors hinted at in their disposition by our author. The portion respecting the celebrated veteran Blucher is lively and interesting.

"In the beginning of January, all the nine columns were in full march in the heart of

France, and on the 4th of that month, Count Giulay occupied Langres; the other corps gradually came up in line with him. We must here, however, remark, that the unconnected movements of the Austrians, their excessive dissemination over the wide extent of country between Langres, Lyons, and Geneva, and the numbers required for blockading the fortresses, and the keeping up of garrisons in the towns in our rear, diminished their numbers to such an extent, that of 130,000 Austrians there remained only 40,000 with the Grand Army in Champagne; in other words, on the scene of action, properly so called. Hence, it follows, that Prince Schwartzemberg had at his immediate disposal not more than 140,000 allied troops; and even from that number there must be deducted 20,000, who were detached and sent to Lyons.

"As the Grand Army advanced, it entered into communication with that of Silesia, which, at the close of the year 1813, was stationed between Coblenz and Darmstadt, where it was destined to cross the Rhine, and then to manœuvre in such a way as to be able, in the event of a battle, to unite with the Grand Army. By a supplementary order, Blucher was instructed, as soon as he should have crossed the Rhine, to blockade Mentz, and without much heeding the other fortresses on the Moselle and Meuse, to push forward, without halting, into the interior of France, so as, by the 15th or 20th January, to join Prince Schwartzemberg, between Arcis, Troyes, and Vitry.

"Blucher's arrangements for the new campaign were the sooner completed, that, from the moment of his arrival on the French frontier from Leipsic, he had never ceased insisting that it was not only inexpedient to stop short, but absolutely necessary to prosecute the war. His two months' stay on the Rhine was more than he could well bear, counting, as he did, every day's delay for a day lost. Burning with the desire of avenging the outraged honour of his country, he could think of nothing but the taking of Paris. When the Emperor Alexander left Frankfort for Basle, Blucher transferred his head-quarters to Hechst, and wishing to divert the attention of the French, on the left bank of the Rhine, from his real purpose, sent abroad reports that the invasion of France would take place on the side of Switzerland, and that he was appointed to pass the winter in Germany, in order to keep up a line of observation. He affected to complain of this imaginary inactivity, and people were the more disposed to believe what he said, that all knew the remarkable openness of his nature: hence, nobody suspected the artifice of the frank old man, who had just completed his seventieth year. He even danced on his birth-day, telling his guests that he must now pass much of his time in merry-making, as he was destined never more to listen to the roar of artillery. He even returned from Hechst to Frankfort, busied himself in providing for the wants of

his army, which he assured every body was to remain in cantonments, and, in the meantime, secretly made the necessary preparations for the passage of the Rhine, which he desired to accomplish on the 20th December, that is, on new-year's-day new style. Writing to one of his relations, he said:— 'At day-break I shall cross the Rhine, but before doing so, I intend, together with my fellow-soldiers, to wash off in the waters of that proud river, every trace of slavery. Then, like free Germans, we will set foot on the frontiers of the great nation, which is now so humble. We shall return as victors, not as vanquished, and our country will hail our arrival with gratitude. How soothing to us will be the moment, when our kinsmen shall meet us with tears of joy!'

We must extract the first passage of the Allies into the "sacred soil" of France.

"During the night of the 19th December, Sacken's corps, along with which was the king of Prussia, assembled at the spot where the Necker falls into the Rhine. On the opposite bank was a redoubt which commanded the mouth of the Necker and the town of Mannheim, and which made it impossible to throw a bridge over the river, while it continued in the enemy's hands. At four o'clock in the morning, a party of Russian light infantry was embarked in boats and on rafts, and was not perceived by the enemy till the boats were within a few yards of the left bank. The French immediately opened a fire of guns and musketry, which was kept up for three-quarters of an hour. Thrice the light infantry unsuccessfully attempted to storm the work, but, in a fourth rush, they succeeded in forcing their way into the redoubt and capturing six guns and three hundred men. The king of Prussia came up to the victors, thanked them, and was greeted with loud hurrahs. All this passed in the profound obscurity of a winter night. The rising sun showed the Russians on French ground and lodged in the enemy's redoubt. Strains of martial music, resounding from all the regiments, now filled the air, and the Rhine was soon covered with vessels transporting the troops. By six o'clock in the evening the pontoon bridge was completed, and the whole corps immediately crossed the river.

"On this very day Field Marshal Blucher, with Langeron and York, crossed the Rhine at Caubé. At two o'clock in the morning, 200 Prussian light infantry were sent down the Rhine in boats, with orders to make fast to the custom-house on the opposite bank, and to make the least possible noise, so as not to give the alarm to the French, who had no suspicion of the intended attack. The troops reached the bank in safety. Here the French attacked the Prussians, but the latter being reinforced by detachments which continued to arrive at short intervals, repulsed the enemy. The Prussian advanced guard took possession of the villages on the bank, and at seven o'clock in the evening,

when the bridge was thrown over, the corps of Langeron and York crossed the river, and turned off to the left on the road to Mentz.

"At the same time Count St. Priest crossed the Rhine at Coblenz, which was occupied by a small detachment of the enemy, defended by a redoubt. In the night of the 19th, the Russian troops were embarked above and below Coblenz. Here too the French had no intimation of their approach, and had hardly time to fire a few shots. The light infantry rushed to the assault, took the redoubt with its four guns, and immediately entered Coblenz, the inhabitants of which illuminated their houses, welcoming the Russians with loud acclamations. In one of the squares the Prefect, on the occupation of Moscow by the French, had erected a monument with the following inscription: '*To the Great Napoleon, in honour of the immortal campaign of 1812.*'

"Colonel Mardenko, who had been appointed Commandant of Coblenz, left the monument untouched, but, under the inscription caused the following words to be engraved:—*Seen and approved by us, Russian Commandant of Coblenz in 1813.*' "

We regret we cannot spare room for the first movements of the enterprising Russian General Czernicheff, the Sir Francis Head of the military field, whose extraordinary personal activity was so singularly successful in conveying intelligence across hundreds of miles in the campaign of 1812, which our readers can scarcely have forgotten, so incredible were they deemed at the time; and who supported his character for determined promptitude throughout his whole career in France. We may, however, cast a glance at the French armies.

"The allied armies, on different sides, penetrated farther and farther into France, meeting nowhere with serious opposition. Before they crossed the frontiers of that country, the enemy's troops were distributed in the following manner. The observation of the Upper Rhine was intrusted to Marshal Victor; the Middle Rhine, from Strasburg to Coblenz, to Marmont; along the Rhine, downwards from Coblenz, lay MacDonald; Ney was at Nancy, and Mortier at Langres. The different corps were quite independent of each other, and received orders directly from Napoleon, who was then in Paris. From this arrangement, it necessarily followed, that the French were nowhere in sufficient force to oppose resistance to the advancing columns, and could not avail themselves of the fortresses and natural obstacles lying on the line of march. Their corps, stationed at five different points, had more of the character of reconnoitering detachments, than of troops destined for the defence of France. Agreeably to the orders of Napoleon, they every where retreated in the direction of Chalons."

The following anecdotes are strongly characteristic of the two sovereigns of whom they are told.

"We cannot resist noticing the different impressions made on Napoleon and Alexander, on receiving the news of the invasion of their respective empires. Napoleon was coming out of his cabinet, on his way to a meeting of the Legislative Assembly, when it was announced to him that the Allies had invaded the frontiers. Preserving his usual firmness, he said, 'If I could have gained two months' delay the enemy would not have crossed the Rhine. This may lead to bad consequences; but alone, I can do nothing; and if unaided, I must fall: then it will be seen that the war is not directed exclusively against me.'—It was at a ball at Vilno, in the house of Count Benningsen, that the general aide-de-camp of the day, Belashéff, informed Alexander of the arrival of an express, with the news that Napoleon had crossed the Niemen. The Emperor ordered Balashéff to keep the news a secret, and remained till the end of the ball, which lasted for an hour longer. Not one of the company suspected that the General's communication was of peculiar importance, and the truth was not known till his Majesty's return to the palace.—Such traits may, on a first view, appear to be of little moment, but they are worthy of being preserved for posterity."

Our memory must serve us but indifferently if the latter part of the following quotation can pass altogether without challenge.

"In the town where the Emperor slept, he received the municipal authorities and notable citizens, and assured them of his protection. By his order, the necessity of kind treatment of the French, and the observance of strict discipline, were inculcated on the troops. Tranquillized by the words of his Majesty, and by the printed proclamations of the commander-in-chief, announcing the pacific intentions of the allied monarchs, the inhabitants of the districts entered by the Grand Army nowhere offered resistance, and readily supplied the bivouacs with provisions, hay, oats and firewood. But as the campaign proceeded, the peasants, in numerous bands, fell on our small detachments. These hostilities of the peasants were at first very rare, and originated not so much in the patriotism of the French, as in the necessity of defending themselves and families from insult, and their property from pillage. Although death was denounced as the punishment of every act of violence, it was impossible to prevent excesses of various kinds, and even acts of cruelty, especially in villages distant from the high road, to which stragglers from regiments, especially Germans, found their way. In this respect, the latter did not imitate their allies the Russians, who left among the French, although they had desecrated our temples, the reputation of exemplary discipline."

The important question of peace or war soon arose amongst the Allies, and was decisively answered by the Emperor Alexander. Upon this and similar passages we reserve our comment for the present.

"On the arrival of the Allied Sovereigns at Langres, when the fourth part of France had been subdued almost without firing a shot, the question arose, whether they should rest satisfied with the advantages they had gained, and consequently make peace with Napoleon, or continue the contest, with the intention, if their arms should be crowned with success, of re-establishing in Europe the order of things as it existed before the Revolution. This proposition was fully developed in the following series of questions which we shall here give in an abridged form.

"Shall the Allies go on and be, as before, guided by the result of military operations alone, or shall they render them subordinate to political considerations? Has the object of the treaty of alliance, concluded at Toplitz last year, been attained, viz. to replace Austria and Prussia in the positions they respectively occupied before the year 1805; to fix the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees as the boundaries of France; to establish independent states between France and the other powers; and to deprive France of all immediate influence beyond her limits? If the object has not been gained, what means should be employed to accomplish it? Is it not necessary to trace new bases, so as not to fall a sacrifice to that want of precision which has proved fatal to all coalitions hitherto formed? Should Napoleon be deprived of his throne alone, or his family with him? Who is to be raised to the throne? Should the Allies use direct influence in the decision of that question? Should a change of dynasty in France form the object of new efforts on their side; or should they give up the initiative to the French, without offering them either encouragement or opposition? Do the Allies agree to sign a peace, which shall fix the Rhine and the Alps as the boundaries of France? Would it not be necessary to proclaim, that not only the allied powers, but all Europe enters into negotiations with France, and, in the event of delay, publicly to announce the offers made to Napoleon?"

"The allied Cabinets did not all take the same view of the wide, complicated, and important subject on which hung the destiny of Europe in general, and of every state in particular. The arguments in favour of peace, towards which some of them showed a leaning, appeared altogether inconclusive to the Emperor Alexander. The following is the substance of his Majesty's opinion:—

"To stay the operations of the armies for any but military reasons, would be to deprive ourselves of the only decisive means, from the use of which we may expect political advantages. The line of Langres, on which we now are, cannot be called a military one. Langres lies on the road, along

which we must march to meet the enemy and fight with him. The present movements of the allied armies are not the beginning of a new campaign, but the consequences of measures formerly ratified, and of our very invasion of France. It never was in contemplation, that the invasion should be limited to vain attempts. It constitutes a mighty warlike undertaking, having for its object to annihilate the resources of the enemy, to deprive him of the means of forming an army, to weaken his power; in short, to do him all the harm it is possible to do in time of war. I have always insisted on employing our forces in this way, and of keeping our acts in unison with military considerations. It now only remains for us to carry this idea into execution with rapidity and judgment. As long as the war continues, it is impossible to affirm that the object of the coalition has been accomplished: victory must decide that. I have always steadily adhered to this principle, which may now crown our plans with success.

“As long as a considerable part of Europe was occupied by French troops, we were obliged to proportion our demands to the amount of our force, and to express our object in general terms; as, for example,—the re-establishment of Prussia, Austria, and the like. Such expressions do not infer the renunciation of those advantages, which Providence, and our enormous sacrifices allow us to hope for. This truth is established by the example of all wars, and even by our own acts. The conditions of peace which were unofficially discussed at Frankfort, are not those we now desire. At Freiburg we thought of other conditions than we did at Basle; and those which might have been acceptable when we were crossing the Rhine, would not have been accepted at Langres. If it is at all allowable to enlarge our demands, the principle must retain its full force so long as the war continues. The measure of its accomplishment will be regulated by prudence and state reasons; for no previous agreement between the Allies is, in the slightest degree binding on them, in relation to the enemy. We have enlarged our demands in proportion to our success; and this, of itself, proves how necessary for us it is to increase the number of the latter, that we may gain our ends with the greater certainty. A few days are not sufficient to convince us of this: and therefore, we should not, by a hurried pacification, enable the enemy to escape from his present dangerous position.

“The Allies are unanimously agreed in this, that they have no right to canvass the opinion of the French on the subject of a ruling dynasty; and still less to oppose it, whatever it may be. We are not waging war for that object; consequently it cannot become the subject of deliberation. The Allies have no desire to take such advantage of victory, as to compel the French to express that opinion; and our glory will be the great-

er, if, with the power in our hands, we show ourselves devoid of partiality.

“We have now to agree as to the conditions on which peace should be offered to France; it being fully understood, that we reserve the right of increasing our demands, by availing ourselves of whatever success we may obtain during the course of the negotiations. I was the first to declare, that we should treat with France in the name of all Europe; and I agree that she should be allowed no voice in the fixing of frontiers, or in any arrangements whatever between the other Powers; though their nature may be communicated to her for the sake of information. All negotiations with her must relate exclusively to her future limits. If the negotiations should be spun out by delays, or should not be brought to the desired conclusion, I shall then consider it as a duty to publish to France and to Europe the conditions which were offered.

“In conclusion, I must direct the attention of the Allies to the forces of the enemy, and to the necessity of crushing them, equally during the course of the negotiations, as in the event of all hope of peace having vanished. Napoleon's weakness consists in the disorder which reigns among the greater part of his troops, and in the inexperience of his new levied recruits, who are strangers to discipline. These are the consequences of the defeats he has sustained; since which, he has not had time to re-organize his armies; but his condition is daily improving; and if we continue to delay, we shall give our enemy the means of effacing every trace of his present embarrassments.

“Let us even suppose a treaty of peace to be concluded. To carry its various stipulations into effect, would require much time. How many provinces, how many fortresses, from Mantua to the Texel, would the enemy have to deliver up, and we to receive! If, in the meantime, Napoleon were to recover his strength, and to avail himself of a thousand circumstances which might give rise to fresh discussion on so complex a subject, who can assure us that he would not tear the treaty in pieces, the instant he had caught a glimpse of success? The only security against such danger, is to be found in the destruction of the armies he is collecting, and in rendering it impossible for him to levy fresh troops. All this has no relation to a change of dynasty; but, if Providence should turn circumstances, and even Napoleon himself, into engines for the destruction of his political existence, it would neither be contrary to justice, nor to the interests of Europe.”

Negotiations simultaneously with hostilities being thus resolved on, and Caulaincourt having been waiting at the advanced posts of the Allies three weeks for a passport,

“For the purpose of drawing up definite instructions for the guidance of the Congress, a council was held on the 16th January, at

which the following persons were present: on the part of Russia, Counts Razumòfsky and Nesselrode; on that of Austria, Prince Metternich and Count Stadion; on that of Prussia, Prince Hardenberg; England was represented by her minister for foreign affairs, Lord Castlereagh, who had just arrived from London.

"It was proposed to the council, as the sum of their deliberations,—

"1st. To enter into negotiations with Napoleon. 2d. To act in the name of Europe. 3d. To leave France those territories only which belonged to her before the war of 1792. 4th. If Napoleon should desire it, to give him a superficial idea, avoiding details, of the intentions of the Allied Sovereigns with respect to the ultimate territorial arrangement of Europe. 5th. To furnish the plenipotentiaries with instructions of one and the same import; and 6th. In the event of the negotiations not leading to the desired end, to announce this to the French nation.

"When the Allied Sovereigns had given their sanction to these articles, the following plenipotentiaries were appointed to the Congress which was destined to be held at Châtillon on the Seine: on our part, Count Razumòfsky; on that of Austria, Count Stadion; on that of Prussia, Baron Humboldt; and on that of England, Lords Cathcart, Aberdeen, and General Stewart.

"The instructions given to the plenipotentiaries were,—that they should negotiate on behalf of all Europe, and not in the name of the four Powers alone, by whom they were commissioned; the latter pledging themselves that the other States, who were not represented at the Congress, should adhere to its acts. The plenipotentiaries were desired to confine themselves to two objects only. In the first place, to the future boundaries of France; and in the second, to the general arrangement of the affairs of Europe. With respect to the first article, it was proposed to Napoleon, that he should give up all the conquests made by France since the year 1792. As to the second, he was required, 1st, to acknowledge the independence of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Holland; which last, with some additions of territory, was to belong to the house of Orange; 2dly, to restore the Spanish sceptre to Ferdinand VII.; 3dly, to deliver over, within a given time, the fortresses in the countries which had been conquered by France; Mentz, for instance, within eight days after the signing of peace, and Luxembourg, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Mantua, Peschiera, Palma-Nova, and Venice, within ten days:—to put into the hands of the Allies, within four days, the three fortresses of Bèfort, Bésançon and Huningen, to be kept by them in the nature of pledges, till the complete fulfilment of all the stipulations in the treaty of peace. 4thly. To renounce the titles of King of Italy and Protector of the Rhenish and Swiss Confederations. In return for all which sacrifices, England agreed to restore the colonies she had conquered during the war.

"Although the plenipotentiaries received the same instructions, it did not follow that all the cabinets were alike desirous to bring the war to a close. Some, who were exhausted by the campaign and by the sacrifices connected with it, considered peace as indispensable; but the Emperor Alexander looked at events in another point of view. On sending Count Razumòfsky to the Congress, he desired him to be in no hurry to act, and on no account to sign any thing without an express order to that effect. The plenipotentiary acted conformably to the will of his Sovereign, and during the sitting of the Congress received repeated assurances of his Majesty's approbation of his prudent circumspection."—p. 45—47.

We are now directed to the movements of Napoleon, and in this crisis of his fortune it is singular to notice a wholly novel expedient, on the part of Napoleon himself at least, for ensuring success.

"It was during the Emperor Alexander's stay at Langres that Napoleon quitted Paris for the army. He had put off his departure from day to day, waiting for the arrival of troops from Spain, and for the results of his exertions in the formation and equipment of armies: but receiving daily reports of the rapid advance of the Allies into the heart of France, it was impossible for him to remain longer in Paris, and he therefore resolved to open the campaign, though his preparations for war were not yet completed. He invested his consort with the regency of the empire, and entrusted the military command of Paris to his brother Joseph. On leaving the capital he gave orders, *for the first time since he had mounted the throne*, that prayers should be read in all the churches for the success of his arms."—p. 49.

This certainly was a mournful extremity to be reduced to; an extreme measure necessitated upon the restorer of the Gallican Church: not simply as ominous of the French Emperor's diminished confidence in his star, but also as a proof that Napoleon now for the first time felt he had too long disregarded the popular feelings in France. He lost, however, none of his former activity; entering Chalons on the evening of the 14th January, he stayed there but twelve hours and moved to Vitry, and thence the next day fell on Lanskoi's detachment at St. Dizier: thus cutting off the communication between Blucher and Yorck, and intending to assail the former. Blucher, deceived by the movement, fancied it a mere reconnoissance, and might have suffered far more severely than he actually did, had not Prince Schwartzenburg taken the alarm in time, and sent troops to his assistance. This brought on the battle of Brienne, which we shall extract at some length.

"Napoleon having marched from St. Di-

zier through Montierand, reached Mézières at two o'clock in the afternoon. He instantly attacked Count Pahlen, who was standing between that town, Lassicour, and Brienne, and keeping possession of the great road, which it was necessary for us to retain in our hands at any cost, in order to give Sacken time to come up from Lesmont and pass through Brienne, then occupied by Olsoofief. The onset grew brisker every minute. The French balls already began to pass over the advanced guard, and to fall among Sacken's columns which had arrived from the banks of the Aube. Napoleon could not bring his whole forces at once into line, as a great part of them had not yet had time to reach the field of action; but by degrees, as they came up, the affair became serious. Olsoofief's guns, which Blucher had placed under the orders of Nikétin, who was in command of the artillery of Sacken's corps, were brought out of the town by that officer, and placed in battery. A regiment of light infantry threw out skirmishers; the other regiments stood in close columns, covered by the streets and gardens, and the great road was thus entirely cleared for Sacken's passage through Brienne. Having passed through the town, he formed in the reserve, and Count Pahlen gradually retired, not being in a condition, with his small detachment, to keep the increasing forces of the enemy at bay. Besides, he had attained his object, which was to gain time for the infantry to arrive and to take up their appointed ground. He placed the cavalry on the right flank, uncovered the town, and cleared the way for the artillery which now began to play.

"The enemy showered shells on the town, and instantly set it on fire. Necessity compelled Napoleon to reduce to ashes the place where he was educated, and where he had spent the happy days of his boyhood. Part of his infantry charged the fifteenth company of artillery and took several guns, and his dragoons dashed into Brienne in the midst of the spreading flames, the bursting of grenades, and the crash of falling tiles. Nikétin, on receiving an order from Sacken to increase his fire, placed twenty-four guns against the enemy's left flank, which forced them to retreat, and to abandon the guns they had taken from our 15th company. At the same time, Count Pahlen, though not belonging to the army of Silesia, yet as the oldest General of cavalry, took the command of all the horse, charged the left wing of the French and took eight guns. The town remained in our hands, and the combat gradually slackened."—pp. 54, 55.

The confidence of Blucher now exposed him to considerable danger.

"Considering the battle to be ended, Field Marshal Blucher retired to pass the night in the castle of Brienne, which is situated on a neighbouring eminence, and the officers of his staff parted to seek shelter for the night. All at once a fire of musketry was heard, and crowds of the enemy who had stolen

through the park, broke into the castle with loud shouts and cries. At this moment the Field Marshal was in the top story looking at the line of fires which the enemy were kindling in front of their bivouacs. He hastened down stairs and set off towards the town, but was soon met by a Cossack, who informed him that the French had forced their way into Brienne. By the light of the flames of the burning houses, Blucher could plainly distinguish the enemy's horse coming straight up to him at a trot. He turned aside into a cross road, and as he continued to go at a walk, the chief of his staff, General Gneisenau, said to him, 'Can it be your wish to be carried in triumph to Paris?' The Field Marshal then put spurs to his horse, and happily reached his troops. Several French squadrons had approached the town unperceived, and finding that our people had neglected to place guards at the entrances, charged along the street where Sacken was then giving orders. He backed his horse against a house which stood near him, and coolly waited till the enemy had passed by without recognizing, in their hurry, him who, but two months afterwards, was Governor General of Paris.

"After this alarm, the Field Marshal ordered the castle to be attacked and the town to be entirely cleared of the enemy, who had established themselves in some houses in the suburbs. Olsoofief advanced twice to the assault of the castle, not only without success, but with heavy loss, owing to the enemy being protected by the darkness, while our columns and sharpshooters advancing in the full glare of the burning edifices, presented a mark which it was almost impossible to miss. The French kept possession of the castle, as did Sacken of the town, in which he passed the night. At two o'clock in the morning he received orders to retire to the position at Trannes on the road to Bar-sur-Aube, where the Grand Army now was.

"Thus ended Napoleon's first affair in France, at which, on the side of the Allies, there were none but Russian troops present."—p. 55—57.

"The defence of the Russians was desperate. They had not entered France to yield up their renown, in the outset of the campaign, to an enemy over whom they had triumphed for two years together."—p. 57.

The author strongly criticises the general conduct of Napoleon throughout this last campaign, fatal as it was to his power, but very far from such, we believe, to his reputation as a military commander in the opinions of the ablest judges. There is, however, nothing more easy than to find fault with a plan of operations, after the event, and particularly in ignorance, such as must necessarily exist, of the real means actually possessed by an antagonist, and of his secret views in the course he proposes to himself. The "glorious successes" re-

ferred to by Sir Robert Wilson, and "movements that deserved an empire" on the part of Napoleon, are grievously depreciated by M. Danilefsky. Of course we cannot presume to offer an opinion on the matter, but must confess that our previous judgment is by no means altered by the remarks of the gallant author before us. We give the passage however.

"Napoleon had two means in his power of gaining a decided superiority. The first was to assemble all his forces at Sommevoir after occupying St. Dizier, and, without halting, to march straight on Colombé, and Bar-sur-Aube, there to attack Count Giulay, and the hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, and driving them before him to Bar-sur-Seine, at one and the same time separate Blucher from Schwartzberg, who would have been obliged, with all haste, to assemble his different corps at Langres, and probably in the rear of that town. Napoleon might then have turned on Blucher and beat him; for he was much the stronger of the two, and Blucher would not have disputed the ground with the obstinacy he displayed at Brienne, where a safe retreat was always open to him, but would have been compelled to think only of saving his army. The second plan, which would have afforded a reasonable hope of victory, was the following:—If Napoleon had the defeat of Blucher singly in view, then, instead of keeping away to the right, it seems evident that he should have marched from Sommevoir on Dienville, that is, on Blucher's communications with Prince Schwartzberg, and have attacked him in the rear. Napoleon did not follow either of these plans; and the useless bloodshed of the 17th January, which gave him but a momentary possession of the field of battle, was productive of positive injury to him, as it led to the concentration of the allied forces.

"It may further be added that Napoleon, who in all his previous wars had displayed consummate skill in commencing operations, did not on the present occasion act up to his reputation, but opened the campaign unseasonably. Let us suppose that it did enter into his plans to defend the Rhine, and to hinder the Allies from entering France: but when they had once advanced over a great extent of country, why did he not act on their communications? If he had undertaken his forward movement four days later, when the rear of our columns would not have been far from Troyes, and then pushed on from Chalons, through Joinville and Chaumont, he would have stood on the communications of the Grand Army, and would himself have been leaning on Metz, Verdun, and other fortresses. In such circumstances Prince Schwartzberg must undoubtedly have retreated. The solidity of this remark is so far justified by Napoleon's resorting at the end of the campaign to the manœuvre we have now described; but it was made too

late to be attended with success; for his means were not then so considerable as they were in the beginning of the war. Besides, political circumstances had by that time so far ripened, that a single bold step of the Allies sufficed to overthrow the edifice of his power."

After the affair at Brienne, we learn that "Napoleon's inactivity during the two days consumed in effecting the junction of the two armies, appeared so utterly incredible that the Emperor Alexander sent several times to inquire if he actually remained in the position he had taken up. Once only, a pretty considerable body of French troops marched from Brienne to Lesmont, but returned again to their position. We may be allowed to conclude that Napoleon had been meditating some plan which he did not carry into execution. It has been asserted that his inactivity was caused by false intelligence of the Grand Army being on the march to Auxerre, and that he spent these two days at Brienne with the intention of waiting the completion of this movement, in order to fall separately upon one or other of the allied armies."

We must recall to our readers the constant doubt and uneasiness that affected the general mind in England at the epoch we are considering, from the apparent delays and indecision of the Grand Army after its successes. It was clearly not actuated by the spirit that influenced the Prussian force under Blucher, and that had made the Silesian army in 1813 the wonder of the Allies. M. Danilefsky throws great blame on the Germans, and especially on the Austrians and their commander, for tardiness of movement, delays, and the absence of common activity in pursuit. He states that after the affairs of Lesmont and Rosnay a whole day was lost, and Napoleon had time to gain a march on the Allies. The advanced guard of Austrians, Wirtembergers, and Bavarians, so tardily pursued their beaten enemy, that they at last fairly lost sight of him. Two days actually elapsed before Prince Schwartzberg knew whether the French had taken the road to Troyes, Arcis, or Chalons. In order to obtain certain information of the enemy's motions, the Emperor sent forward the light cavalry division of the guards, under the General Aide-de-Camp Count Ojaroffsky, who reported that the corps of Mortier alone was drawing off towards Arcis, and that Napoleon, with his whole forces, had marched through Piney in the direction of Troyes. This report did not convince the Field Marshal, who waited for its confirmation; and thus it was not before he had received a second report from Count Ojaroffsky, of the same tenor with the first, that he gave orders to continue the advance.

"Prince Schwartzberg thought that Napoleon would defend himself in Troyes; drawing this conclusion from the circumstance of the French having surrounded the town with new palisades. Napoleon, however, did not halt at Troyes, but retired on Nogent, of which a report was immediately sent in by the partizan Soslavin. Again the Prince refused to give credit to this important intelligence, and ordered, for the 25th, a general reconnoissance of the enemy who were posted around Troyes; thus another day was lost. Even this order was recalled, and instead of the proposed movements, the Field Marshal resolved, on the 26th January, with all his forces to attack the French by both banks of the Seine, at Troyes, where there was now but a slender rear-guard unmolested by any body. For this purpose, instructions, of three pages in length, were drawn up in the Austrian camp, ordering, among other things, that the troops should provide themselves with ladders and fascines."

And again we find it stated that

"The Emperor, who was at Bar-sur-Seine, had intended leaving that town in order to be present at the proposed attack. At eleven o'clock in the morning his Majesty's charger was at the door, when he received intelligence confirming Soslavin's report that Napoleon had evacuated the town the evening before, that is, on the 25th. The service of the advanced posts had been so carelessly performed by the Germans, that the first news Prince Schwartzberg received of Napoleon's retreat from Troyes, was not from his advanced troops, but from deserters."

It is, however, but fair to recollect that there are times and occasions when the greatest commanders have been foiled in the very way first alluded to, and this from no want of energy or activity in the victor. We need only refer to the case of the Russian army upon its retreat from Borodino, when the movements of Kutusov were so thoroughly veiled from the eyes of Napoleon for two entire days, that he was totally ignorant of their position: and on the other hand the French army in its retreat upon the Beresina was more than once lost for a time to the pursuers. There was, however, much of this inaction originated by the personal character of the Emperor Francis. It cannot be forgotten that the inactivity following the great battle of Aspern in 1809, and when Prince John de Lichtenstein offered to cross the Danube with 40,000 cavalry to complete the discomfiture of the French, was produced by the extreme reluctance of the Austrian Emperor to suffer a greater effusion of blood, and his mistaken but amiable confidence in the certainty of a peace to be obtained by the mere manœuvres of his approaching armies against the dispirited French. The battle of Wagram opened his eyes too late.

In the same manner we must recollect

that the wife of the French Emperor was the daughter of Francis, and that this mild and humane prince was far from desiring either the deposition of his son-in-law, or the destruction of his daughter's subjects and kingdom. But if these are not sufficient to exonerate the Austrian Field Marshal from the charge of supineness, we must further recall the total absence of explanations on his part, these being of course out of the question; and our consequent ignorance therefore of possible causes that might excuse, vindicate, or even necessitate delay. The severe checks experienced so often by the Austrians on the field of battle could not be without their due effect upon their leader generally: and the vast responsibility imposed by his station, as Commander-in-Chief of the whole armies of the Allies, and the dangers to which a single false movement, or even one defeat in detail, such as Blücher's at Montmirail, sufficiently disastrous to the cause, though the Prussian army was subordinate to his own, might expose the interests intrusted to his care, and even the personal safety of the sovereigns, his own monarch included, all tend to make us hesitate in adopting the views of M. Danilefsky, which probably were those of his Emperor also. And we are induced to the greater caution on this head from the unquestionable fact that Alexander had been an eager candidate for the chief command; and that the Emperor Francis had insisted upon retaining it for his own general, since it was his troops that raised the sinking scale of the Allies against the might of Napoleon in 1813; a fact which, if M. Danilefsky had known, and he could scarcely, we think, have been ignorant of it, might have induced him to hesitate at asserting, as we have seen he does, that the Emperor Alexander was acknowledged *THE* Liberator of Europe.

The battle of Brienne gave Paris to the Allies, according to M. Danilefsky, though we question whether there were not in the course of the campaign moments that rendered the gift somewhat precarious.

"The Allies did not all share the Emperor Alexander's confident anticipation of speedily getting possession of Paris. This result, indeed, still depended on the chances of war, as to which each of them drew conclusions according to his conviction, and to his confidence in his own force. Their chief dread was, that on the taking of Paris, they should meet with innumerable difficulties in the administration of a populous capital. They could find no answer to the question: 'What shall we do with it when we have it?' The very idea of the subjugation of Paris wrought upon their imagination, by its vastness and

novelty, to such a degree, that the now probable invasion of that capital, instead of exciting them to make a grand effort to crown their former victories, to reap the fruits of their sacrifices, to wipe out the stains of many defeats, and to realize that hope in which Europe was waiting the decision of her fate,—was considered by them as an additional motive to a speedy conclusion of peace. Alexander thought otherwise than did his Allies, and regarded the taking of Paris as a circumstance which could not be accompanied with any difficulties of a peculiar kind. In this respect the result justified his sagacity; but in January few were of his opinion."

It is, nevertheless, not very unreasonable to suppose both that the Emperor Alexander's own desire to play the conqueror was "the wish that was father to the thought;" and also that it was the protraction of the campaign, the camp giving the secret enemies of Napoleon time to mature their schemes and increasing the distaste for war in their own territory, that actuated the Parisians so strongly in a later stage of the campaign; and this might certainly not have been the case, had the attempt on the capital been earlier made.

While Austria, England, and, despite of Blucher, Prussia, were disposed to make peace at Chatillon, the Russian Emperor persisted in the necessity of continuing the war; the former were strengthened in their desires by the disasters of the Silesian army, when Blucher, in spite of his own characteristic activity, utterly ignorant and unsuspecting of Napoleon's, committed the fatal error of dividing his forces too widely, and was beaten severely in detail by the army under the latter, at Champaubert, Etoges, and Montmirail. The Russian general, Olsoofief, was made prisoner at the first-named place.

"Napoleon desiring to see Olsoofief, invited him to sup with him; but as the general had difficulty in expressing himself in the French language, Napoleon sent for Poltoratsky. The following dialogue took place between them.

"How many were you in the field to-day?"

"3690 men, and 24 guns."

"Nonsense! that cannot be; you had, at least, 18,000 men."

"A Russian officer does not speak nonsense. I have told the truth; besides, there are other persons from whom you can learn the same thing; then I hope you will be convinced that Russians do not lie."

"Napoleon scowled, and after a short silence said, 'If what you assert be true, it may be said to your honour, that Russians alone can fight so desperately. I would

have pledged my head that you were, at least, 18,000.

"For all that I am a prisoner."

"What does that signify? Your Emperor has fifty of my generals prisoners, and as good as you. But, granting that I have destroyed you without great honour, as my troops fought with yours a whole day, still the consequences of this affair are important to me; and I will now tell you, that, as I have routed you to-day, I will annihilate Sacken to-morrow; on Thursday, the whole of Witgenstein's advanced guard; on Friday, I will give Blucher a blow from which he will not recover, and then I hope to dictate a peace to your Alexander on the Vistula."

"That will be rather difficult."

"Napoleon then entered critically on the subject of the late campaigns, and after running over that of 1812, ended by saying, 'Your old fox, Kutusof, deceived me by his march on our flank.' He carried his playful humour so far, that Poltoratsky now and then disputed with him, and among other things said, that the French had burned Moscow. This expression seemed unpleasant to Napoleon: 'What! the French? That act of barbarity was the work of you Russians.'

"When you took possession of Moscow, and when all order was at an end, it may be said that both the French and the Russians burned it: but I must frankly tell you that Russians, so far from regretting the catastrophe, reflect with pride on the burning of their ancient capital and can soon build a new one."

"Napoleon continued to grow warmer, and said, 'It was a barbarous deed, and a stain on the nation; I took Berlin, Madrid, and Vienna, and no such thing happened.'

"The Russians don't repent of it, and are delighted with the results."

"Napoleon stamped with his foot, and ordered the prisoner to leave the room."

"During the dialogue Marshals Berthier, Ney, Marmont, and the minister of foreign affairs, Maret, stood by in the most respectful posture. Poltoratsky was making his way, accompanied by a colonel of *gens-d'armes*, through the bivouac of the guard which encircled the house occupied by Napoleon, when he heard somebody call out, 'Where is the Russian prisoner?' It was the French General-aide-de-camp Fiahaut. He very politely requested him to return to Napoleon, who, loading his prisoner with compliments, thus began his interrogatory:

"What is the strength of the Russian guards and army? Where is the Emperor and generals?" naming many of them.

"To all his questions he received one and the same answer: 'I don't know.'"

"I had promised myself the pleasure," continued Napoleon, 'of conversing with you on several matters, but your answer, "I don't know," hinders me. Why does your Emperor every where employ his own excellent troops, and not the Germans, whom

I could annihilate in half an hour, while I have been fighting with you for a whole day ?

“ You ask me about the position of our army : that is a secret. To us the will of the Emperor is sacred, send us where he may. A gallant soldier says everything that comes uppermost. Our oath to our Emperor and country forbids that.”

“ Here Napoleon, displaying an intercepted order from Blücher to Olsoffief, desiring him on no account to retire from Champaubert, exclaimed, ‘ There is your drunkard Blücher ! Did he know I was here ? Where I am, there are a hundred thousand more.’ Poltoratsky still continuing his answers in the negative on the state of the army, was for the second time sent out of the room. Napoleon ordered him to be conveyed to Paris, and to be strictly watched.”

We extract a passage relative to the influence of Napoleon’s presence. The same, however, might have been said of that singularly gallant warrior, Lasnes, not only courageous himself but the cause of courage in others.

“ They who never witnessed a combat which Napoleon personally commanded and directed, can have but a faint idea of the magical effect produced by his presence on the spirit of a fight. The moment he appeared, the cavalry attacked with greater boldness and rapidity,—the skirmishers fell back, and gave place to deep columns of infantry,—the batteries were reinforced, and the fire became heavier,—Aides-de-camp galloped about in all directions,—and the air resounded with the cries of ‘ En avant ! Vive l’Empereur ! ’ ”

We often read of the kind of mental paralysis to which Napoleon was subject when his favourite objects were at any time frustrated by severe defeat. The same, more than once in the volume before us, as the reader will find, appears to have been the case with Blücher also, and is, in truth, not unusual with all men of sanguine temperament after sudden and complete disappointment of a favourite scheme. The following anecdote of the Prussian Field-Marshal on this occasion recalls Charles I. at Naseby.

“ Total defeat now appeared to Blücher to be inevitable. His mighty heart shuddered at the thought, that not only himself but Prince Augustus and the whole corps were on the point of being made prisoners. He now sought death, and stood in front of the squares in the thickest of the fire. ‘ If you should be killed here,’ said his favourite aide-de-camp, Nostitz, to him : ‘ do you really suppose that history will praise you for it ? ’ The Field Marshal now turned his horse’s head, and seeing the chief of his staff, Gneisenau, said to him, ‘ If I do not perish to-day, then am I destined to live long : I still hope to be able to repair all.’ ”

To readers in general, and more especially military men, we strongly recommend this volume, as a plain, clear, and soldier-like narrative, authentic in its views and statements, and satisfactory and interesting in its details. Much of the information it contains cannot, for the reasons we assigned in the outset of this article, be obtained with the same precision from any other sources : read with the work of Van Ense, and Lord Londonderry’s narrative, it forms a third volume of equal official value. The work too is from its nature a rarity, as one of the first instances of anything approaching to political subjects being printed in Petersburg :—a fact that speaks highly for the liberality of the Emperor Nicholas.

We mean speedily to return to the subject of the campaign of 1813 and 1814, and of the characters that distinguished themselves in war and diplomacy at that period. But we cannot lay down the pen without a protest against M. Danilefsky’s intimation that the minister of England stood rebuked before his Emperor, and that the plan of the campaign was that monarch’s unassisted work ; for such his book implies.

The British minister’s object was to serve his own country first, and carry his Cabinet’s resolves into effect. The deposition of Napoleon was of different importance to the interests of the different Allied Powers, though not perhaps to their feelings ; and the English secretary, we happen to know, had stood more than once before his own and other sovereigns in displeasure, as courteous and calm, but as inflexible, as he certainly proved on like occasions to Alexander. For the merits of the campaign we may recall Moreau and Jomini for France ; Blücher and still more Gneisenau for Prussia ; Austria has spoken for herself. England has more claims on our notice. Her commissioners were selected for their peculiar qualities ;—Cathcart, cool and decided ; Wilson, active, ardent, and enterprising to a fault. Lowe, a finished soldier and writer ; a man of details,—whose genius embraced and elucidated all : who could judge to a nicety every minutiae, and the bearing of each upon the general scheme. Finally, Stewart, who divided with the Earl of Uxbridge himself the suffrages of his nation as a cavalry officer : less impetuous, but full as determined and daring ; as simple in outlines of service as Lowe was complicated ; with an intrepidity that was never shaken nor surprised, and a military conduct that had never failed in the execution of any service entrusted to him. With all these men, and they were repeatedly consulted, Alexander must be satisfied to share the glories claimed for him.

ART. VII.—*Proclamation of the Governor-General of India.*—Calcutta, 1838.

THE publication, since the appearance of our last Number, of the Parliamentary papers relative to the great Eastern question and the conduct of Russia especially, both as regards her conjunction with Persia and the course she has pursued towards Great Britain in consequence, seems to have taken the British public altogether by surprise. No one fixed, general opinion appears to prevail, either as regards the rights of the question between Persia and Affghanistan, which is little understood, or the degree of faith to be placed now and hereafter in the professions, as separate from the practices, of the Court of St. Petersburg. This point is even less intelligible than the former; and with good reason; for loudly as the public press of this country had called the attention of the British government to the covert proceedings of Russian intrigue; and positively as they and the nation had been assured, from the best authority, that there was no reason whatever for any apprehension on the subject, no one beyond the mysterious pale of that improved diplomacy which, like all other blessings of recent reform, pursues its simple and straightforward course by increasing mystifications and multiplying complexity, could for a moment have entertained a suspicion that the truth of their conjectures lay very near the surface, and required some dexterity to shroud it effectually from their sight. That such has been the case is now unquestionable; and the Parliamentary correspondence alluded to in the outset will satisfy any reader on this point, though it is little satisfactory on any other.

It is not our intention to deal in large quotations from the mass of developments these papers present; yet much may be necessary. But when so many as fifty-seven printed sheets afford irrefragable evidence of craft, ambition, and deceit in the conduct of the agents of a great European power towards a nation with which its government professes the strongest desire to cultivate the relations of peace and amity, since all this manœuvring has been exerted upon a single one, out of several, the uninitiated may be tempted to ask, what security is there on any other head?

To this but one answer can present itself: viz. that there is no security whatever from without; and that the best from within can be found only in the jealousy of the British nation henceforth, and in the vigilance of its ministers against Russian intrigue.

Although politically opposed to the pre-

sent ministry, and doubting, in our ignorance, both the wisdom and the candour of steadily denying facts so obvious and undeniable (we should have imagined,) as that of exposed Russian intrigues, we are bound to give the Right Hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs every credit for the steps he has taken to obtain explanations. That these steps have checked the course of those intrigues, by bringing them before the eyes of rulers and of nations in a manner and with a distinctness that admitted neither subterfuge nor palliation, is a proof that the guardian of the country has not been negligent of her interest and his own duties. That the explanations in question have been satisfactory to the British government we are extremely glad to hear: and should have been still more glad to feel that they had satisfied any one else.

From the pains taken in our last notice of the subject to show the antagonisms existing between the different constituent portions of the Russian nation and government, our readers will not have been surprised to find that the system of counteraction there has been called into full activity; and they will therefore the more readily understand the difficulties entailed, first, on that sovereign as respects his ministers; and next, upon the British government, which is compelled to treat with the two as a single power.

Modern history affords examples enough, and we have recently instanced a very particular case, in the reign of George II., that the disavowal by a sovereign of the acts of his ministers is a sufficient atonement to a foreign power—for attempts against its peace, its possessions, and independence. This then is a precedent which cannot be departed from in the case before us. The English ministers are bound to abide by it, so long as no absolute deceit is apparent in the conduct of the party recanting. The course pursued by Nicholas towards the parties engaged in the nefarious intrigue may or may not be satisfactory to the aggrieved; but so long as the individuals transgressing are not openly countenanced by their monarch, but on the contrary stand virtually, if not actually, reprimanded and disgraced, England must acquiesce in the reparation offered; though she retains the right to consider the past as a matter of grievance if the future should in any shape correspond with it.

Since, then, the vigilance of the English minister is alarmed, and a tangible ground for jealousy obtained, it is clear that we have a right to view with suspicion any proceeding that tends to strengthen the latter, and to hold ourselves prepared to support the form-

er, should any necessity arise from the complexion of circumstances present or future.

The considerations on this head consequently reduce themselves to this: that we have taken the least apology that could be offered, because we were bound by precedents, and the spirit of the law of nations, to be satisfied with it: but that we are bound by the far stronger law of self-preservation to watch narrowly the sequel, and by every means prevent it from doing us farther injury.

But in order to do both with effect it is necessary to examine in some little detail the facts of the past as well as of the present: and for the former at least there exists the greater necessity, since it involves two points, essentially distinct, but which by their conjunction have materially complicated the question, and effectually militated against a just apprehension of it: producing the difficulty of comprehension to which we alluded at the outset of this article.

The first point is; whether Persia was justifiable or not in the invasion of Afghanistan? This question includes the right and mode of British interference.

The second point is, how far Russia was justifiable in the course pursued by her agents.

For the last century at least, Khorassan has not formed an integral part of the Persian empire, but remained generally faithful to the House of its conqueror, Nadir Shah, though his dynasty had been superseded in Persia itself by the Kajar or the Zend. There was, however, a claim of subjection on the part of Persia, and this was acknowledged by occasional payments of money from the ruler of Herat; chiefly effected, it is true, through the instrumentality of force, strictly according with Asiatic precedent.

These pecuniary supplies might not, certainly, be sufficient in themselves to establish the existence of subjection, inasmuch as they were made only with the greatest reluctance; a feeling nowhere unusual under such or any other circumstances: nevertheless it cannot be qualified otherwise than as a tribute, from the simple fact, which we divest of immaterial accompaniments; viz. that after bearing the simple title of Meerza, or Prince, like his predecessors, it was only in 1837, that the ruler of Herat—and this, be it observed, in no extremity of danger—offered to pay a yearly tribute to the Shah, and assist him with troops, as a vassal, with other conditions not bearing immediately on this head, if only the Shah of Persia would recognize his independence beyond these points: that is, by admitting him, Kamran, to the style and title of Shah and abstaining

from interference with his government: and this proposition was made through the British minister, Mr. (now Sir John) MacNeill.

The question of rights thus simply disposed of, by the admission of the party chiefly concerned, we now only instance, in proof of our assertion on a former occasion upon the subject (F.Q.R. 43), that Persia was the party aggrieved, the fact that Kamran had taken advantage of the disorders in that kingdom on the death of the late Shah to enter it and carry off twelve thousand persons whom he sold for slaves, at the same time compelling the chief of Khain, the Shah's subject, to pay tribute. We give the extracts establishing these two points, from Mr. Ellis's letter.

"Tehran, April 17, 1836.

"I had an audience of the Shah this day.

"His Majesty observed that the strongest considerations of duty, both as a king and a Mussulman, required him to proceed himself to Khorassan; that Kamran Meerza, and the Affghans under his authority, had penetrated from Seistan into Khorassan, had carried away twelve thousand persons, whom they had sold as slaves, and had compelled the Chief of Khain, his subject, to send tribute to Kamran Meerza; that the Chiefs of Khain and Khaf, both towns in Khorassan, had sent agents to say, that they must, unless immediately supported by the Shah, submit to Kamran; and that under these circumstances, he was bound to postpone all other objects. I observed that however pressing these considerations might be, the chastisement of the Affghans and Turcomans might be effected by his Majesty's servants, while the settlement of the revenue in the other provinces could never be so efficaciously made as by himself in person."

The right of the Shah to avenge his own cause against his vassal is undeniable; and our second extract will show that such was the view taken by Mr. MacNeill as well as by his predecessor Mr. Ellis.

"Tehran, February 24, 1837.

"I have the honour to transmit a copy of a letter I have just received from the Government of India. I hope that it will be unnecessary for me to have recourse to the measures proposed by the Governor-General for the purpose of marking the friendly feelings of the British Government towards the Affghans; for I hope that the Shah will not undertake an expedition against Herat this year; but were it otherwise, I very much fear that any remonstrances I could offer would be insufficient to deter the Shah from prosecuting what he regards as a just war.

"Putting aside the claims of Persia to the sovereignty of Herat, and regarding the question as one between two independ-

ent sovereigns, I am inclined to believe that the Government of Herat will be found to have been the aggressor.

"On the death of Abbas Meerza, when the present Shah returned from his unsuccessful expedition against Herat, negotiations were entered into which terminated in the conclusion of an agreement for the cessation of hostilities between the parties, and the demarcation of a line of boundary. From that time up to the present moment, Persia has committed no act of hostility against the Affghans; but on the death of the late Shah, the Government of Herat made predatory incursions into the Persian territories, in concert with the Turcomans and Hazarehs, and captured the subjects of Persia, for the purpose of selling them as slaves. This system of warfare has from that time been carried on without intermission by the Affghans of Herat, and Persia has not retaliated these acts of aggression by any hostile measure, unless the public annunciation of its intention to attack Herat should be regarded as such.

"Under these circumstances, there cannot, I think, be a doubt that the Shah is fully justified in making war on Prince Kamran: and though the capture of Herat by Persia would certainly be an evil of great magnitude, we could not wonder if the Shah were to disregard our remonstrances, and to assert his right to make war on an enemy who has given him the greatest provocation, and whom he may regard himself as bound in duty to his subjects to punish, or even to put down. I therefore doubt whether the measures proposed by the Government of India would have the desired effect. I am disposed to believe that if the Shah found circumstances favourable to the success of an expedition against Herat this year, it would be necessary to resort to much stronger measures, before he would be induced to desist from the undertaking; and I am not quite satisfied whether it would be advisable to produce the alienation which must result from the measures proposed, unless we are prepared to go further and to insure success, by convincing the Persian Government that we are prepared to act as well as to threaten.

"At the same time I am convinced that the Shah would act more prudently and wisely, if he were to seek to remove by negotiation the evils of which he complains; and I have already found an opportunity of offering to Persia the good offices of this legation, without formally tendering them.

"No disposition has yet been evinced to seek our mediation with Herat; and I have continued to refrain from making the relations of Persia with that Principality a subject of discussion; but in answer to some observations of the Prime Minister, I informed him some time ago that the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Tehran forbade England to afford any assistance to Persia, so long as she might be at war with the Affghans; and that before any assistance could be given, whether in the supply of arms or otherwise,

either the Article in question must be got rid of, or peace must be concluded with Herat."

There was evidently no denying the right possessed by Persia and her sovereign to chastise her refractory subject, and even if deemed necessary, to dispossess him of a power he had so flagrantly abused, as well as of the means of maintaining that power: namely, the occupation of Herat. Not content with the violence he had offered to his paramount authority, Prince Kamran assumed the style of Shah in his letter to his Persian superior himself, and even that of Asylum of the Faith, as an independent prince, though Dost Mahommed admitted the Shah's superiority over that country. Mr. MacNeill was distinctly told by the prince's envoy that his master did not mean to relinquish that title.*

We do not imagine that any of our readers can hesitate as to the tendency of the course stated in the following extract:

"After having communicated with Futteh Mahommed Khan, the Envoy from Herat, who called upon me here, I found that while the Vizier's (of Kamran) letter to the Ausef (Persian negotiator), was written in a strain of submission, Kamran, Shah of Herat, in his letter to the Shah of Persia, had preserved the style and title of an independent Sovereign. Though he addressed the Shah with deference and respect, he did not address his Persian Majesty as his Sovereign, and his signet bore the inscription, which has been used for several generations by the royal family of the Affghans, describing him as 'Shah dor Doraun.' The Envoy also informed me that there was no intention on the part of the Herat Government to relinquish its independence, that Kamran would not agree to renounce the title of Shah, or to coin the money, or have prayers read in the name of Mahommed Shah; and that even if Kamran had been disposed to accede to these terms, he did not dare to propose them to the Affghan nobles."

We are fully aware it may be argued that in the nature of Asiatic governments there is an essential difference from those of Europe; and that the power which gives right where none existed without it, is so fluctuating and so frequent in the former, as to introduce a wide distinction of usages between Europe and Asia. But this is the utmost that can be said in favour of the principle, or rather, the practice of subverting allegiance; and it falls manifestly short of its object. The Power that substitutes itself for Right, must be effective and actual; that is

* Yet to obtain the government he had gone originally to Tehran, and received, as a vassal, the Firmann of appointment from the late Shah.

to say, must have already wrought its own aim before it can be acknowledged, or even admitted : it must be sovereign *de facto* at least, and the proposition made by Kamran to the Shah was an admission against his own claim. Even in legislating for Asia therefore, Europe cannot act on a principle which is neither European nor Asiatic.—Kamran had also, in 1835, broken all the stipulations made with the former Shah, as Mr. Ellis's letter shows.

The point of right thus established, that of expediency follows : and hence arises the question of English interference—the second portion of our inquiry.

It is singular that from 1833 to the time we are now considering, sufficient stress was not laid by our ministers on the importance of Herat to our Indian power, though at the first named period, Mahommed Meerza, now Shah of Persia, laid siege to that fortress unsuccessfully. In 1837, however, Mr. MacNeill saw the value of that post ; and then, when another expedition was preparing against it,

“It soon became sufficiently evident that the real question at issue between the parties was the sovereignty of Herat, which the Shah of Persia claimed for himself, but which Kamran Shah was not prepared to relinquish ; and this appeared to me to be precisely the question in which the British Government was most interested. I regarded it as of the utmost importance to our security in India, that Herat should not become dependant on Persia, in such a manner that it should follow the fate of this country, or become available to any power which might obtain a control over the councils of the Shah. I therefore, not only could not advise the Herat envoy to concede this point, but I considered it my duty to say that if this concession should be made, and the relations of Shah Kamran and the people of Herat to the Shah of Persia should thus become those of subjects to a sovereign, I could take no further part in the negotiation.

“I had been instructed by the Government of India to dissuade the Shah from undertaking another expedition against Herat ; and to inform His Majesty that to prosecute this war might diminish the cordiality which had so long subsisted between England and Persia. In my despatch of the 24th of February, I expressed an opinion that the war which the Shah was prosecuting against Herat was a just war ; and I ventured to question the advantage, under such circumstances, of endeavouring, by implied threats, to dissuade him from renewing it ; but when the Herat Government offered terms so very advantageous, that I felt convinced Persia could not by the conquest of the place, have gained so much in strength and security, it appeared to me that the war had from that

moment become on the part of Persia, an unjust war ; and that having been requested by the Persian Government to take a part in the negotiation, while the Herat Envoy had placed himself entirely in my hands, I could no longer with advantage maintain the reserve I had hitherto thought it advisable to maintain in regard to this question. I therefore determined to take this opportunity of making a stand ; and to remove every excuse for mutual distrust, I ventured to engage, on the part of the British Government, that it would use its endeavours to get the terms fulfilled by both parties. While I was determined to maintain, at all hazards, the principle of the independence of Herat, I did not object to the concessions which were voluntarily made by Shah Kamran ; because, so long as the Persian Government was precluded from interfering in the internal affairs of Herat, and marching troops into that country, Herat would form a barrier against the further advance of Persia in that direction, and one, too, which by an engagement to look to the faithful observance of the proposed arrangements, we should have acquired the right of assisting to guard.

“The pretensions of Persia to the sovereignty of Affghanistan appeared to me to be such as we were neither called upon by a sense of justice, nor permitted by a due regard to our own security, to sanction or allow. I thought I could show, from our treaty with Persia, that the Affghans were looked upon by the Persian Government itself, at the time when that treaty was signed, as an independent nation ; while the fact of our having concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with their sovereign, in 1809, precluded the possibility, so long as they preserved their actual independence, of our being called upon to acknowledge them to be subjects of Persia.

“In my letter recommending the Persian Government to accept the terms offered by the Herat Envoy, I had stated my fears, that if these terms were rejected, and troops were sent against Herat, the British Government might suspect that Persia had in view, in prosecuting the war, other objects than those which she had avowed. His Excellency refers to the perfect union of the nations as an answer to this statement. In my reply, I have thought it necessary to point out to him that the course pursued by the Government of the present Shah has not been that which was best calculated to secure to Persia the advantages of that perfect confidence in her views and intentions which she expects the British Government to feel ; and I have endeavoured to make his Excellency perceive, that if Persia is deterred by fear of others from rendering justice or evincing her friendship to England, such a state of things must effectually destroy all confidence in her policy, especially as the increasing disorganization and weakness of the Government must tend to increase the evil.

“I think it possible that this discussion may, for a time, produce, some unpleasant

feeling on the part of the Shah and his Minister towards myself."

We extract, for the sake of further illustration, the most material points of "certain propositions submitted to the Persian Government by Futteh Mahommed Khan, Agent from the Government of Herat."

"1st Point.—There is to be a cessation of war and of marauding; the capture and sale of prisoners are to be utterly abolished.

"2d Point.—Should the King of Kings intend to undertake a military expedition against Toorkistan, and should he require troops from Shah Kamran, the latter is to supply troops to the extent of his ability, and they shall accompany the Governor of Kho-rassan on any expedition against Toorkistan. Should troops be required on the frontiers of Azerbaijan, Shah Kamran shall furnish them in such number as may at the time be practicable, and shall not withhold them.

"3d Point.—A sum of money in the shape of tribute shall be paid annually, at the festival of Noorooz, to the Persian Government.

"I engage for the performance of the foregoing stipulations on the part of my master Shah Kamran, on condition that the following engagements shall be agreed to.

"1st Point.—The King of Kings of Persia shall consider Shah Kamran as his brother and treat him with regard.

"2d Point.—The Ministers of the King of Kings of Persia shall not interfere in any manner whatever in the succession of the posterity of Shah Kamran. Whichever of the descendants of Shah Kamran shall succeed him in his government and titles, and shall fulfil the engagements that have been here contracted, it is stipulated on the part of the King of Kings of Persia that these engagements shall continue in full force, and shall not undergo any alteration.

3d Point.—Troops shall not be sent into the territories in the possession of Shah Kamran; war and marauding are to cease; and the capture and sale of prisoners are to be entirely abolished. The Government of the King of Kings of Persia is not to interfere in any manner whatever in the internal affairs of the territories in the possession of Shah Kamran; and to enable the Government of Herat to fulfil its engagements, the internal management of these territories is to be entirely under the control of the Government of Herat.

"4th Point.—The English Government shall be mediators between the Persian and Herat Governments; and if there should be any infraction of these engagements by either party, it shall employ every exertion to obtain their fulfilment.

The view taken by our Envoy, MacNeill, of these propositions will appear by the following extract from a letter to the Persian Prime Minister.

"Your Excellency will observe that in this document all the engagements which imply exertion or expense, or concession, are those which the Herat Government will be called upon to fulfil; and that the engagements which the Persian Government is here called upon to enter into, bind his Persian Majesty only to forbear from interfering in the internal affairs of Herat, but do not make it necessary to spend one farthing of money, or to make any exertion of any kind. That on the other hand the Herat Government engages to give hostages, of which one is to be a son of Shah Kamran, and the others are to be relations of his Vizier and his brother,—that it further engages to give Peeshkush,—to furnish troops when required—to protect merchants—and, what is most important, to restrain all persons under its control from plunder and from the capture and sale of slaves. For the due performance of these engagements the Persian Government will have not only the solemn pledge of the Herat Government, but also the assurance that the British Government will use its best endeavours to get them carried into effect. As your Excellency entirely doubted the sincerity of the Herat Government, you will no doubt fully appreciate this part of the arrangement.

"Let his Persian Majesty's Ministers themselves decide whether it is more advantageous to the interests of Persia to conclude this arrangement, which secures advantages so great and so obvious, or to undertake military operations against Herat, which are disapproved by the British and other friendly Governments, and which cannot fail to entail an immense expense on this Government, and to exhaust its military resources, while the result must still be doubtful. Whether it is better to accept terms so honourable to his Persian Majesty, or to drive the people of Herat to the necessity of making a determined resistance, and thus incurring the hazard of failure, and the evils (may God avert them) which must follow such a misfortune. It is also worthy of your Excellency's wisdom and knowledge of affairs to consider whether, even in the event of success against Herat, the Persian Government could derive from the capture of that place, advantages so great and permanent as it may secure to itself by accepting the present proposals, coupled as they are with the mediation of the British Government."

From the Persian Minister's answer to the above-mentioned propositions we take the following passages, which seem to us perfectly reasonable, and involve all the material considerations of the point at issue.

"Throughout the propositions of Futteh Mahommed Khan, the designation applied to Prince Kamran, is Kamran Shah. This is precisely the point which is the cause of the movement of troops, that these pretensions may be destroyed. Two kings cannot

dwelt in one kingdom. The title of Feridoon Meezra, the Governor-General of Fars, which is ten times as large as Herat, is Ameerzadeh, son of a prince, (not prince). This phrase conveys the impression of disobedience and refractoriness, and the remedy is to cease to employ such expressions.

"Third point.—That tribute shall be paid annually at the Noorooz. He who is obedient must of course pay tribute and taxes; he must read the Khootbeh (prayers which imply royalty), and strike the coin in the name of the king, the Asylum of the Faith (king of Persia); and he must, at all times, and on all occasions, acknowledge his obedience and subjection; and he must avoid the inconsistency of endeavouring to form a treaty as if Persia and Herat were two separate kingdoms.

"In regard to the first proposition of the engagements by Persia, that the King of Kings of Iran shall treat Prince Kamran as his brother.—The treatment of the king, the Asylum of the Faith, to Feridoon Meerza, (the King of Persia's brother) is that of master to his servant. Let Prince Kamran be like Feridoon Meerza, for higher expectations would be presumptuous. It might indeed be proposed that he should be treated with more favour than his Majesty's brother; but no one can presume to aspire to be regarded as brother to the King of Kings; for all are the devoted servants of the great King.

"In regard to the second proposition (of the engagements by Persia) after the acknowledgment of obedience, and the payment of the taxes, the Ministers of the Persian Government will not interfere in the affairs of Herat, and any deviation from this course will be contrary to royal justice; but if otherwise, beyond a doubt changes and alterations will be introduced, and the severest punishments will be inflicted on the people of that country.

"In regard to the third proposition; why should military expeditions be undertaken against a country which has acknowledged its subjection? Troops are sent against the rebellious and refractory—not the submissive and obedient. Who would seek to inflict evil on his own dominions?

"In regard to the fourth proposition,—the British Government, from the friendship subsisting between both states, is always listened to, whenever it gives counsel beneficial to Persia and its provinces. After the acknowledgment of subjection by the people of Herat, and the performance of service, then whatever the British Government recommends, shall be without doubt assented to.

"The language which Futteh Mahommed Khan held to your Excellency, varied exceedingly from the letters which Yar Mahommed Khan (Vizier of Herat), addressed to the Ausef-ud-Dowleh, and which Your Excellency has perused and taken a copy of; the propositions have no connection with that document; therefore no confidence is to be

placed in the declaration of Futteh Mahommed Khan; and if any discussions were to take place, no reliance could be held in his assertions."

This discrepancy between the language held by two negotiators from the same sovereign might well create suspicions and distrust in the Persian prime-minister; and further ground for these doubts is afforded, as appears from the next extract.

"Your letter, written with the pen of friendship, has reached me: and I have perfectly understood the contents. I was in expectation of the arrival of intelligence from his Excellency, the Ausef-ud-Dowleh, that might inform you of the real state of things. On the day of the arrival of the Agent from Herat, I despatched a messenger in haste, in order that if the Rulers of Herat had any serious intention of submission, the Ausef-ud-Dowleh should desist from military expeditions, and from the expenditure of large sums of money. Yesterday, letters arrived from the Ausef-ud-Dowleh to the Master of the Ceremonies, demanding that troops and money should be sent to enable him to proceed against Herat. Since the Ausef-ud-Dowleh has made these demands, it is evident that he has lost all hopes of their submission, because on these occasions they have attempted similar deceptions by promising obedience; and then, when opportunity offered, they did not desist from taking prisoners, and undertaking military expeditions against Khain, Seistan, Furrak, and other places; and also from giving access to the marauding incursions of the Turcomans into Khorassan, so that those frontiers are deprived of all tranquillity, as your Excellency perceived the day before yesterday, from the letters of learned and holy men in Khorassan. Similar representations are sent here in great numbers; but the detail of them would be useless. In short the affair is in this situation—the man considers himself an independent sovereign; he refuses to make submission, and does not desist from violence. Such being the circumstances, what is the duty of the Ministers of this state? Is the protection of the subject, the repose of the poor and wretched, the duty of royalty or not? Could any monarch in your own country, tolerate such disorders in his dominions from a place like Herat, which usually has been the Capital of the heir to the throne of Persia?

"At the conclusion of your letter there are some remarks about alarm. I am in great astonishment at this declaration, considering the distance of four months' journey, and the great friendship between the two States, which, during this length of time, has never been interrupted by a hair's breadth on either side. What cause is there for alarm or for these remote speculations which have never entered into the mind of any one, nor ever will? Finally, as your Excellency is a sin-

cere well-wisher of both States, I have given you this trouble."

With every disposition to question the good faith of Persian negotiations at all times, here are statements distinctly and formally made by the Prime Minister of a sovereign, that a course of insecurity and deception is pursued by a subject Prince towards his superior, and the allegation so far as we can see remains uncontradicted. We are bound then to receive it as true; and need only ask, what security the Persian Government could look for as to the faith of Kamran? and, whether, as an independent power, they had not the right to punish a "refractory" aim at independence on his part. To deny the last is to place Persia in tutelage: and as to the former question, Persia could scarcely acquiesce in the guarantee of Britain when the British negotiator had declared his resolution "to maintain at all hazards the independence of Herat"—against its acknowledged sovereign.

We are now considering the case simply between Persia and Herat; and, in strict reasoning, could Persia, we ask, have submitted to such terms, so declared, without becoming virtually the vassal of England?

We find from these parliamentary papers that, except Kamran, all the chiefs of Affghanistan acknowledge their subjection to Persia; yet the British envoy "thinks he can show" that in spite of their own declarations and feelings they are absolutely independent, because they are virtually so: for this alone can be the meaning of the word *actual*, applied by him to men who confessed a nominal subjection. The treaty of 1809 could, we submit, be looked at under this very material consideration, only as a case of *quasi* independence: or one which, at best, had ceased to exist.

We must repeat that, setting aside for the moment the interests of England, and viewing the question simply as between Persia and Herat, the former had a right to take ultimate measures if she deemed it necessary: for though the treaty concluded by Sir H. Jones in 1809 with Persia contemplated war between her and the Affghans, or between these and British India, yet these were cases of *de facto*, not *de jure* independence on the part of Affghanistan; nor is any allusion made to this distinction in the treaty itself. The treaty concluded between Mr. Elphinstone and Shah Soojah at nearly the same period provides for the defence of India against France and Persia by Affghan aid, and thus comes nearer to the point. But as the advance was to be made

THROUGH AFFGHANISTAN, it was evidently contemplated there would be in the first instance an invasion of the latter country by its lord paramount, allied with a foreign force. Thus too Affghanistan, *de facto* independent, though *de jure* subject, was to be assailed in the first instance, and by strangers as well as friends, before she could act; and this action to be but defensive.

But Mr. MacNeill "thought he could show" that a treaty made with a foreign power proves an actual independence! When France made a treaty with the Americans against England, did the latter ever dream that it lessened her claim to allegiance? How stands Egypt with Turkey? or is a robbery right because a friend helps us? We fear Mr. MacNeill's defence would not save his client from transportation at the Old Bailey. What difference could Persian statesmen find between the subjection of Affghanistan to Persia, and the precisely analogous subjection of Egypt to Turkey? And yet in the latter case, all Europe insists that Mahomet Ali shall NOT DECLARE himself independent of the Porte, while England, a party to this very course, finds her Minister in Persia insisting that Kamran SHALL declare himself independent of the Shah, and Great Britain is to support him in throwing off his allegiance! Had not the Shah a right to be irritated against a policy that was blowing hot and cold from the same mouth, in the same moment? Had not he, had not the actual rulers of Affghanistan, before their eyes the fateful precedent of the Marquess of Hastings' premeditated treachery to the Mogul in the case of Oude? (F. Q. R. No. xlv. p. 58), carried out too, as it was to the final act, by the very Lord Auckland who was (No. xlv. p. 55) disclaiming the act and taking advantage of it at the time; and who, with a magnificence of profession that has moved already (No. xlv. p. 58,) our sincerest admiration at his generosity in lavishing words, writes from Simla under date of May 15, to Mr. Macnaghten,* as follows:—

"In any discussion upon the present policy of the Indian Government, you may remark that the Governor-General has no appetite for wars and conquests; that the boundaries of the Eastern Indian Empire have seemed to him to be amply extensive; and that he would rather conquer the jungle with the plough, plant villages where tigers have possession, and spread commerce and navigation upon waters which have hitherto been barren, than take one inch of territory from his neighbours, or sanction the march of ar-

* Policy of the Government of British India as exhibited in Official Documents. Allen. 1839.

mies for the acquisition of kingdoms; yet that he feels strong in military means, and that with an army of one hundred thousand men under European officers, in Bengal, and with one hundred thousand more, whom he might call to his aid from Madras and Bombay, he can with ease repel every aggression, and punish every enemy; yet he looks on this army only as a security for peace, and as an instrument of preserving in their integrity the present territories and the dignity of the East India Company."—*Papers laid before the House of Commons by her Majesty's Command*, No. 4, page 6.

The "British policy in India," as exhibited in this official document, is somewhat different certainly from that "exhibited in official" acts of his Lordship such as we have just referred to. Whether the great Arabian-Night was at the time of penning this humorous epistle seeking, as has been insinuated, to share with his friend Runjeet Sing an enviable immortality, by offerings at the temple of Amreetsir, we cannot presume to determine; but sure we are that in his efforts to obtain

"The Amreeta cup of immortality"

his Lordship has as little hesitation, as his predecessors in Indian fable, in stirring up earth, ocean, and Mount Meru itself, for the accomplishment of his lawful desires.

The question of our envoy's interference, however, is not limited to the Persian view, the abstract right, of this case. It was justly held by Mr. Ellis first, and Mr. MacNeill afterwards, a matter of considerable importance to our Indian Government and possessions. It might, in the circumstances and under the influence which was then swaying Persia to foreign movement, have become a serious thorn in the side of the British Government as regarded Central Asia; and viewing the unwarrantable proceedings and open hostility of the Russian agents to our power and influence in the East, the point became one of defence against encroachment, resistance to aggression; in fact, of self-preservation. But the necessity on our part did not annihilate the right of the Persians; it only set it aside for the time, preventing them from acting upon it to our prejudice. There is a wide distinction between the two; but it seems to have been lost sight of by us; and it has made us, in our own opinion most unjustly, hostile to the Shah of Persia, by visiting him with an obloquy due only to the insidious ambition of his Russian advisers. The Shah, we contend, wished to right himself, and probably also to efface the disgrace of his former failure before Herat; and he em-

braced this opportunity offered by an alliance that appeared calculated to ensure success; though it proved in the event most injurious to his aims, by rousing the jealousy first, and then the might, of Britain against them.

It does seem to us not a little extraordinary that so soon as the growing importance of the country of the Affghans became apparent to ourselves, and the intentions of the Shah began to threaten danger in that quarter, that no care should have been taken to form a right of defence by treaty, and to establish the security of so formidable an outpost as Herat has now proved to be, for our Oriental possessions and commerce. Yet this point, which must have been obvious in 1832, and which might surely have formed a stipulation in the terms that gave Mohammed Shah his crown in 1835, appears to have escaped notice; not by Mr. Ellis certainly, but by those whose duty it was to attend to the suggestions offered, and to act upon them. Whether the fault lies with our rulers at home or abroad, with the living or with the departed, we shall not now inquire. Years have passed since it was made; and, fortunately for England, she has in India at this moment a statesman capable of overshadowing any errors of any of his predecessors.

Old men, says the German proverb, talk of what they have done; children of what they are doing, and fools of what they are going to do. In which of these categories we are to place the Author of the far-famed proclamation of Hindostan is a matter of some little delicacy: and we carefully, as the reader sees, avoid the subject, inasmuch as his Lordship, notwithstanding the suspicious researches hinted in our last number, shows none of the symptoms supposed, in the East at least, to accompany the beard of the former, and none of the innocence attributed in the West to the second classification. That exemplary functionary may, it is true, be a "close shaver," but the fact is by no means conspicuously obvious, despite his recent taste for edged tools. Having, however, and perhaps for the want of a sufficient military biographer, heard nothing whatever of late of the renowned exploits and adventures of this "ingenioso hidalgo," we fear that, like his Manchegan prototype, the Oriental "Caballero de la triste figura" must be cutting but a very sorry figure, since the gallant army and the grand expedition itself broke down in the might of his first, intended, achievement. That his vast preparations could have been dispensed with is probable, since Captain Wade assures us (*Parliamentary Papers*, No. 5), that had but a single British officer at the right time ac-

accompanied " * the indolent and sensual " Sooja, his (whose?) "*simple* appearance would have restored him" to the throne. But the simple ones, it would seem did not love simplicity such as this; and of the large force of 25,000 men, raised instead, and at the *farthest* convenient point from the scene of operations, we should now reckon as in a dream, were not the expenses yet to be paid.

It cannot, we imagine, fail to strike every reader of these Parliamentary Papers, that though the English agents and ministers engaged in or near the scene of negotiations felt fully and intimately the necessity of promptitude, yet that that feeling was never acted upon by the competent authorities. For at least two years the Shah's intention was notorious; for at least two years the necessity for energy had been pointed out by Mr. Ellis and others; if the urgency of the case compelled us to hold Herat from its sovereign, and by a cat's-paw for ourselves, a convention to this effect might have been concluded in good time with Kamran, who had the nine points of possession in his favour, and the will, power, and capacity to retain it. But alas! there was a tenth point, and that was Shah Sooja; in obscurity and hopeless difficulty worth all the other nine: and as, besides his own folly and weakness, he had become recently the ally of our respectable and respected ally Runjeet Sing, at sight with his own eyes of this auspicious conjunction, the Governor-General's bowels of compassion were deeply moved: and with reason. The ablest of the Barukhzye brothers, Dost Mahommed Khan, the ruler of Cabul, is represented by his panegyrist as a cheat, liar, and swindler, tolerably well-informed, and extremely affable to all who approach him, even those who come only to revile his fraud and perfidy, and is used to the bitterest, coarsest epithets. He of all the princes in question held longest by the English alliance, perhaps as the most profitable: but this complimentary preference was nothing compared with the regard of his adversary Runjeet Sing. The law of libel forbids all biography of "the old lion" of the Seikhs; we but remark of his attachment, that "it grows by what it feeds on." In the exile and distress of Soojah he had received him as a brother, and sheltered him so long as he had anything to be robbed of. His friendship for the fugitive prince had slept for years, till it was suddenly revived by the dissensions in Cabul, where something might be got by espousing the

cause of Soojah. At this crisis of the latter's fortunes Lord Auckland appeared, formed a league with the Seikh leader, and in hurrying the alliance to make up for lost time, concluded a bad bargain in its worst form, and to ensure the safety of Herat agreed to take it from him who had defended, in order to give it to him who could neither win nor preserve it—assuring further the tranquillity of Hindostan, by agreeing to take the field against every comer in Affghanistan; and confirming the rights of peace and property in this latter country by driving all its rulers from their thrones.

It is, however, even more singular and remarkable that tardy, as we have seen reason to conclude, were the final resolves of Lord Auckland, they appear to have taken our ministry at home by surprise. We are far from desiring to intimate that the British cabinet had not foreseen and issued their instructions as to general results; but the extreme reluctance continually exhibited to anything like decided measures; the unwillingness to prepare even for any great results; the apparent dread of taking the lead in any decisive step; and the consequent inclination to temporize and wait until others begin to act;—faults inherent, we fear, in every medium course, and also partly due, in the case before us, to the confessed difficulties of position and doubts of an effective support in any great emergency from either of the two extreme parties;—all these causes, united with an excessive fear of disturbing the repose of Europe and the world, gave certainly a character of procrastination to the question and checked the energies of the negotiators on the part of Britain. Of this the opponents of our influence were not slow to avail themselves; and with the unblushing effrontery that sustains and consolidates itself when there is no fear of detection; with the audacity that rises with the opportunities offered, and the presumption that hopes highest reward at home from unexampled daring abroad,—acts that, if unacceptable, mislead and confound the slower and more safe calculations of unperturbed policy, but yet claim notice, and almost encouragement for their authors, on other occasions;—urged especially by those semi-official, half-acknowledged, half-undefined instructions, so frequently written in the bureaux of the great Empire, though the formula never appear beyond the precincts of the very spot from which they were originated; which never pass the desk of the minister who framed them; and which memory alone must substitute and supply for the agent, both in the letter and the spirit of his acts, for with these the

* Notes on the Relations of British India with the Countries west of the Indus.—Allen and Co., 1839.

original instructions are rigorously compared on his return ;—against such a system, actuated and excited by the selfish vanity, national and individual, of every member, however humble, of its Governmental departments, it was scarcely to be expected that limited and cautious policy could at all prevail. But British negotiators were confined and cramped ; bound to specific rules of thought and speech ; and had only the powers of reason and argument, and the voice of dissuasion, to oppose to the unrestricted assumptions and uncontrolled offers and promises of scheming diplomatic adventurers, lavish of temptation to the ignorant triflers of Asia ; trained to know and use the follies and weaknesses of the peculiar courts to which they were accredited ; amply supplied with pecuniary means from the resources of their own proper government ; and, in some cases at least, not without distinct expectations of assistance from their chiefs, both as to arms and men ; and all this employed to persuade needy and ignorant Asiatic military rulers, and, worse even than these, their mercenary courtiers, to a course which promised immediate advantage to themselves, their patrons, and their followers.

But had the opponents of these adventurers been armed with the full powers which more or less must hereafter be given to every mission of importance in our transactions with Eastern potentates ; had Mr. MacNeill for instance been able to reply peremptorily to the efforts and insinuations made by Russian agents to the Court of Persia, that he was willing to conduct this negotiation on an amicable footing, but that the first step of hostile approach towards the outposts of the British frontier in India should be considered as an act of hostility against that empire, and be promptly treated as such ; could he have declared, not merely that he would not concede the point of the independence of Herat, but that he was resolved to support it ; and that his powers extended to the effective support of Shah Kamran by aid of money, means and supplies of warlike materials and skill, and also of men, if necessary in his judgment ; could he in fact have ordered up a regiment to the aid of the refractory chieftain upon occasion, and felt that he could do so, what would have been the result ? The whole intrigue must have been unmasked, and the Emperor would have had either to support the gratuitous and unwarranted frauds and misrepresentations of the agents by plunging at once into a war neither necessary, advantageous, nor contemplated ; or else the schemers for Russian universal dominion

would have stood exposed in the midst of their practices, and to the eyes of the very parties they were endeavouring, and so successfully, to delude.

It may be objected that such a power is too great to be entrusted to individuals ; but those employed in the East, and at such distances from their own courts, ought to be men of high abilities and sound judgment, calm perception, and accurate knowledge of position. The amicable or opponent ambassador to an Eastern potentate should be in some sort a potentate himself : high bearing, full confidence, and prompt decision are no less indispensable for the task, than a careful pre-consideration of possible cases and an ample scope allowed him for thought and action. The East differs essentially from the west ; and the despot of the former fears most of all, if not only, the indomitable firmness of a spirit strong in itself, and sustained by external support. The only successful instances of Oriental diplomacy have occurred under circumstances such as we have pointed out. Some modification doubtless would be requisite in the outline of every such functionary's duties, but the principle must be adopted ; for ignorance and barbarism mistake moderation for fear, and the want of full powers in the individual for an indication of weakness in his Court.

We have shown that so far as Persia alone was concerned she had a fair and colourable claim over Herat : and that however valuable and important might be the independence of this last for the security of British India, the Shah was not bound to take it into consideration. In fact our own part was, to have been duly apprised of the advantages resulting from possession of the fortress and district ; and then there would have been time and means for negotiating, and for ensuring probably its possession in friendly hands. The neglect was obviously on our side ; and when the Shah, smarting from the discomfiture of his former attempt, and burning with vengeance for the outrages committed against his kingdom and authority by the chappow or inroad, and the capture of so large a portion of his subjects by the ruler of Herat, was meditating the restoration of that frontier hold to the Persian empire, it was obviously but an unfavourable moment, though the last that was left us, for an estranged ally, like Britain, to attempt to sway his councils : the opportunity too, offered by the dissensions existing in Affghanistan and the neighbouring provinces, aiding his schemes, and Russian agents assisting him openly and promptly in his darling object.

The immobility of the Shah, and the first impressions of the Russian minister plenipotentiary, Count Simonich, appear from the following extract, transmitted to Lord Palmerston by Mr. Milbanke from M. Rodofinikin.

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that His Majesty the Shah set out for Khorassan on Sunday last, the 11th of this month. Notwithstanding the little success which had attended my previous representations with the view of dissuading the King from undertaking an expedition against the Prince of Herat, I was willing still to make a last attempt. I accordingly presented to His Majesty a note, in which I no longer combated the unseasonableness of this campaign; I only endeavoured to prove that it would be much more beneficial to his interests to entrust the command of his troops to one of his brothers, if the expedition to Herat was irrevocably determined upon, and to remain himself in the Capital, where his presence appeared to me indispensable. I dwelt much on the state of his health, on the danger which there would be in his exposing himself during the great heats to so fatiguing a journey, and I required that at least His Majesty should put off his departure until the month of September, in the event of his finding it absolutely necessary, from considerations of which I might be ignorant, to draw near to the theatre of operations. I knew that if I succeeded in keeping the Shah here until autumn, the differences with Kamran Meerza might be terminated by means of negotiation. But all my efforts were fruitless. The King, being determined to set out, caused me to be summoned, and gave me verbally the answer to my note; and if His Majesty was not able to convince me of the necessity of making war upon Kamran, he at least proved to me that he was immovable in his resolution. Being satisfied that all my arguments to detain the King would henceforth be ineffectual, and not choosing on the other hand that my presence in the camp should be interpreted as if the Imperial government favoured the enterprise of the King, I determined not to accompany His Majesty, and I flatter myself with the hope that I have acted on this occasion in the sense prescribed to me by my instructions, and to the entire satisfaction of the Imperial Ministry."

We have certainly only the statements of the Russian minister to Persia for the facts, and these, it is true, may not be correctly given. But in the first place it is even consonant with general experience to suppose the count adhering to his instructions, till the determination of the Shah afforded an opening and inducement for Simonich to intrigue. That he soon obtained secret in-

structions there can be no question. In the second place we cannot doubt that the Shah's resolution was taken, and this too on grounds of undeniable right, since our two successive ministers, Mr. Ellis and Mr. MacNeill, had freely admitted the rights of the Shah, and the justice of his cause, in the first instance; and if Mr. MacNeill's opinion was changed subsequently, as it appears it was, by the very fair terms offered by Kamran, including, in the judgment of the British envoy at least, advantages which Persia could not obtain by the reduction of the fortress, still it was for the Shah, the confessed paramount lord, to decide on their eligibility in his own case. England proposed to mediate or guarantee the terms to Persia; but England had long before, and under other circumstances, agreed,

"Art. 7.—In case war takes place between his Persian majesty and the Affghans, his Majesty the King of Great Britain shall not take any part therein, unless it be at the desire of both parties, to afford his mediation for peace."

And though the treaty of 1809 was strictly defensive, and the 8th article stipulated,

"It is acknowledged that the intent and meaning of these preliminary articles are defensive. And it is likewise agreed, that as long as these preliminary articles remain in force, his Majesty the King of Persia shall not enter into any engagements inimical to his Britannic Majesty, or pregnant with injury or disadvantage to the British territories in India:—"

yet it was by no means easy to convince the Shah that the reduction of his tributary was the case like that contemplated in this clause; and even the Russian agents themselves, as appears by the treaty framed under their management, with the Sirdars, or rulers, of Candahar, had provided for the actual retention of Herat in other than Persian hands; that is to say, in those of the lords of that country, with whom the Shah was allying himself.

"Draft of treaty made by Kumber Aleé Khan, the Persian Elchee, with the chiefs of Candahar.

"The treaty which I, Kumber Aleé (literally, creature of God) have made with the respectable Sirdars Kohen Dil, Rehem Dil, and Mehír Dil Khan, on the part of his Majesty Mahommed Shah, is as follows:

"In case the Sirdars should send one of their sons to his Majesty, I promise to the Sirdars the following return.

"1. That the country of Herat, whether it be taken by the power of the servants of the Persian government, or that of the Sirdars, must be left to the latter. The

Shah should not expect any thing from them in return but service, and likewise make no interference of any kind with their country or tribe in Affghanistan.

"2. His Majesty is not to form a connection with the Affghans of any description, great or small, and also not to employ them in case of any business with the Affghans. His Majesty is to have recourse to the Sirdars."

The same is stipulated in the treaty concluded between the Shah and the Sirdars, written with the Shah's own hand and subscribed by his minister and also, officially, by Count Simonich : the Sirdars acknowledging allegiance.

"It is agreed to—please God we shall so conduct (matters) that it shall be an object of envy to all the world."

"1. The Sirdars (of Kandahar) shall not act in opposition (to the Shah) and shall not connect themselves with any one else, but shall serve truly and faithfully, they shall be friends of the friends of Persia and enemies of her enemies, and they shall not hold a friendly intercourse with persons who are opposed to (or at enmity with) the Persian government ; and they shall not act deceitfully or unfaithfully, and if they should so act, this treaty is null and void.

"II. We, (the Shah), have given the territory of Kandahar, and the territory of Herat with their dependencies to the Sirdars, with the exception of Shekkiwan, and the territory beyond it, (towards Persia), and so long as they shall not have committed any act of opposition (or hostility) these territories shall be in their possession, and in that of their heirs ; and if they should commit any act of opposition (or hostility), the circumstances shall first be communicated to the Sirdars, when if they rectify the error (or make reparation) it is well ; but if they do not, then they shall be dealt with in whatever manner the haughty government (of Persia) shall consider expedient.

"III. The Sirdars shall not attack (or invade) any other territory without the consent of his majesty the Shah : but if any of the subjects (dependants) of Kandahar or Herat, should not submit to their authority (or rebel) they are permitted to punish such persons.

"IV. The Sirdars shall treat the Ryots, and especially the Sheeahs with justice and equity, and shall protect them, and shall make no distinction between Soonnees and Sheeahs, and shall consider them all true believers and followers of the seal of the Prophets—the blessed—and they shall not, without cause, subject them to pain or injury, whether injury in person or in property.

"V. If an enemy should appear from any quarter, and if the Sirdars should themselves be unable to repel him, the Shah binds himself (or becomes responsi-

ble) to supply them (the Sirdars) with troops, artillery, and money, to whatever extent may be necessary, and not to withhold any description of assistance or support.

"IX. A peesh-kush (present or tribute) according to their means shall be sent by them (the Sirdars) yearly, to the presence of the Shah, as an evidence of their submission and allegiance, and the Persian government shall make no other demand of the Sirdars except service (allegiance).

"X. The Affghan tribes connected with Kandahar and Herat shall be given over to the Sirdars, and no one shall interfere with them, and if in time of need troops should be required of them, a small body of troops, with an Affghan nobleman, shall be sent to the stirrup of the Shah. For the pay and expenses of these troops, the Persian government is responsible, and after the termination of the service, they shall be sent back to the Sirdars.

"I, who am the minister plenipotentiary of the exalted government of Russia, will be guarantee, that neither on the part of his majesty, &c. &c. &c. the Shah of Persia, nor on the part of the powerful Sirdars, shall there occur any deviation from, or violation of, this entire treaty and these engagements."

The bearing of this treaty is so simply and clearly pointed out by Mr. MacNeill, that it would be injustice to that able and acute minister to omit it here ; especially as it expresses concisely all that might in other hands require larger space to point out.

"I have the honour to inclose for your lordship's information a translation of the treaty which has been concluded and ratified between the Shah and the Sirdars of Kandahar, and which Count Simonich has guaranteed. It appears to me, however, to be somewhat remarkable, that Count Simonich does not guarantee this treaty in the name of his government, though he uses his official designation.

"I would further beg leave to observe, that as the Shah engaged unconditionally to put the Sirdars in possession of Herat (at least, I presume, the second article must be so understood), and as Count Simonich has made himself responsible to the Sirdars for the fulfilment of the engagements contracted by the Shah, he has, in fact, as I understand the treaty, engaged to see the Sirdars put in possession of Herat.

"The indefinite nature of the engagements contracted by both parties, and the very vague manner in which the terms are expressed, even in the Persian language, must at all times afford sufficient ground for difference and dispute, and therefore for Russian interference.

"Persia engages to defend Kandahar against any enemy that may attack it, and if the Shah should fail to do so, Count Simonich engages to compel him to do so ;

at least this, I presume, is the meaning of the guarantee, if it means anything.

"The common arrangement of the commercial stipulations of Persia and Russia with a principality which is a dependency of Persia, according to the terms of the treaty, is not the least remarkable feature of this very curious document. It is even doubtful from the construction of the sentence in Persian, whether the commercial agent is not to be the common agent of the two powers.

"Finally, the effect of the treaty would be to raise up a powerful principality in Affghanistan, which shall be nominally subject to Persia, but which must always look to Russia for protection: which hangs so loosely to Persia, that Russia could at any moment, when she might desire it, put an end to the connection, and turn against Persia the strength with which the Shah proposed to endow the Sirdars. On the other hand, Russia could probably at any time make the defence of Kandahar a pretext for engaging the Shah of Persia in a quarrel with those chiefs whose territories border on Kandahar."

We must, from want of space, pass over the details of the general conduct of the agents of Russia in this Persian question; the more, as it was but a portion of the system to which our last Number so strongly called the attention of the British and European public. A concise outline of the proceedings is all we can afford.

The Shah's army marched for Herat on the 23d July; and when it had reached about half-way, that is to say, on the 10th of October, a subordinate but active and intriguing Russian agent, Captain Vicovich, reached the camp. This individual had, on his route, everywhere announced that a large Russian force was at Asterabad, to aid the Shah against Herat. No hint of his approach had been given by Simonich to Mr. MacNeill, and the former might even have been ignorant of his journey; but in this case it is clear he could have had no communication with Vicovich, and that the latter's announcements on the route could not consequently have proceeded from concert with the Count, but from secret directions of his superiors at home. Now as the chief of the foreign department, Count Nesselrode, must, or at least ought to have been cognizant of Vicovich's journey from Petersburg, and its object, and yet, in vindication of Simonich, he had just before given in reply to Lord Palmerston's expostulations, the letter of Count Simonich to M. Rodofinikin, quoted above: and as on a subsequent remonstrance from the British ministry as to the conduct of the Russian agents and their intrigues, avowedly for the purpose of injur-

ing British influence in Asia, the same minister had the hardihood to declare that he was totally ignorant of any such proceedings: and this was twelve months after they were in full activity;—taking, as we have, these salient points, how can Count Nesselrode be trusted in future?

Those who have known Count Nesselrode, know the face of this distinguished character to be the undoubted mirror of his mind; in one sense at least, for it never shows any thing but the surface; and none can have approached him without feeling that, ready and prompt as he is in discussions, he meets facts and observations rather than suggests them, and though always informed, is always prepared for silence. It is difficult to start a subject on which his knowledge is not copious and profound, and impossible to leave one without perceiving that he has said no more on it than was unavoidable; that even if he has given a judgment he has never expressed his opinion, and that though his manner is always indifferent, his perception is astutely vigilant. No man could ever doubt his penetration, or trust his sincerity; and yet it is of this man we are to believe, that he, the aristocrat of the Bureau, was utterly ignorant of the open proceedings of his own agents in Persia for years. Doubtless on the other points of bad faith, as the European politics to which our last Number adverted, he is equally innocent.

To resume our outline. We have noticed that the Cabul Chief, Dost Mahommed Khan, had remained longest true to English interests and alliance; and that he had preferred this to the Russo-Persian advances, having the choice of the two, is shown in our former Number. He was driven by British refusal to try elsewhere; but in 1836 he again turned to Lord Auckland, who sent him Sir Alexander Burnes as a mediator and pacificator; but urgent as was the real necessity for dispatch in reaching Cabul, Captain Burnes had been charged with other and previous business on his route. He was forestalled, therefore, by the arrival of the Persian envoy at that Court; and, still worse, obvious as was in 1835 the political tendency of affairs there, his instructions, in 1836, were chiefly commercial; and he reached his post only twelve months afterwards, though by no fault of his own. In 1837, therefore, by the gross neglect, oversight, and supineness, that had delayed, perverted, and limited his powers, he found himself, in spite of his high talent, foiled, prevented, and mocked by the agents of Persia and Russia. These narrow limitations of diplomacy are ever fatal in the East.

The object of Dost Mahommed was pro-

tection against Runjeet. He sided with Captain Burnes at first. His brethren of Candahar, false to him and to all others, negotiated with Russia and England, but decided on nothing. All parties waited for events; and the siege of Herat was to turn the scale by its success or failure. During this most important crisis Lord Auckland was tranquil—the English commissioner in Persia powerless beyond words. What would not have been obtainable, then, by a determined tone of resistance, by a single act of vigour to support that resistance? If a tenth of the army afterwards so fruitlessly and extravagantly put in motion in Bengal had been then in readiness, and at hand; had even the troops from Bombay, so much nearer the scene of action, been ordered to advance, would the faith of Runjeet Sing have been doubtful, or to be feared?—he who stood on the brink of an Affghan war. Would the Barukhzye brethren have believed in English weakness and in Russian aid, with the facts conversed before them? Would 3,000 or 6,000 men have been inefficient in Affghanistan, where a single British agent would have sufficed, according to Captain Wade; such being even then the estimation of the English name and power? and would not even 1,000 men have saved Herat itself from the dangers and horrors of the siege, when the single presence of the gallant Pottinger within its walls averted its reduction, and saved the whole country?

The difficulty as to the fortress of Herat and its government reduces itself simply to this dilemma for England. The severance of that town from Persia was either right or wrong on political grounds; it was justifiable or it was not. If right, no time should have been lost in laying down the principle distinctly and preparing to act on it; if wrong, why was a force ultimately sent from India to effect it? The question of circumstances can be of little weight at the juncture, for the resolve of the Shah was peremptory, the conduct of his Russian advisers hostile; what worse was to be apprehended? The ministers of the former threatened a march upon Delhi, the newspapers of the latter a peace at Calcutta. Captain Wade, our agent at Loodiana, thus intimates the necessity of vigour.

“It may appear an act of supererogation in me to add my testimony to that of Mr. MacNeill as to the basis on which the negotiation should be conducted; but as his Lordship is aware of the extreme importance which I have always attached to securing the independence of Herat, whilst it is a source of satisfaction to me to find my view of the subject confirmed by an officer

of the enlightened judgment and long approved experience of our present Ambassador in Persia, I cannot help agreeing in opinion with Mr. MacNeill that it ought to be the primary object of the British Government to ‘maintain, at all hazards,’ for reasons which I have often declared, the integrity of Herat, as the only safe and sure means of opposing the efforts of Persia to annihilate the independence of Affghanistan.

“The position in which our discussions with respect to Herat are now placed, is one from which no consideration of submission to the views of Persia should, I think, divert our attention. It may be presumed that his Persian Majesty will not dare to act in opposition to our views and wishes when openly avowed, and steadily maintained. Although the friendship of our Government may be less directly felt by Persia than her alliance with the Russian Government, it is still sufficiently valuable to deter her, I should imagine, from seeking a separation of interests between the two States; for, supposing even that she were prepared to bid defiance to British counsels, the Shah cannot even expect that we should remain spectators of the prosecution of designs which threaten the peace and tranquillity of British India, and the prosperity of our commerce in Central Asia, without an attempt to counteract them; and as Persia can scarcely pretend to encounter the probable effects of our indignation, it would surely be difficult for her to carry out her schemes of conquest towards Affghanistan without throwing herself on the support of Russia, which, not having the power of affording her effectual aid in money, would proffer it in men; and the result to Persia would be an inundation of Russian troops into the fairest provinces of that Empire, which, though intended to advance, would eventually destroy the independence of the Persian monarchy. When viewing, therefore, the real interests of their Government, such is the light in which, I should infer, that the advisers of the King, and certainly the majority of his people, would be inclined to regard the consequences of offending the British Government.”

By the supineness exhibited, however, on this point, the Princes of Affghanistan were encouraged to receive agents and induced to believe that Britain trembled before Russia. Lord Auckland indeed, good easy man, suspected no harm at Cabool.

“His Lordship attaches little immediate importance to this mission of the Russian Agent, although he will bring all the circumstances connected with it to the notice of the Home Authorities, as it undoubtedly marks a desire, which has long been known to exist on the part of the Russian Government, to push at least the influence of their name to our Indian Frontier; and the pro

ceedings, especially of the Russian Envoy at Tehran, in regard to it, are open to much observation."

And this was on the 20th January, 1838, nearly a month after Captain Burnes had written to apprise him that,

"On the evening of the 20th instant, the Ameer received the Russian messenger. On the agent producing Mohammed Shah's Ruckum, the Ameer felt a degree of irritation which he could hardly control, and said, in Affghanee, 'that it was an insult to him, and a proof of Mohammed Shah's being guided by advisers; for his master, the Emperor, wrote him a letter, and the subservient Shah of Persia arrogated to himself the right of sending him a ruckum, or order with his seal in the face of the document.' The agent was then dismissed, and invited to the Bala Hissar on the following day. The communications which passed on this second occasion, have been also made known to me, and are of a startling nature."

A little more acquaintance with the world might have induced Lord Auckland, in spite of the Oriental relaxation of his nerves, to rouse from his *siesta* and read Captain Burnes's letter himself. Had he done so he might, and must have been struck with the fact of Dost Mahommed's veneration for the Russian Emperor above his own acknowledged sovereign. A far clearer comprehension, but the same reluctance to decided steps, marks Lord Palmerston's letter to Mr. MacNeill of May 21, 1838.

"If, when you receive this despatch, you shall have succeeded in inducing the Shah to retire from Herat, either with or without an arrangement with the Ruler of Herat, you will have accomplished an object of great importance to British interests in the East: and you will then only have to express to the Shah the lively satisfaction which Her Majesty's Government will derive from this proof of friendly deference on the part of the Shah to the wishes of the Government of Great Britain.

"But it is possible that you may have failed in the object of your journey, and that when this despatch reaches you, the Shah may be still engaged in besieging Herat; or may have taken it, and not have advanced beyond it; or, having taken it, may have marched further into Affghanistan.

"In either of these cases, you are instructed to proceed at once to the Shah; and to declare to him explicitly that the British Government cannot view with indifference his project of conquering Affghanistan.

"That the British Government must look upon this enterprise as undertaken in a spirit of hostility towards British India, and as being wholly incompatible with the spirit and intention of the alliance which has been established between Persia and Great Britain.

That consequently, if this project be persevered in, the friendly relations which up to this time have so happily subsisted between Great Britain and Persia, must necessarily cease; and that Great Britain must take such steps as she may think best calculated to provide for the security of the possessions of the British Crown."

On the 27th July, however, as the summer advanced, the Foreign Secretary evidently grew warmer, and accordingly he writes—

"I have to instruct you to state to the Shah of Persia, that whereas the spirit and purport of the Treaty between Persia and Great Britain, is, that Persia should be a defensive barrier for the British possessions in India, and that the Persian Government should co-operate with that of Great Britain in defending British India; it appears on the contrary, that the Shah is occupied in subverting those intervening States between Persia and India, which must prove additional barriers of defence for the British Possessions; and that in these operations he has openly connected himself with an European Power, for purposes avowedly unfriendly, if not absolutely hostile, to British interests; that under these circumstances, and as he has thought fit to enter upon a course of proceeding wholly at variance with the spirit and intent of the abovementioned Treaty, Great Britain will feel herself at liberty to adopt, without reference to that Treaty, such measures as a due regard for her own interests, and the security of her dominions may suggest."

The error, as we have said, of the whole course was, the not considering the Shah of Persia's offensive movement on Herat as a real preliminary of war against the British possessions, an offensive political movement against Great Britain. All saw the importance of the place, and of its independence of a power so devoted to hostile interests as Persia now became to Russia. The siege commenced; and but one Englishman was in the way to bar the progress of danger: Lieutenant Pottinger threw himself into the place; and gallantly as the siege was carried on, under his guidance it was even more gallantly resisted. A British officer flung himself singly into the gap, and saved the great bulwark of his country's foreign power and possessions;—while a British governor in the East and a British ministry in the West were discussing proprieties in luminous despatches, and wishing that things would not happen as they would!

At length the Governor-general, who had slept like a dormouse, bethought himself of stirring, and this with an energy that does honour to his British spirit. An expedition to Karrack paralysed the northern efforts of the mismanaging Shah, and the rumour of

preparations in Calcutta relieved Herat from his presence. A mere breath of English resolve scattered the powers of the Persian, as a single mind of English mould had baffled his and his allies' skill before Herat.

We need not go into the farce of the explanations offered by Count Nesselrode, apparently spontaneous, but not dreamed of till he knew from the Russian ambassador that the formal demand for them was on the point of being made. It was easier to shuffle off a reply by referring to an untasked document, than to meet the questions categorically. The full benefit of the manœuvre let him enjoy: it has deceived no one in Europe; and none less than his master.

Few who have calmly viewed the course of events latterly, can, we conceive, entertain a question but that the march of Russian policy in the East has received a strong and timely check; but this has been not from one, but two quarters; not only from without, but from within. England has her just share in the measure; all, though tardy, that is commensurate with her rights in Asia and her strength. But, as we stated many months since, the Russian agents in the East unquestionably felt a strong drawback to their proceedings in the absence of anything tangible, beyond the money that was actually taken from the chest of the Russian embassy to aid Persia, in support of their promises. The Russian corps in the Persian service had been long formed, and there are abundance of British and other officers serving in the country; but the movement of Russian troops could not have taken place to any extent without the consent of the Emperor, and this, it is clear, was never obtained: no troops appeared. The good faith of Nicholas in this matter we do not question; but we can give him credit for it only on the supposition that he is constantly betrayed and circumvented.

What then are we to think of the symptoms of his displeasure; the punishment of those concerned in the late nefarious proceedings? The minor agents have been recalled or disgraced it would seem, but where is Count Simonich, and where the Minister of the Foreign Department? The former remaining long enough to draw up plans for the Shah: the latter sacrificing his confederates, but in this one scheme alone, to retain a post from which he cannot be spared, as he holds the keys of all the European intrigues to which our last number referred.

The time for their development seems now approaching fast, Persia renewing on one side her claims on Herat, and on the other aiming at Sultanieh. An Egyptian army

moving upon Bahrein and Bassora, another concentrated in Syria, which abhors her ruler; and the fearful tyrannies to which she has been subjected, have raised a strong feeling to throw off his yoke at the first opportunity, though the scattered and destitute state of the population, and the absence of means, render all combination and concerted movements impossible for them. It is the unsparing cruelty exercised every where indiscriminately under the Pacha's orders, that has left him not a spot of ground throughout the land which is not ready to rise in insurrection. Much of this on the Pacha's part is necessity, induced for supplies for his army; much of it is intrigue, to furnish a pretext for maintaining a large force; much of it is wanton, or at least unheeding, cruelty.

Egypt, detesting Mehemet's sway; impoverished by his avarice, which is more political than personal; abhorring even the very improvements on her soil, that add only to the misery of her children by forced and thankless labour for their grasping taskmaster; and bleeding at every pore from the horrible personal cruelties inflicted in every district by his command; with her crushed, impoverished, mutilated population, is drained of men for the army that confirms her in hopeless subjection. The talents, sagacity, and intellectual superiority of Mehemet Ali are unquestionable: but they render his vices the more prominent, though these are the vices of his position. His army has been, and must be, the sole source of his power: and all efforts, all improvements, all gains, are wrung from the country into his own coffers for the maintenance of this, which is also his sole maintenance, and that of the state he has created despite all obstacles; and which he holds by the mutual jealousies of Europe.

Mahmoud and Mehemet Ali are constantly forced into comparison; but if their reforms were equally great, their positions equally difficult, the latter at least were essentially different. Turkey, though misruled by the Court and dominated by the janissaries, in her weakness and decay still had institutions. The body of Ulema, and the sanctity of the Mufti were a check, if not a counterpoise, to the Sultan's authority; and thus learning and religion, the Head of the Faith and the Guardians of the Law, supplied in the simplicity of Asiatic forms, those more popular elements that compose European civilisation. The Pacha had no council but his followers, the panders of his passions. Egypt was always a slave, and of the humblest grade.

Of Turkey we have often spoken: but

her weakness renders it necessary for Europe to guard against the too great extent of her listless dominion, and her wish to hold the two great channels of Eastern trade in her hands, since she could not retain them against Russia. Her power and commerce, paralyzed on the north-east and severed from her on the south-west, are more likely to consolidate within a restricted dominion, than when spread over a wide space which her fleets were unequal to protect, and which drained and exhausted her finances with little comparative return. Her poverty requires Syria.

The separate existence of Egypt then is a political necessity for Europe; more especially at this moment when Turkey is the reluctant slave of the Czar: now rousing in jealousy against his influence, now lapsing in despondence under his protection. But how long is this to continue?

The necessities and mutual jealousies of Europe, if they require the separation of Egypt, require even more strongly the independence of Turkey. Little likely, from the fortunate accident of her creed, to amalgamate with any one of the Christian powers,—she may be, advantageously for all parties, the friend of all. But this friendship must never be subservience to one, or else it will become enmity to the rest. Austria would be thereby excluded from foreign commerce: France, if she retain the Tuscan or eastern, would be excluded from the Ionian or western Mediterranean; and her jealousy of Russia no less than of England has spread her colonies to Algiers and is progressing along the African coast.

The question now is simply, Can Russia be suffered to aid Turkey against Egypt, when the price of that aid is by secret articles, at this moment;—stipulation of positions that shall confirm and consolidate her contested pretensions towards Asia? The occupation of Turkey for a time must end, as all such occupations have ended, in the ruin of that state: not by actual incorporation, however, but by a servile alliance; a surrender of posts into her ally's keeping, which may be temporary, but only because they will be exchanged for others more suited to Russia's Eastern views. Can she be permitted to approach by one, the slightest, incidental step, towards Greece? Can she be suffered to approximate to the Mediterranean, known to be filled with her intrigues for years? Can the Nesselrode of Eastern policy be permitted, unchallenged, to pervade the West, with the schemes and reports of all his spies, and intrigues of every grade there for the last fourteen years in his bureau, supplied by the naval Simonichs

and Vicovichs of every British and French possession, the Gouttes, Christians, &c. of civil and mercantile professions? Constantinople once virtually in Russian power, what price must Turkey pay for its extrication? a subsidy, doubtless, for military aid, and then to be released from this by surrender of the north coast-line of Asia Minor, and the LONG and PREGNANT channel of the Euphrates. We may then bid adieu to Circassia, the bulwark of Turkey; to Caucasus, the gate of Persia; and then, with the latter to agitate our Eastern possessions and invade the Affghans, whom we are in reality alienating by our novel claim of imposing a sovereign upon them, India will be to England a drain on her resources for this frantic contest, or more wisely and happily for both parties, the connection between them broken.

We rely upon the faith of Nicholas himself; but who, after recent experience, can rely on his power? Would it not be madness to leave the very means of intrigue in the hands of his ministry and their agents? for they are certainly not those of the emperor. He has behaved on most, if not all occasions, with generosity and forbearance; but his ministers are even now scheming the reverse.—The game of Tehran has been long playing at Constantinople, Smyrna, Cairo, and through the Mediterranean, by a whole Levant-Company of Muscovite Agents; and, were it stopped to-day, it would be renewed to-morrow. The consequence then is obvious. We may respect the emperor, but we cannot confide one instant in Russia.

On this conclusion we must act; and promptly, so soon as occasion requires it. The movement of Russia into Turkey, on whatever pretence, without guarantees, is a hostile movement upon Austria, France, and England. It may be met by all three, or by two, or but one; but it must be met, and crushed at once. Austria has long seen the necessity: France has half confessed it; but England, if she stand alone in the contest, must place herself in its foremost front.

Enough has been shown of patience; enough of temporising and delay. Shall Russia, as in the parable, come into the strong man's house, and bind him first, and then carry off his goods? We repeat it; under whatever circumstances Russia may march her troops into Turkey, it is a violation of European peace; for Turkey must make sacrifices to obtain this aid.

The position of Ibrahim is critical. He must advance or retire. A Turkish army, numerous and well-appointed, and superior in matériel to the former, is in front: the

Pacha of Bagdad is advancing to his right; the Pacha of Marasch on his left; and with the reinforcements now urging in Constantinople, he will have nearly double his force against him, and the hostility of the natives. A bold attack and a probable victory over the army of Hafiz, will extricate him from his embarrassments, but at the expense perhaps of Europe.

We have avowed our little apprehension of the Russian fleets. That of France is far more formidable, and her naval power, by the invention of steam, may bid defiance to the boldest in Europe. On this head she deserves the utmost attention.

The system of large vessels, regular ships of the line, must now be materially altered; and though we undoubtedly ought to keep a force of these equal to anything that might be brought against us so long as the present system is retained by other nations, yet it must undergo modification. Our naval superiority in the last war, for instance, cannot be maintained by the same means: the system of blockade would be impracticable: steamers might at any time tow vessels of war and transports along their own shores if desirable; while vessels of war must be dependent on the wind, and consequently stand out often far to sea. But steamers could not be employed in permanent blockade, from the quantity of fuel they require, and the little scope they afford for movement and space, after allowance for machinery. The fire too increases the danger to the magazine. But though inefficient for a blockade, they would be of infinite service against it; for a single steamer might issue from a blockaded port at night, in fair weather towing gun-boats, and bearing a gun or mortar-cannon carrying a shell of sixty-eight pounds. Against this assault a ship of the line could offer little defence; for as the steamer lies low in the water she would scarcely afford a mark, while the high hull and tall masts of her antagonist would offer a target for every shot.

As proofs of the destructiveness of the new system, we extract from the reports of two experiments made at Brest, with M. Paixhans' Mortar-cannon, on the *Pacificateur* of 80 guns, some years since. It is stated that

"Whatever ideas might have been formed of the effects of this arm, those which have been obtained have surpassed them: that the discharges have produced in the line-of-battle ship a destruction and ravage which would certainly have prevented her from continuing the action, and perhaps led to her immediate ruin; that extremely remarkable ranges were obtained; that the results so surprising, might

serve greatly to modify, in extending its effects, the use of artillery by sea and land; that M. Paixhans is highly praiseworthy for having introduced them, and that he cannot be too much congratulated; that experience has confirmed his theory; that if such effects have been produced with an 80-pounder gun, one can hardly imagine those which might be produced by 150-pounder guns, which M. Paixhans equally proposed."

'The Report terminates thus:—"From this time, your Committee is unanimous on the immense advantages which would be produced by the adoption of this species of ordnance, which, employed for the defence of coasts, in gunboats, floating batteries, at the entrance of roadsteads, &c., would render impossible the success of any enterprize attempted against them by a squadron, whatever might be its force. Your Committee is equally convinced that through new experiments on the use of this arm on board ships of the line, we may arrive, either by the different arrangement of which its fitting is susceptible, or by modification of the construction of the vessels themselves, at bringing this gun into use without danger, of which the effects would evidently be to establish a sort of equilibrium—between vessels of different sorts and different sizes—a result which would be all to the advantage of the power which had the fewest great ships of the line, and the largest population, *and consequently to the advantage of France over England.*"

We extract from the second Report as follows:—

"The Commission, which twice assured itself by personal inspection of the prodigious damage done on board the *Pacificateur* by the shells, has, after a full discussion, formed the opinion that the Paixhans cannon can throw shells horizontally, or at the same angle as ordinary guns.

"That the effect of them is so terrible that it would probably suffice for one or two shells of this kind to burst between the decks of a ship, to compromise the defence of the vessel attacked.

"That these shells may produce by their force and explosion among the timbers, if they should burst there, a degree of damage, which if it took place at the water-line, would expose a line-of-battle ship to be sunk, of which a judgment might be formed from the effect of the shell No. 8, which if it had taken place at the water-line had compromised the safety of the ship, &c.

"Respecting the question of admitting mortar-cannon into ships of the line, the Commission, considering the danger and difficulty of employing at once too great a number of loaded hollow projectiles, 'does not think that the battery of a line-of-battle ship ought to be wholly armed with them; but it is nearly unanimous that two or four of these guns might be placed in the lower battery, especially at one of the extremities, with the precaution of having a store room apart for the shells.' For the rest upon this

point the Commission thinks, 'that it would be convenient before the adoption of this arm on board ships of the line to have experiments made upon them at sea, recommending that the trials should be made under all circumstances, &c.'

"And as to the use of *mortar-cannon* in other vessels than ships of the line, as well as upon the coast, &c., the Commission were unanimously satisfied, 'that this arm would have a marvellous effect in coast batteries. No ship, whatever might be its force, if it was

from 300 to 600 fathoms distant, could stand against such a battery; that it would be very advantageous to arm with this new artillery, either floating batteries, or gun-boats, or vessels, or *steam-vessels*; and it is of opinion that for the defence of roadsteads, coasts, or attack of line-of-battle ships becalmed or embayed, the success of *mortar-cannon* would be infallible."

These matters have not yet come sufficiently before the British public at large.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

CANTON.—The Rev. M. Mantari, a missionary, who is about proceeding to China, intends devoting a portion of his leisure to collecting Ancient Chinese Melodies and Tracts upon Music. It has long been suspected, that in their Dramas the germ of our modern Italian Opera is to be found.

"The Chinese plays are intermixed with songs, in the middle of which the actors often stop to speak a sentence or two, in the common tone of declamation. On the other hand, it appears shocking to us for an actor, in the middle of a dialogue, all of a sudden to commence singing; but we ought to consider, that among the Chinese, singing is used to express some great emotion of the soul—as joy, grief, anger, despair; a man, for example, who is moved with indignation against a villain, sings; another, who animates himself to revenge, sings; a third, who is going to put himself to death, sings likewise." The same rude elements of this union of poetry, music and action, are also found in Java.

CONSTANTINOPLE.—The Sultan, Mahmoud, has recently given a Concert to the ladies of his Harem, at which a young Turk, who has received his musical education at Paris, played (among other pieces) one of Beethoven's Sonatas, which enraptured the assembly, and drew down thunders of applause.

VENICE.—The Operatic Company at the *Teatro di Chioggia*, has been increased by a young lady of the name of *Margherita Palidori*, who has been received with great success. The fair debutante has a rich soprano voice, combined with the purest style of expressing the noble and the animated

passions of nature, and which must speedily place her on the list of our most distinguished singers.

LEVANTO.—M. Antonio Taddei, the author of the new musical farce, "*Amazilia*," which found so much favour, has another musical production in preparation.

VIENNA.—The Gelehrte Gesellschaft have offered a prize of 100 ducats (£47,) for the best Tragedy, and the same amount for the most successful Comedy. Thirteen persons have already entered their names as competitors for the tragic prize. Thirty-nine *original* pieces were produced during the past year at the national theatres. The Viennese have been delighted with the performances of Louis Lacombe, the celebrated French pianist.

DUSSELDORF.—Mendelssohn presided at the Festival on the first day of Whitsuntide. The performances were the Messiah and the Second Psalm, with Mendelssohn's heroic Symphony.

MONS.—This town has recently offered a very novel contest, and has invited all the Musical Societies of the cities of France, those of the villages, and some of foreign countries. The cities are to contest for the most perfect performance of an overture or Symphony, a Thema with variations, and a favourite piece; and are to be divided into two classes, those having upwards of 18,000 inhabitants to contest for a medal worth 400 francs, and the cities below that number for a medal worth 300 francs. The villages are to be divided into two classes, and are to contest for the most perfect performance of a March, a Waltz, and a favourite piece. The first prize, a medal worth 300 francs,

and the second to be worth 125 francs. It is exciting great interest in all the small towns of the province.

BERLIN.—Wieprecht and Skorri, the instrument makers, have jointly taken out a patent for ten years, for improvements in the Bass instrument Batyphon.

LUBECK.—*Handel in Germany*.—It must be truly gratifying to the admirers of this giant genius to learn that his fatherland has produced some of his greatest works, on a scale of magnificence that would content the immortal composer himself, were he now living. A grand Music Festival took place at Lubeck, on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of June last. The first day's performance, in St. Mary's Church, consisted of "*Samson*," on the second, Vocal and Instrumental Selections, in the Hall of the Exchange; and on the third, Chorusses from the "*Messiah*," with Beethoven's C Minor Symphony, executed by three hundred and fifty performers.

LINZ.—This town possesses the largest organ in Germany, or perhaps in Europe.

DRESDEN.—A new Opera, entitled "*Alidida*," by Lachner, Chapel Master to the King of Saxony, was produced here lately, and met with a reception unsurpassed since the appearance of the "*Freyschütz*." The subject of the piece, written by the Princess Amelia of Saxony, is taken from Bulwer's Romance, "*The Last Days of Pompeii*." Such was the enthusiasm of the audience, that the composer was called for at the end of the first and second act, and *five times* after the falling of the curtain. Lachner is only known in this country by one of his symphonies, which has been performed at the Philharmonic Concert.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia of Saxony, has just produced the *libretto* of an opera in two acts, entitled "*La Novella Sposa*," the poetry of which has been highly spoken of. The music is by Signor Giano Rastrelli, a Sicilian composer of celebrity, and we understand that the reception of the *ensemble* at the theatre of the court was triumphant.

BRUSSELS.—A Society has been formed at Brussels, under the title *Société musicale Belge*, with a fund of 200,000 guilders, and are employed in the publication of musical compositions, particularly the works of Belgian composers, with due care to economy in the sale prices. They also intend publishing a newspaper, to be entitled *La Belgique musicale*.

The opinions of foreigners respecting our habits and feelings are always interesting:—A humorous writer in the *Morgenblatt*, says, "In England there is nothing mere fashion, it is all mania. Last year the ma-

nia was Asphaltic, right and left; from sunrise till sun-set nothing was talked of but Asphaltic. The companies for this article were innumerable; the very world was to be paved with it. But Asphaltic is no longer heard, except as a thing for coachmen to grumble at. This year they have a mania of another character, a noble mania, a cheap mania, a concert à la Musard mania. No wonder their managers of theatres should fly from the charge, as the theatrical taste seems daily to be losing favour."

MESSINA.—We have here a young composer who promises to become a rival of Bellini. His name is Laudano. He has produced an Opera, entitled "*Ettore Fieramosca*," the libretto by Gazzoletti, with the most decided success. His style is that of true music—graceful and touching melody, constructed upon the purest and most scientific harmony.

CASSEL.—It is stated that Spohr will leave Germany in August, to attend the Norwich festival in England.

GENOA.—A new and extraordinary exhibition has taken place here, at the theatre Gagudetti. The principal pupils of the Deaf and Dumb Institution represented Monti's tragedy, *Aristodemo*, with the greatest success! When will wonders cease? The representation was for the benefit of the poor.

NAPLES.—Mlle. Meguillet, a pupil of Nourrit's, an established favourite of the Parisian public, has made a successful *debut* here, in Donizetti's opera, *Belisario*.

PIEDMONT.—A young pianist, Holbein by name, and a descendant of the great painter, is staying here, engaged in the composition of Studies for the Piano Forte, in which he introduces novel effects of the most extraordinary kind.

COPENHAGEN.—The Musical Society in this town now contains upwards of 1300 members; they have recently given five grand concerts, which were exceedingly well attended. They have also revived the Danish opera of "*Floribella*," by Weyse, and have produced the operas of "*Hugo and Adelheid*," by Kuhlau, and "*Der Rabe*" (the Raven), by Hartmann. They also recently offered a prize of 20 ducats (9*l.* 10*s.*) for a collection of six Danish Songs; forty-three collections were delivered in, but none were selected. The society ultimately awarded prizes of three ducats for nine single songs; of these four were by Hartmann, one by Rung, one Gebauer, one Helsted, and two others.

The celebrated tenor singer to the King, Siboni, we regret to say is dead.

PRAGUE.—Bellini's opera, "*Norma*," has

been translated into Bohemian, and has been drawing crowded houses. Mrs. Alfred Shaw, from London, gave a concert, and afterwards sang at the theatre with considerable applause.

ZWEIBRUCKEN.—On the 20th June the musical festival took place in this town; the orchestra consisted of upwards of 600 performers. The *Messiah* was the first day's performance.

BERLIN.—Tichatscheck, tenor singer to the King of Saxony, has now completed his engagements in this town; he is represented to have ALL the requisites of a theatrical singer. The principal characters he has sustained have been *Sever*, in *Norma*, *Adolar*, in *Euryanthe*, and *Arthur*, in *Il Puritani*.

ST. PETERSBURG.—*Thalberg*.—By letters just arrived from Russia, we learn that Thalberg has indeed been winning "golden opinions," for they state that the product of only four concerts was not less than two thousand pounds. He also, we are told, played twice before the Emperor, from which it would seem that the autocrat and his subjects are equally alive to the charms of true music. The sensation produced by his new Fantasia, on Themes from "*La Donna del Lago*," could only have been caused by the author of his last masterly work, the Fantasia from "*Mosé in Egitto*." M. Thalberg arrived in Moscow early in April, intending to make but a short stay; subsequently to which, we are happy to announce, he will proceed to visit and delight us once more in London about the middle of June.

Some of the old Russ. MSS. contain certain proofs that Music (before the time of Guido's invention of the gamut) was in a flourishing state in that country; for, first, there are no lines; second, the characters are entirely different from any used since the time of Guido. The tones now used in the Church of Russia are modern; they are written on modern music paper, in five lines in the treble cleff, whereas, in the Ambrosian and Gregorian, never more than four lines were used, and the cleff is either the tenor or bass. There seems to be little doubt that the ancient Russ. music is derived from the eastern nations.—(See Art. *Russian Literature, Foreign Qua. Review, June, 1827.*) "The Aria parlante is natural to all the languages of the East. The Jews to this day read or chant the Scriptures in a singing tone, the same as Moses read the law upon Mount Sinai. The Koran, and all religious books are chanted throughout India."—See *Gardiner's Music of Nature*, p. 84.

PARIS.—The musical world have to regret the loss of one of the most accomplished composers that has flourished since the days

of Mozart, the Maestro Paër, author of the finest domestic opera (excepting Beethoven's *Fidelio*). Those who are acquainted with his music (and who among the real amateurs are not), need scarcely be reminded that we allude to *Agnese* (Mrs. Opie's Story of *Father and Daughter*). If touching melody, rich and powerful harmony, genuine expression of the words, and clear, scientific, but never overlaid accompaniments, present any pleasure, so beautifully combined as we find them in all Paër's works; then must they continue to live in the estimation of all sound musicians, who will find in them a mine of wealth for study. The celebrated sculptor, Dantan, is executing a bust of this composer for the Institute.

M. Auber has been appointed director of the private band of King Louis Phillippe, which post had become vacant by the decease of Paër. Rossini's new Opera is not yet completed, at least we have heard no tidings of it. We trust that the talented Maestro will take his time, and give us a worthy companion to *Guillaume Tell*.

Scribe has two operas, in one act each, now on hand. Marliani and Benoit are the composers who will set them.

Donizetti has lately written the music to an opera by the same indefatigable author, entitled *Polyeucte*, to be brought out at Paris. John Cramer is staying in the Gallic metropolis; at the last soirée given by the Society of St. Cecilia he contributed his share to the harmony of the evening.

PROVENCE.—Paganini's health appears to be improving, although he still labours under the loss of his voice. His being a nervous complaint, the violin of course is strictly prohibited by the medical attendant. He amuses himself by playing at bowls (*aux boules*) a game he is passionately fond of, and in which he excels.

CALCUTTA.—A very curious and entertaining musical work, entitled "*A Treatise on the Music of Hindostan, by Capt. N. A. Willard, commanding in the service of H.H. the Nuwab of Banda*," was printed here in 1834, but the copy has only just been sent to us. This little work comprises a detail of the ancient theory and modern practice of Indian music, a subject that hitherto has been left at the mercy of writers totally incompetent to form a right judgment upon it. Even the learned musicians (and Dr. Burney among the number) seem to have taken but little interest in the music of the Oriental nations, imagining, from their system of sounds and the few incomplete specimens of their melodies extant in England, that it was mere matter of curiosity rather than utility. But they should have learnt that the music of

Hindustan is identified with the history of that country, that *there* the ancient musicians were not, as now, wandering mendicants of the most degraded caste, but poets and men of erudition, who usually sung their own compositions. In Hindostan music arrived at its greatest height during the flourishing period of the native princes, a short time before the Mahomedan conquest; its subsequent decline (indeed almost total extinction as an art) is a matter of regret to those who are fond of tracing the progress of poetical music. Captain Willard has performed his task with considerable industry, and produced a very sensible and ingenious treatise, which will well repay the perusal.

LONDON.—*Female Musical Society*.—A number of ladies, vocal and instrumental performers, are engaged in forming a society, similar in its objects to the Royal Society of Musicians, with the laudable view of providing for those who may not be fortunate enough to have it in their power to save a sufficient competency before they become no longer able to pursue their professional avocations. As the plan is only yet in embryo, we shall not enter into any particulars, but most heartily do we wish its projectors the greatest success.

The present season at Covent Garden is the last under the able management of Mr. Macready. The public will be losers by the change; for into whatever hands the theatre may fall, it cannot be conducted in a more becoming and gentlemanly manner than while he has held it. The legitimate drama has been upheld, musical novelties produced of a very superior kind, and every thing appears to have been done to purify a series of entertainments which may serve as patterns for Macready's successor. This theatre will pass into the management of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Matthews.

Mr. Rooke's new opera, "*Henrique, or the Love Pilgrim*," after a few nights' representation, was withdrawn, and this occurrence has been of service to the composer's reputation, as he had set himself to write music to the most stupid and confused plot (if plot it could be called), that ever a weary audience was condemned to endure. The performers themselves declared they could not understand it. The composer of "*Amilie*," should really have known better than to waste his energies upon such flimsy materials. The public are not now so play-going mad as to listen to operas where they cannot feel a temporary interest in the characters represented; it is with difficulty they are drawn to the theatres *at all*; it is surely then the interest of every writer, be his talent what it may, to have the opinion of es-

tablished judgment upon both words and music before he rashly ventures upon the ordeal of public exhibition. Look at the great operas of *Fidelio*, *Don Giovanni*, *Guillaume Tell*, *Oberon*, and *Der Freyschütz*, in every one of these (especially the two first and last) the plot is the main spring of the musical ideas, and in developing this, the composer takes a decided interest as his work proceeds.

The Haymarket, under the indefatigable Webster, continues to present us with comedy and tragedy, as perfect as the existing talent can make it; and although the public taste for Opera is too languid to permit the lessee to risk his money in such a hazardous speculation, he has at least the merit of introducing a novel feature in Orcheonic arrangements,—it is by the plan of raising the musicians during the performance of the overture and select pieces, to a level with the stage, by which means the music is heard to greater advantage.

The St. James's Theatre has closed, after an indifferent season, affording the lessee (Mr. Hooper) a useful lesson for the future, viz. that lions and monkeys, although quite in loco in Regent's Park, are not suitable to so beautiful a theatre as the St. James's. It is satisfactory to learn there will be more attention given to the musical department in the ensuing season.

The Lyceum, or English Opera House, has again closed, after two unsuccessful attempts to re-establish the Promenade Concerts *à la Musard*. The signal success which attended these Concerts when conducted by Signior Negri, and aided by Harper, Wiley, Baumann, Richardson, Laurent, and other musicians of the first order, is a convincing proof that nothing short of first-rate talent can succeed here.

Drury Lane has at length been taken for one year by Mr. Blake, from New York, for the sum of 5000*l*.

The Opera season is terminating; and what has M. Laporte done for the admirers of fine music? He has reproduced *Norma*, *La Cenerentola*, *Otello*, *L'Elisir D'Amore*, *Don Giovanni* (for which we are always grateful), and *Figaro*, which disappointed us in the cast. Lablache (great artist as he is) becomes now too ponderous to deceive even a purblind Duchess into the belief that he is representing the volatile Major Domo.—Grisi and Albertazzi are both too heavy for their respective parts; and the everlasting mechanism of Tamburini begins to *pall upon the sense*. Donizetti's last work, "*Lucretia Borgia*," brought out to introduce Signior Mario (who bids fair to become a first-rate tenor), as a composition, is below contempt,

and an insult to the musical feeling of this country. But why should we say this, when all the Arts are suffering under the confusion of political excitement and distraction, the non-patronage of native talent by those whose duty it is to take the lead in fostering it; the mania of fashion which leads people to pay a guinea for *not* being admitted into a Concert Room!"*

"Italian Music's sweet because 'tis dear,
Their *vanity* is tickled, not the ear,
The taste would lessen, if the prices fell,
And Shakspeare's wretched stuff do quite as well."
Young's Satires.

It may not be generally known, that the musicians of London (if they chose to exert the powers confided to them) have a charter, granted by James the First, under the name of "*The Company of the Musicians of London.*" He gave them a coat of arms, azure, a swan argent, within a tressure counterflure or; in a chief gules, a rose between two lions or; and the celestial sign Lyra for a crest. The original intention of the founder of this Company was, that the *regularly instructed* and competent musicians should be enabled to practise their art and profession to the exclusion of ignorant and unskilful pretenders, and in consequence of the neglect of this charter, such hordes of charlatans and impudent pretenders are turned loose upon the public (whose ignorance of the principles of music lays them open to imposture of every kind) that it has become a general remark—there is worse singing now heard in public concert rooms than in private society. The Concert season is terminating, and upon a review of the materials of which the majority of these exhibitions have consisted, we must confess the prospects for the higher classes of the art seem poor indeed. The Ancient Concert has brought forward *nothing!* from its valuable stores of musical works now mouldering on the shelves, worth a moment's recollection. The specimen of *Bach* failed last year; that was sufficient to damp the ardour of the noble director in his vigorous pursuit after musical knowledge. The *Philharmonic* has repeated over the same symphonies (beautiful it must be confessed) that we have heard fifty times over. The only examples of novelty in composition have occurred when solo instrumentalists, Messrs. David, Haumann, Doehler, &c., have played their own pieces, to show off their chief peculiarities; but for these occasionally, and a new singer or two, the subscribers would have been treated to an expensive and oft-repeated concert. The decrease of Mori will probably open the way to

some reform in the choral vocal pieces for the next season, which he is known to have been chiefly instrumental in keeping down, not only at the Philharmonic, but wherever his influence could reach. Indeed, the almost avowed object can hardly be mistaken; the *vocal* pieces have been brought in only as *foils* to the instrumental. The statue is placed where the pedestal should be. The Società Armonica has been more successful this year than usual. The principal Italian singers, including Pauline Garcia, Mad. Dorus, Gras, &c., have been the chief attraction. The Oratorio performances at Exeter Hall still continue; *Joshua*, the *Messiah*, and one or two others, well performed, attract crowded audiences, at the reasonable price of three shillings for admission, that is, when the tickets are not surreptitiously bought up by persons who make large profits by this disreputable tax upon the public purse, which the directors of this society (The Sacred Harmonic) are bound to prevent.

OXFORD Musical Festival commenced on Monday 10th June, and considerable anxiety was exhibited to hear Mr. Bishop's exercise for his degree, which has been conferred upon him at this university, of M. B. (Bachelor of Music). It consisted of portions of the new oratorio, "*The Fallen Angels*;" words from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, with a few quotations from Holy Writ. Phillips, Recit. and Air, "*Nine Times the Space*," and "*Is this the Region?*" are spoken of as equally striking and effective. Mr. Bishop was loudly cheered from all parts of the theatre, at the conclusion of the exercise. There was no other novelty, save Ivanhoff's "*Nobis Omnipotentia*."

EDINBURGH.—On the 6th June, "*The Messiah*" was performed by native musicians, under the management of Mr. Wilkinson, which, allowing for all the difficulties of keeping down the accompaniments, and balancing well the chorus voices, was an undertaking deserving great praise.

Scarce Books on Music, which Dr. Callcot mentions at page 334 of his *Grammar*, but never could find them.

Ramis (Bartholomew de Pareia), de Musica Tractatæ. Bononiæ, 1482.

Thyard (Ponce de), Solitaire Second, ou Prose de la Musique. Lions, 1555.

Yssandon (Jean), Traité de Musique Pratique. Paris, 1582.

Matthai (Conrad), Bericht von den Modis Musicis. Kœnisberg, 1652.

Fokkerodt (John Arnold), Musikalischer Unterricht. Mulhausen, 1698, 2d Part, 1716, 3d Part, 1718.

Janowka [Thomas Balthazar], Clavis ad Thesaurum Magnæ artis Musicæ, Alt. Prag. 1701.

Mattheson [John], Das srehende Orchestre. Hamburg, 1721.

* This occurred in more than one instance at Benedict's Concert.

Catalisano [Genaro], *Grammatica Armonica*.
Roma, 1781.

Any information respecting either of the above works will oblige the writer of this notice, directed to the care of Messrs. Black and Armstrong.

We quote the following observations from an elaborate review of Mr. Dauney's "Ancient Scottish Melodies, from a MS. of the reign of King James VI., with an Inquiry illustrative of the History of the Music of Scotland," which appeared in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (Nos. 14 and 15 for April last.) It is interesting to us at all times to know the opinions of enlightened foreigners with respect to our national music, and the review from which we make this extract is the production of Dr. G. W. Fink, the learned editor of the *Leipsic Musical Gazette*, and author of a work entitled "*Erste Wanderung der ältesten Tonkunst*," which contains an account of the ancient music of the Caledonians.

"This work (of Mr. Dauney) is in many respects most attractive to all friends of musical history; and the Skene MS. itself has the highest claims on our regard, not merely as the best substitute for something better, but on its own account. At the same time we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that this MS. belongs to an age when the genuine ancient Caledonian music, especially in the Lowlands, had become subjected to the most manifold influence of modern science. Proof of this meets us in every page of the present publication. In their relation to the present day, these melodies have been denominated '*Ancient Scottish*,' but in reference to their historical character, as a spiritual development of the Caledonian people, they might more properly be designated '*New Scottish*.' The editors themselves admit this. Modern European music, sacred and profane has, according to them, exercised from time to time the most undeniable influence on the original Scottish melodies—a result, indeed, which from the state of society was altogether unavoidable, and which is here sufficiently apparent, whether we look at the conduct of the melody or the harmonic accompaniment, however scanty. Not only does the diatonic element of a scale enriched with the *fourth* and *seventh* peep out everywhere, but it is impossible not to perceive that this more modern scale has attained a sort of triumph over the original Scottish. With all this, however, the impress is everywhere visible of a patriarchal character altogether different from the more regulated productions of a spirit of reformation which in modern

times has extended itself to the very sphere of human activity; so decided is this character, that were we possessed of no more ancient musical documents than these, even out of them we should be in a condition to reconstruct the elements of a national music strong in its luxuriance; and though in some respects certainly more narrow, in other respects as certainly more free and unfettered than the music of the present day. To this patriarchal simplicity, this strong natural breadth and freedom, combined with a wise and economic natural limitation, we are to ascribe the preservation of that gigantic and hardy spirit, which delighted with honest and heartfelt content to celebrate the deeds of noble sires upon mossy stones and in the halls of the lances.

"That this preservation of the antique character cannot be altogether ascribed to the fostering care of subsequent culture, the Skene MS. itself is sufficient evidence; as the melodies which it presents belong to an age when the fashion of the court and nobles, and especially the clergy, tended rather to swamp native melody by an inundation of foreign science, than to cherish it in its original purity. Yet, whether from natural partiality, or from motives of policy, the influential men of those times continued still to have the native Scottish music taught in the schools,—and the composers of the same period, familiar as they were with the diatonic scale, and the harmony built upon it, could never altogether rob their ear of its native echoes,—their original scale makes itself everywhere audible, and whenever a strong feeling is to be expressed, it is always most apt to reassume its original supremacy.

"How difficult it was for the Scotch to unite the new diatonic scale with their original scale, is farther proved by the awkwardness with which they use it, and the scantiness of their harmonic accompaniments, which were often nothing more than a duplication of the octave. The compositions of foreigners can be distinguished from the native Scottish at a single glance. Examples of the intermixture of old and new, and the singular effects thereby produced, may be dispensed with after all that has been said and written on the subject. It suffices to say, that the famous second sight of the Scotch reveals itself also in these melodies, so far as they are native; and we perceive that even the Christian Scotland cannot forget its old predilection for the misty shapes that ride amid the storm on the skirts of shining clouds. If this be the case even with the music of the Lowlands, how much better must it hold with respect to the Highlands, in their more complete separation from foreign European influences? He who wishes to become acquainted with the ancient Scottish music in its original purity, must collect it in the

remote rock-bound Western Isles, where neither tree nor gold is to be found, and from the living mouth of the people. Here the very nature of the thing necessarily indicates much room for research; and from this may be expected results at once corroborative of truths already known, and opening up new views as to the nature of a national music which is alike valuable for what it was as a means of enjoyment to the past, and for what it is as the *matrix* or *substratum* of the present. Such investigations would not alone profit Scotland; the essential laws of the music of the old world would be laid open, and in a part of the world which, next to China and Hindostan, is remarkable for the fidelity with which it has preserved the remains of musical art. What educated person is there to whom such researches would not be interesting?

"To those who would set out as navigators in this promising sea of discovery, we would especially recommend attention to the construction of musical instruments, and especially of the wire-stringed harp.

We desiderate a minute description of their formation, the number of their strings, and (wherever the latter instrument was used) the mode in which it was tuned as regarded compass, and the series of intervals employed. With respect also to the highland bagpipe, we should wish to see a specification not only of the ventages of the pipes and the succession of their sounds, but of the number and tune of the drones; as by this not a little light might thus be thrown on the early introduction and growth of harmony, and especially on the introduction of the third as a harmonically applied tone, which it was not in more ancient times. Farther we would direct particular attention, not merely to melody and rhythm, (which last must not be forced into accordance with our modern fashionable varieties of time) but also to the popular texts of the songs; and among these particularly to such as yield historical names or describe manners, from which the age of the melody may with probability be ascertained."

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

The first number of a highly humorous work, entitled *les Français, Mœurs Contemporaines*, has just appeared; it will be complete in 48 numbers 8vo., and embellished with numerous amusing plates.

Didot brothers have just issued the three first numbers of a very beautiful work by M. Silvestre, entitled *Paléographie Universelle*, being a collection of autographs (*fac-simile d'écritures*) of all people and all times, drawn from the most authentic documents, charters, and manuscripts in the archives and libraries of France, Italy, England and Germany, and accompanied with historical explanations; it will form two folio volumes, and will appear in 50 numbers, each containing six beautifully coloured plates. Only 200 copies of this expensive work will be printed.

Bourdin & Co. have in preparation, *Voyage dans la Russie Meridionale et la Crimée*, executed in 1837 under the direction of M. de Demidoff. The work will be embellished with 80 beautiful lithographic views by Raffet, viz. seven in Hungary, nine in Wallachia, five in Moldavia, seven in Bessarabia, twelve of the camp of Vossensk, and forty in the Crimea, and will appear in monthly numbers, each containing six plates on India paper. To this will be appended the *Observations Scientifiques*, phrenological, geological, mineralogical, botanical and zoological, forming three volumes, with an atlas and 80 coloured plates, in addition to which the *Histoire du Voyage* will form a distinct volume 8vo. and be illustrated with 64 vignettes; the first number has already appeared.

The Polish refugees have formed a Library in Paris of Polish works, supported by Count Laskyrie and several distinguished foreigners. Dufart, the Parisian bookseller, has given them 180 volumes,

and several contributions of money have been made. On the occasion of opening it, the following interesting particulars were elucidated. The Russian Libraries consist principally of Polish books, and the Royal Library at St. Petersburg has been formed almost entirely by the plunder of Polish libraries. Peter the First took from the town of Mitau, in 1704, 2500 volumes, which were the foundation of the St. Petersburg Library; again, in 1795, the Zaluski Library was taken from Warsaw to St. Petersburg, and contained, according to the Russian estimate, 260,000 volumes, and 11,000 manuscripts. Upon the taking of Warsaw in 1831, the University lost 200,000 volumes, the Philomathic Society 20,000, the Library of the town council 36,000, and the private Library of Prince Czartoryski in Pulawy, containing 15,000 volumes; adding to these the bibliographical treasures of the convents, we have a total of 700,000 volumes taken from Poland to Russia.

It is also singular that the Zaluski Library, which contained, before the disturbances broke out which led to its removal, 400,000 volumes, was commenced in France under similar circumstances.

The French Chambers have ultimately agreed that the right of publication to authors shall continue for their families until 30 years after their decease.

M. de Villemarque is busily engaged in arranging the valuable information he collected in Wales, in the native Welsh language, for the work with which the French government have entrusted him, "*History of the French Literature in the Middle Ages.*"

Madame Victoire Babois, the oldest of the French poetesses, died recently at Paris. Her *Elegies* were greatly admired, and ran through three editions in a short time; being principally national, they have

rendered her name familiar throughout France.

Ciceri, the celebrated Decorative Painter, has discovered a means of fixing colours in stone; he can imitate marble, or paint subjects on the natural stone. The colour becomes so engrafted into the pores of the stone, that it may be ground or polished without injuring any of the colours.

At the king's printing-office in Paris they are busily engaged in preparing for publication several highly important translations of Oriental Manuscripts. They will appear in the following order:—The History of Mangolen by Raschid-Eddin, translated by Quatremère; Bhagaratu Purana, by Burnouf; Schah Nameh, translated by J. Mohl; and the Book of Laws of King Wakhtun. They are to be followed by works in Arabic, Persian, Georgic, &c., and embellished with vignettes in the oriental style.

ITALY.

A newspaper for the blind has lately been published at Palermo; the letters are in relief and are read by the blind passing their fingers over the lines; it is entitled *Il Consolatore dei Ciechi*.

A great want of retail booksellers exists in Italy; at Rome the usual method of selling books is by auction, and these have been so frequent during the winter that three have on some occasions taken place on the same day. These auctions are held in the bookseller's shop in the morning, the books being ranged according to their numbers on a table in the centre of a room. Here buyers and amateurs resort to make acquaintances and gossip away the time, every accommodation being given by seats ranged round the walls, and any book may be chosen and read previous to the auction commencing. The Italians are great lovers of books, and select the finest editions and the most choice bindings. The libraries have but a small stock, and that consists principally of theological and philological works.

One of the most stupendous works of modern times is a projected rail-road from Venice to Milan, connecting the seven richest and most populous cities of Italy with each other, Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Brescia and Milan; the most gigantic portion will be the bridge over the Lagumen, connecting Venice with the main land. The length of the rail-road will be 166 Italian (about the same in English) miles, passing through a population of three and a half millions, the seven cities having alone a population of half a million, viz. Venice, 120,000, Padua, 44,000, Vicenza, 50,000, Verona, 46,000, Mantua, 34,000, Brescia, 42,000, and Milan, 180,000 inhabitants, to which may be added 20,000 foreigners in Venice and Milan. It is cal-

culated the transport, when completed, will average 1800 persons, 1500 tons of goods, and 1000 tons of coals daily.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany has recently purchased the fine collection of Tuscan minerals belonging to the celebrated Museum of Michael Targioni for his cabinet of physics and natural history. This collection was first commenced by Antonio Micheli, the Italian botanist, and increased to its present richness by Dr. Giovanni Targioni.

GERMANY.

The new number of the *Deutsche Vierteljahr's Schrift*, contains articles—On the State of the German Universities—on Swiss Nationality, social and political—on the National Peculiarities of English, French and German Aphorisms—the Contest between Morals and Taste—the American People past and future, and several minor articles.

A new edition of "Gulliver's Reisen" by Swift, and translated by Dr. F. Kottenkamp, is in the course of publication in two volumes 8vo., and embellished with 450 wood cuts; it will be delivered in eight parts at 2s. 6d. each, or 18s. when complete.

A translation of "Murchison's Silurian System of Rocks," will shortly be published at Weimar.

Carl Bernhard, the talented novel writer, has just published in Danish and in German, a novel in one volume 8vo. entitled *Das Glückskind*, which promises to meet with every success.

A subscription is in progress at Breslau, to erect a monument to Frederick the Great—it is to be of bronze, and placed on a pedestal of granite in the *Königplatz* of that town.

Moritz Retzsch's new work will contain *Outlines to Bürgers Leonora Des Pharrer's Tochter von Taubenheim*, and *Das Lied von Braven Manne*; they will appear early in August.

A theoretical and practical work on Lithography, by Engelmann of Mühlhausen, is in the press; it is the fruit of more than twenty years' experience, and will appear in five parts, comprising the history and progress of the art.

The following particulars respecting Charlotte and Werther, the subjects of Goethe's beautiful tale, have recently been published in an obscure newspaper circulating through the Rhine provinces.

Charlotte was the daughter of Amtmann, (Bailliff) Buff, and was by no means of uncommon beauty, but was esteemed by the whole city for the meritorious manner in which she conducted her father's household, and fulfilled the arduous duties of a

mother towards her younger sisters Werther, who shot himself through despair because Charlotte was betrothed to Counsellor Kestner in 1772, was also much esteemed and respected by the citizens of Wetzlar. About the year 1766 it became customary to make a pilgrimage on a certain evening to Werther's grave. A procession was formed, consisting not merely of young people but of men of high rank, assessors of the council, and ladies of high station; these proceeded at midnight to the churchyard, each carrying a wax light and dressed in black, with black crape before the face. Arrived at the grave they formed a circle round it and sang the hymn "*Ausgelitten has du ausgerungen*;" when this was concluded, some one stepped forward and entered into a detail of the life and virtues of the deceased; which was invariably closed with these words:—"The voluntary end of life for love, if not justified, may yet be excused." Flowers were thrown on the grave and the procession returned to the city. The magistrates, after a few years, interfered and forbade this ceremony.

RUSSIA.

An Ukase has been issued at St. Petersburg to suppress the wandering habits of gipsies in the Russian dominions. They are enjoined to provide themselves with fixed habitations before the 1st of January, 1841.

DENMARK.

The new botanical work by Drejer, entitled *Flora excursoria Hafniensis*, has been completed with great care and attention, and must prove highly interesting to the botanist—that portion denominated "*Seeland's Flora*" is much spoken of.

EGYPT.

Two young Chinese priests, born near Peking, and an Italian Clergyman who spoke their language, passed recently through Cairo (21st ult.) on their way to China from Naples, where they had resided long and been ordained.

The Pacha's printing establishment have just issued a work, entitled *Agharal Badiet fi Ilm al Thabiet*; it is on Physics, for the use of schools, and will be shortly followed by others of a like character. The complete edition of the *Thousand and One Nights*, published recently in two 4to. volumes, is from the pen of Abdurrahman al Safti al Scharkawi, and is considered to be free from errors. It is on good Italian paper, but wretchedly printed, although somewhat better than the former works issued from this establishment, but certainly not so perfect as

they print in Constantinople and Tauris. When the Pacha first ordered Lectures to be given on Mathematical knowledge in the school of Abu Zabel, the scholars being mostly Turks, the discourse was given in that language. Several translations into Turkish also appeared from the printing establishment at Bulak, Turkish hand-books were issued on military and mathematical knowledge, the statistics of Bossul were also printed in Turkish by command of the minister, Edhem Bey. But the Arabian race have been gradually increasing in numbers and influence until it gained the ascendancy, and within these few years Chemistry has been taught for the first time in Arabic. The translator, Professor Perron, is a talented Frenchman, and has had a great outcry to withstand, for having engrafted French words in cases where no Arabic could be found.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Faust is a work so full of marvellous imagery that it is exceedingly difficult for translators to give that peculiar felicity of expression and terseness of style, which characterise the original. Hence it is that although we have seven English translations, another has entered the public field, in English verse, from the pen of J. Birch, Esq. throwing new light on the original text, and appearing in a brighter garb, for the volume is embellished by twenty-nine beautiful etchings after Moritz Retzsch.

The Oriental Translation Committee have published a very elaborate translation of the *Akhl-ak-i-Jalaly*, with references and very copious notes by W. F. Thompson, Esq. This beautiful work contains a perfect development of the moral and practical philosophy of the East. It is a work of the 14th century, and contains an able analysis of the three states into which it is divided,—the individual, the domestic and the political states. The Committee have also in the press, *The Divan of the Huzailis*, translated by Professor Kosegarten, and accompanied with Arabic text; the *Khatai Nameh*, translated by Dr. Fleischer, with the original text; *The Vishnu Purana*, translated by Professor Wilson, and *The History of Spain under the Arabs*, by Ahmed Ibn Muhammad Al-makári, translated from the Arabic by Señor P. de Gayangoz.

An elaborate work on the political and religious condition of America, has been published by Mr. Colburn. It is entitled, *a Voice from America to England*, and is from the pen of an American gentleman.

J. C. Symons, Esq. has published an interesting little volume on the *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad*, containing some very valuable statistical information.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

FROM APRIL TO JUNE, 1839, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

- Ammon, von, Die gemischten Ehen, namentlich der Katholiken und Protestanten nach den Ansichten des Christenthums, der Geschichte des Rechtes und der Sittlichkeit. 8vo. Dresden. 5s.
- Baumgarten, M., De fide libri Estheræ; commentatio historico-critica. 8vo. Halle. 3s.
- Baur, S., Religiöse Betrachtungen und Gebete am Morgen und Abend alle Tage des Jahres. 2 vols. 8vo. Sulzb. 9s.
- Biblia hebraica, secundum editiones, J. Athiæ, J. Leusden, J. Simonis aliorumque, imprimis E. van der Hooght, addidit A. Hahn. 4th Ed. 8vo. Lips. 17s 6d.
- Bibliotheca ecclesiastica quam moderante D. A. Neandro, adornavit H. T. Bruns. Vol. I. Canones apostolorum et conciliorum. 8vo. Berlin. 5s.
- Danz, J. T., Initia doctrinae patristicae introductionis instar in patrum ecclesiae studium. 8vo. Jena. 2s 6d.
- Danz, Universal Wörterbuch der theologischen und religions-geschichtlichen Literatur. Pt. 5. 4to. Leipz. 3s.
- Das Morgenland altes und neues für Freunde der heiligen Schrift—eine Monatschrift. 12 parts. 8vo. Basel. 7s.
- Delitzsch, F., Lutherthum und Lügenthum. Ein offnes Bekenntniss beim Reformationsjubiläum der Stadt Leipzig. 12mo. Leipz. 2s.
- Dietrich, F., De sermonis chaldaici proprietate. 8vo. Leipz. 1s.
- Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte, mit Anmerkungen v. A. Closs. 8vo. Stuttgart. Subscription price 2s 6d.
- Guerike, H. E. F. Allgemeine christliche Symbolik. 8vo. Leipz. 11s 6d.
- Hengel, W. A. van, Commentarius perpetuus in epistola n Pauli ad Philippenses. 8vo. Leyden. 13s.
- Nitzsch, C. J., System der christlichen Lehre. 4th Ed. 8vo. Bonn. 9s.
- Offenbach, J., Allgemeines Gebetbuch für die Israelitische Jugend. Hebräisch und Deutsch. 8vo. Cologne. 1s 6d.
- Patrum apostolicorum opera. Textum ex editionibus præstantissimis repetitum recognovit, brevi adnotatione instruxit, et in usum praelectionum academicarum ed. C. J. Hefele. 8vo. Tübingen. 6s 6d.
- Reichel, V., Introductio in hermeneuticam biblicam. 8vo. Vienna. 3s.
- Rückert, F., Leben Jesu, Evangelien-Harmonie in gebundner Rede. 8vo. Stuttg. 7s.
- Santo Domingo.—Esprit des papes. (Dédié au roi de Prusse.) 8vo. Paris. 7s 6d.
- Schmalz, M. F., Das menschliche Leben im Lichte der evangelischen Geschichte. Vol. IV. 8vo. Hamb. Price of the 4 vols. 12s.
- Strauss, Dr., Vie de Jésus, ou Examen critique de son histoire, traduite par E. Littré. Vol. I. 8vo. Paris. 7s.
- Strauss, Dr. D. F., Zwei friedliche Blätter. 8vo. Altona. 4s 6d.
- The New Testament in the Russian Language. 8vo. Leipz. 6s.
- Theologische Quartalschrift. 4 Parts. 8vo. Tubing. 14s 6d.
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- Xavier, Die Briefe des Grossen Indianer Apostles des heiligen Franz von Xavier. Vol. II. 8vo. Neuweid. 2s.
- Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, von C. F. Illgen. 1839. 4 parts. 8vo. Leipz. 1l.
- Zell, G., Acta Antihermesiana, quibus acta

Hermesiana, Meletemata theologica, Actaque Romana. 8vo. Ratisb. 4s 6d.

LAW, JURISPRUDENCE, AND STATISTICS.

- Assises du royaume de Jérusalem, textes français et italien, conférées entre elles ainsi qu'avec les lois des Francs, publiées sur un manuscrit tiré de la bibliothèque de Saint Marc de Venise; par M. Victor Foucher. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- Dirksen, H. E., Manuale latinitatis fontium juris civilis Romanorum thesauri latinitatis epitome. Part VIII. 4to. Berlin. 6s.
- Eichstadius, H. C. A., De jurisconsultorum atque philologorum discordi saepe concordia quaedam adiecit. 4to. Jena. 1s.
- Gratier, de, Commentaire sur les lois de la presse et des autres moyens de publication. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. Paris. 9s each volume.
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- Zimmermann, G., Die Hannöversche Regierung und das Staats-Grundgesetz von 1833. 8vo. Hanover. 2s 6d.

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

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MEDICAL AND NATURAL SCIENCES, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

- Ausführliche Encyclopädie der gesammten Staatsarzneykunde. Im Verein mit mehreren Doctoren der Rechtsgelehrtheit der Philosophie v. G. F. Most. Part VIII. 8vo. Leipz. 4s 6d.

- Berzelius, J., Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der physischen Wissenschaften. Part I. Physik unorganische Chemie, und Mineralogie. 8vo. Tübingen. 5s 6d.
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- Endlicher, Genera plantarum secundum ordines naturales disposita. No. X. 4to. Vienna. Sub. pr. 5s.
- Endlicher, Iconographia generum plantarum. No. VIII. Tab. 73. 4to. Vienna. Sub. pr. 7s 6d.
- Fischer, Abbildungen zur Berichtigung und Ergänzung der Schmetterlingskunde. Part II. 5 plates. 4to. Vienna. 7s 6d.
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THE
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- ART. I.—1. *Coranus textus Arabicus*. Edit Dr. G. Flügel. 4to.
2. *Coranus Arabice Recensionis Flügelianæ textum recognitum iterum exprimi curavit* G. M. Redslob, Phil. Dr. et in Univers. Lips. Prof. Publ. Extraord. gr. 8vo.
3. *Al Koran*.—By Mahomet. Translated by Sale, &c.

How is it the Koran is so little read? Our most popular tales are adopted from the East, our most popular poetry coloured from its imagery and its mannerisms;—Why is the most imaginative and most poetical of all Eastern compositions comparatively unnoticed? The deepest investigations of the historian relate to the stupendous revolutions which Asia has undergone. Why is the eloquence in which the most stupendous of these originated suffered to sleep in silence on the shelf? In an age when philosophy probes, and religion strives to reconcile, all the varieties of mental persuasion, why is the impregnable faith of half the world generally unread and almost always unstudied?

Such are the reflections and anticipations with which the literary tyro enters on the perusal of the Koran; but he has hardly concluded a chapter, before he finds the answer to his queries, and feels himself obliged to struggle with the very apathy he had condemned in others. A tissue of reiterated rhapsody—allusions which are unknown—regulations the necessity and the object of which are not understood—couched too in an idiom

and a phraseology very different from those of any other work with which he may be acquainted—are all the most attentive reader can at first discover. If he makes an attempt at translation, his patience has to undergo a still severer trial: the only tolerable version is that of Sale, who, though a master of the language, has been betrayed by a cruel scrupulousness into translating words rather than ideas. In both cases the result is commonly the same—the student throws by his book in disgust, and adds another to the number of those who are content to hear of the beauties of the Koran, without attempting to become acquainted with them. Or, if his resolution is proof against the difficulties he meets with, he runs through it without attention and closes it without an idea. Many chapters indeed, to all but the linguist, are better passed over than read, as they are mere repetitions of others more instructive—and none can be perused with interest till some clue is obtained to the order and object of composition.

We flatter ourselves, therefore, that we shall be doing an acceptable service to more than one class of readers, by taking a cursory review of the style, matter, and general peculiarities of this extraordinary work, and applying the leading chapters to the circumstances that explain their purport. This it is impossible to do without considering at the same time the character and fortunes of the author; and this article will consequently treat of Mahomet as well as of his Scripture.

At our first step we plunge at once into the awfulness of the general question. With the exception of prayers, a few of which only occur, the Korann is written throughout in the person of the Almighty. Remonstrances and instructions, promises and threats, blessings and curses, are all represented as proceeding directly from him. And though sometimes the current of enthusiasm and indignation seems to lose sight of its sacred source, the connection is constantly recalled at the end of the period. Though a good deal of what may be strictly termed poetry occurs in the early chapters, the bulk of the work is prose which rhymes. To preserve the concluding cadence, a few words of similar import and construction are constantly made use of, and it is this continual recurrence of almost identical phrases after sentences of prose, which renders translation such a difficult task. Without the license of poetry and without the plainness of prose, it is impossible to preserve its effect without sacrificing its identity. Were any one bound in translating Homer, or Hesiod, to render strictly all the complimentary and terminating epithets that have such a fine effect in the original, his version would be nearly as unentertaining as Sale's translation of the Korann. Yet in this there would be less difficulty, because in them every part of every line has all the freedom and fancy of poetry. It would seem, however, that the sentences have a rude species of rhythm independent of the terminating cadence; but one which is unattainable to a European ear. Our cathedral chants, in which verses of very different length are all adapted to the same melody, will enable us to understand how this may be.

If the reader* will turn to Mrs. Harris's petition in Swift, and his rhyming letter to Dr. Sheridan, he will find something that may give him an idea of the construction of the Arabic text, though none at all of its effect.

* To save him trouble we subjoin a few lines of each:—

- "To their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Ireland, the humble Petition of Frances Harris,
- "Who must starve and die a maid if it miscarries,
- "Humbly sheweth, that I went to warm myself in Lady Betty's chamber because it was cold,
- "And I had in my purse seven pounds four shillings and sixpence (besides farthings) in silver and gold," &c.
- "It is impossible to know by your letter whether the wine is to be bottled to-morrow or no.
- "If it be or be not, why did not you, in plain English, tell us so?
- "Truly I don't know who's bound to be sending for corks to stop your bottles with a vengeance.
- "Make a page of your own age, and send your man Alexander to buy corks, for Saunders has gone already above ten jaunts."

It is not the irregularity of carelessness, but of irrepressible emotion. Sometimes, in the earnestness of his enthusiasm and the exuberance of his fancy, the prophet hurries by his resting place, and expatiates with more than Pindaric license beyond it; sometimes two or three words, or even a single one of sounding utterance and tremendous signification, is made to respond to and balance a whole sentence. In either case the reader's mind sympathises with the expression more than the sound, and lost in the rush of feeling or stunned by the concentration of it, hardly perceives the inequality of the metre. After this description it can scarcely be expected that any versified specimen will be offered to the English reader. The attempt would be attended with inconceivable labour and very dubious success. Such occasional extracts, however, in prose, as will suffice to give an idea of the general style and feeling, we shall be obliged to present him with as the article proceeds.

The Korann it is generally known was produced and published in detached passages of from 2 to 100 lines, as occasion required. Whenever a new argument or a new taunt was to be answered, or a new rule established, it was said to be revealed by some new verses. These, according to Mahomet's directions, were either written separately as an independent chapter, or placed under some former one, to some or other passage of which he might consider them pertinent. In making these arrangements, however, he does not seem to have been guided by any very perfect knowledge of what was contained in former chapters, or by any very precise rules in commencing a new one. Hence two important peculiarities:—1. The chapters are of every imaginable length, from 2 and 3 lines to 1200 and 1500. 2. Every variety of subject, under every variety of date, is thrown together, without any visible connection, and the same sentences are repeated several times in the same chapter, and innumerable times in different ones, with some very trifling difference of expression. This it is which astonishes and disgusts the reader, who has not means, or who has not patience, to discover the occasion on which the separate passages were produced, and watch the workings of feeling and the changes of disposition, for which they are often so remarkable. This too it is which renders it impossible to make any thorough digest of the work, either in subject or date, without dislocating and readjusting with inconceivable labour almost every passage it contains. Another remarkable circumstance—the similarity, almost identity, of many chapters in style and matter, can only be explained by a reference

to the prophet's most singular distinction—i. e. his ignorance. No one that wrote what he composed, and read what he wrote, would have so often reiterated a single idea with such very slight difference of expression. But Mahomet, who could do neither, hardly ever recalled a previous composition without making some slight difference in the words; and this was sufficient, from the assumption of the Prophet and the zeal of his followers, to render it a fresh revelation, which it would have been impiety not to record. It is more than probable this tendency was encouraged rather than checked by the wily enthusiast. "Quin etiam voluminibus ipsis," says Pliny, "auctoritatem quandam et pulchritudinem adjicit magnitudo." And if this is the case with ordinary writings, it must be still more so with such as aspire to be called sacred. The speedily increasing bulk of the Korann no doubt excited the wonder of his enemies, and quickened the devotion of his friends. It is not impossible that some of these "alter idems" may have been produced by the casual omissions and variations incident to repetition. The original passages we know were written down from the Prophet's mouth, and then, after being promulgated among his followers, were deposited in a chest; but many must have been lost or misplaced, otherwise Abuhecre, in the year after Mahomet's death, would never, with all the original in his possession, have compiled the Korann as he did, by collecting all the copies of every passage that was extant, and recovering much that was missing, from the memories of the most ancient believers. Any alterations proceeding from this source, however, must have been very slight, as they must have been involuntary.

In arranging the chapters on this occasion, the Moslims, in their own thorough acquaintance with every part of the whole and every circumstance connected with its production, seem not to have considered it at all necessary to place the early ones before the late; chance appears to have directed the disposition. The latter chapters, containing the bulk of all the regulations relative to internal polity, were the first sought for, the first completed, and the first placed. Some, however, of an earlier date, being more readily obtained, intervened among the others; and the bulk of the chapters, which contained nothing particularly remarkable, naturally took their order according to what occasioned most solicitude to the compilers, viz. their length.

With the opening verses of the 73d and the 74th chapters, the Korann may be properly said to commence. We have there the Angel Gabriel's address to the Prophet,

exhorting him to prepare himself for his sacred office, and the words with which he imagined himself addressed by the same heavenly messenger, when he hid himself from the terror of his awful presence in the lap of his wife Khadijeh. That Mahomet was, at this period, frequently visited by mental perturbations of this sort, was the early belief of the Eastern Christians, whose vicinity to the scene of his life and labours entitles their testimony to some respect; and whose inventions, if taxed at all, would hardly have been satisfied with this innocent and ambiguous fabrication. By his followers, for obvious reasons, the assertion is not supported; but borne out as it is by internal evidence, an impartial inquirer will hail with joy this early clue to the morbid enthusiasm which, he will soon find, is the only motive, short of actual inspiration, that can explain the conduct of Mahomet and the triumph of his faith. No traces of this emotion, however, are to be found in any late chapter; and the question of his sincerity in ascribing the whole Korann to God, may therefore be agitated by some, independently of anything he might have believed with regard to these early passages. But here we must observe that the superstitious, the almost idolatrous reverence with which the work is regarded by Mahomedans, has only a very slender foundation in the text. Besides the general assertion that it proceeds from God, and the casual mention at the end of chapter 85 of the preserved table, in which it is inscribed, nothing can be found to justify the mysticism in which it has since been involved. If the reader will consult the end of chapter 42, and the beginning of chapter 53, he will see not only that this inconsistency may be easily reconciled, but that Mahomet makes concessions which leave no inconsistency at all. The Moslem commentators reading these passages by the light of their darling prejudices, pervert them into a more limited sense than they strictly bear: from their interpretations, Maraccius was too illiberal, and Sale too scrupulous to depart; and it is therefore necessary to render them afresh.

"By the star when it falls! Your countryman is not mistaken, neither speaks he by his own impulse: what is it but inspiration he is favoured with? The Almighty has taught it him: he has suggested to his servant what he hath suggested; his imagination has not deceived him in what he saw: wherefore then do you doubt him in what he sees? He hath verily beheld another descent—near the cedar of partition hard by is the abode of paradise. Where the cedar shades that which it shades—his eye shrunk not nor wandered—he hath verily seen

mighty things of the signs of his Lord."—Chap. liii.

"It is not possible for man that the Lord should speak to him except by inspiration, or from behind a veil; or he would send a messenger to suggest to him by his permission that which he pleases. Thus it is that we have suggested to thee in spirit (or by spirit) of what we ordain. Thou knewest not what was scripture nor what religion; but we rendered it a light to thee, that we might direct by it whom we please of our servants, for verily thou directest in the righteous path."—Chap. xlii.

From these words two things are evident; first, that Mahomet nowise asserts a supernatural appearance to attend every revelation: on the contrary, he thinks it sufficient to appeal to a single and a long past one; probably one of the identical illusions from which we have just seen him suffering, in order to give authority to all he said. Secondly, that he acknowledges that inspiration is carried on, not by visible means, but by an internal and invisible process. This is still more clear from a rather ludicrous passage in the 75th chapter, where he is desired not to be too hasty in pronouncing the words of the Korann, before the internal suggestion of it was completed. Still, if he was convinced that the mental process of composition was one of revelation, he was not insincere in asserting the Korann to be revealed; and if, in the zeal of instilling what he firmly believed himself, he represented (though we have no proof that he did represent) the presence by which he imagined himself guided, as more sensibly manifest than he felt it to be, he only practised one of those conscientious exaggerations to which none are so prone as the most virulent among his opponents.

The prophet was forty years old when he felt himself thus awfully called to the arduous task of changing the long established religion of millions. The affection of his wife Khadijeh—the childish enthusiasm of his cousin Aly—and the ignorant devotion of his servant Zeid—may perhaps be considered as natural and easy conquests. But the conversion of his friend Abubecre, a man of mature age, and high character, can only be explained by the instability and real emptiness of the religion he deserted. By his influence ten of the most respectable inhabitants of Mecca were prevailed on to listen to the prophet; and an attention that was probably at first only prompted by curiosity and politeness at last became sealed by conviction. To these fourteen the sacred secret was for three years confined, and it is to the lofty devotion of their earlier meetings that we must ascribe the beautiful prayer

which forms the first Chapter of the Korann:—

"Glory to God the Lord of worlds—the merciful—the compassionate—the Judge of the last day.

"Thee do we serve and thee do we entreat—Guide us in the right way.

"The way of those thou hast been gracious to—not of those thou art incensed against, nor of those who go astray."

No other composition belonging to this period seems to be extant, nor therefore to have existed:—*facit indignatio versus*. In pious calmness or the mere agitation of suspense, there was nothing to call forth the prophet's powers; to borrow his own expressive simile, it is during the storm that the thunder rolls and the lightning flashes. The Korann required the conflict of passion to give it birth.

In the fourth year he publicly asserted his divine mission; but here the power of prejudice was reinforced by the pride of family, the interest of office, and the insolence of age. He addressed the sacred guardians of a sacred city, and he was received with astonishment and contempt. We should expect to find in the Korann some amicable and mild invitation with which the men of Mecca were now accosted; but Mahomet's communications with them, as long as they would listen with decency, appear to have been verbal. In one of these conferences he was importunately applied to by a blind beggar, for instruction in the way of God: vexed at the untimely interruption, the prophet frowned and turned away in anger: for this he is severely reprehended in the 80th chapter, and this humble follower was ever afterwards distinguished with the most respectful treatment. With the exception of this passage and the few lines which compose the 105th and 106th chapters, no words are to be found applicable to the period in which he may be supposed to have regarded his adversaries with the hope of an enthusiast and the pity of a relative. This interval, however, was but short; he must have been prepared for incredulity, but he could not brook contempt. Mortified with the ill success he met, and stung with the contumely he received, he seems to have suffered dark moments of diffidence and doubt, when the warmth of his soul was chilled and its light extinguished, and when all the sacred hopes which had lifted him above his kind appeared to leave him below it. One of these mental struggles is beautifully depicted in the 93d chapter; the 94th is also on the same subject; indeed consolatory passages are of frequent occurrence all through the Meccan

chapters. The 93d being written in more regular metre than is generally to be met with, we have been tempted to present the following feeble version of it:

"No! by the morning's splendour—No! by the frown of night—
Thy omnipotent defender will not desert the right.
Tho' present sorrows rend thee, the future brings their balm;
High destinies attend thee, be thankful and be calm.
By him hast thou been cherished, an orphan in thy youth,
An infidel thou'dst perished had he not taught thee truth.
His bounteous hand has freed thee from poverty and scorn,
Then do thou relieve the needy, do thou the thoughtless warn."

These expressions, however, were but momentary—Mahomet had staked too much on his pretensions to suffer his own conviction to be shaken. In chapters 68, 111, 101, 102, 104, 108, and the continuation of 74, we find him maintaining his sacred character to its utmost height—sometimes consoling his animosity with mysterious hints of future and inevitable retribution, and sometimes relieving his passion in the terrific outpourings of a prophet's curse. In chapter 74 his anger adopts a strain of personal ridicule, which the striking singularity of manner can hardly redeem from the character of satire.

"Yes—he considered and he plotted—curse him how he plotted. Aye, curse him how he plotted—then he looked, then he frowned, and looked grave—then he turned away in his pride and said, what is this but a charm that is repeated, what is this but the speech of a man?"

The classical reader will readily recall the comic scenes which occur in the Greek tragedies, and wonder to find how natural in the simplicity of early composition is the union of the grotesque with the impassioned.

It is important to observe what at this early period was the devotional discipline which Mahomet imposed on his followers himself, and some may be surprised to learn that it was marked with the blindest zeal of fanaticism. From chapter 73 we find that the prophet and his scanty train of believers were in the habit of devoting half the night to prayer and religious meditation; and a permission is there given to relax somewhat of this unnatural austerity, from which it appears their health and spirits had begun to suffer.

On the strength of the only conjectures

applicable to the case, we should venture to place the chapters from 51 to 56, from 82 to 92, together with the 77th, 99th, and 100th, next in the order of composition. They are of all the most vivid in conception, and the most finished in style; and Mahomet in other chapters rejects with indignation the name of poet, to which none but these would seem to entitle him. Devoid of any attempts to reason with his adversaries, they seem adapted only to the early period of his self-taught ministry. Their constant theme is the truth of the Korann—the powers, the mercy of God—the terrors of the last day—and the fate of the obedient and disobedient after it. These topics indeed prevail in every chapter of the whole, but they were afterwards mingled with others, which we shall soon have occasion to notice.

The truth of the Korann is generally affirmed on the strength of the Almighty's oath. "By all that produces—by all that bears—by all that moves—and by all that distributes, what is promised to thee is verily true—this faith comes from heaven," (chap. 51.) In the profuse fertility of his imagination the writer sometimes crowds poetic images of the highest order into these preliminary asseverations. The classical or the sacred reader will perhaps be glad to compare the horses of Mahomet with those of Homer or of Job. "By the horses running wild and snorting—kindling the earth with the sparks they elicit—vying with each other in the freshness of morning—obscuring its splendour with the dust they raise—and rushing into the midst of it themselves." (chap. 100.) His descriptions of the last day are seldom below the Scriptures from which they are borrowed.

Cap. 99.—"When the earth shall tremble violently and shake off her burdens, men shall say what has come to it? Then shall she declare her tidings, for that the Lord hath communicated them to her."

Cap. 81.—"When the sun shall waver, the stars be obscured, and the mountains be moved—when the camel shall forget her young, and the beasts shall run together—when the sea shall boil—when souls shall be united—when the heavens shall be taken away—Hell be kindled and Paradise brought near."

Cap. 14.—"On that day the eyes of men shall gaze fearfully, dejected, cowering; not an eye shall wink; their hearts shall be a blank."

The Paradise of Mahomet is familiar to every one's imagination, but the inquisitive reader will find the most comprehensive representation of it in chapters 32 and 37. The passages relating to the inferno are those which do the least credit to the feelings if not the abilities of Mahomet. The utter

helplessness of man amidst the wreck of worlds, the consternation of the soul when standing in the sensible presence of an infinite Creator, are topics on which no man should presume to insult another. With a minuteness that is offensive and an avidity that is shocking, he dwells on every refinement of torture that human fancy can depict. The absorbing terror, the excruciating misery, the vain repentance, the prayers, the struggles, the shrieks of the damned, it seems to have been his delight rather than his horror, to contemplate. With a repulsive inconsistency he even makes it one of the occupations if not amusements of the blessed, to scrutinize the scene of torment and observe their former acquaintance in the midst of it. That his ostensible object in framing these fictions was to rescue his countrymen from the reality will not relieve him in the opinion of the metaphysician, from the reproach of those darker touches, which fancy, unassisted by passion, could never have produced. His real defence must be sought in the exasperations to which he was hourly exposed, and the natural vindictiveness which belonged to him as an Arab. It will be seen when the time comes for observing it, that malignity was not among his failings; or—a far greater praise—that if it had been, it was not indulged.

From these artless effusions of fancy and of feeling we pass to others more calculated to persuade. Chapters 7, 15, 14, 10, 20, 21, 19 and 27, may be taken as fair and sufficient specimens of the bulk of the Korann. From their vicinity to the Jews and the strict connection which had formerly subsisted between the two people, the Arabs had derived much traditional knowledge, and much fanciful superstition. The stories of the ancient patriarchs were familiar to their imaginations; and they perceived or thought they perceived in various catastrophes that had formerly befallen the most flourishing of their own tribes, similar instances of divine guidance and divine punishment. From the obstinate incredulity with which all recorded messages of God to man had been received, Mahomet must have drawn his earliest support under the staggering opposition which he met with, and he naturally used the consideration to produce in others the same conviction it had afforded to him. With fond pertinacity he every where recounts the missions of every prophet from Noah to Jesus, and the punishment of those by whom they were rejected. Identifying his own situation with that of the sacred warners, he sought to drive his despisers into identifying theirs with that of the vainly-warned. His imagination here got the better of his pru-

dence, and the modern inquirer makes it a serious objection to the truth of his mission, that he incessantly threatened what was never sufficiently accomplished.

This, though his principal argument, is not his only one. The Coreysh had asked, how the orphan son of Abdallah, whom for forty years they had known only to disregard, should suddenly become the bearer of heaven's commands to them? With equal skill and effect he wrests his antagonists' weapon from their hands and uses it against themselves. "If," replies he, "I have lived so long an unpretending citizen, wherefore should I pretend now? and if I have been hitherto undistinguished, where have I at once acquired the energies I now display?" The Korann, by a parity of reason, is assimilated to the books of former prophets, which the Arabs enumerate to an extravagant amount; but his favourite and most frequent argument is its inimitability. In the height of his confidence he extends the challenge to the invisible powers of genii and demons; and the weary student wonders to find the whole truth of the mission staked, and staked successfully, on the impossibility of equaling a single passage. How far this vaunt is borne out by the actual merits of the work it is difficult to say, as no native critic can be an unprejudiced one. The fact that nothing equal was produced seems staggering; and yet we learn from the book itself that its decriers always asserted it to be nowise beyond the standard of human invention; it is easily conceivable that pride or listlessness may have restrained them from the contest, even if no diffidence in their own powers would else have induced them to decline it. Among other of their objections we find from chap. 25, that they accused Mahomet of being assisted in its composition by some one, who, we learn from the answer, was a foreigner. Maraccius, Prideaux, and other polemical decriers have seized hold of this circumstance to deprive him of the honour of originality, forgetting that no foreigner could supply more than the matter, and that the merit of the Korann lies in its style and spirit. Had their attention been as great as their virulence, they might have drawn from the Korann itself more satisfactory evidence on this point than can possibly be afforded by the casual allegation of his adversaries. It is thronged with imitations of Scripture from Genesis to the Revelations; and Mahomet being totally illiterate himself, must have learned these original passages from others. He was in the habit, it appears, of listening to two Christian youths, shopkeepers of Mecca, who used to read the Bible aloud, while sitting in the streets. This

probably contributed from the first to inflame his imagination, and raise in him the frantic piety which lifted him above himself.

Many sacred legends will be found from which no particular inference seems to be drawn or intended, and it appears, therefore, to have been one of the author's objects to draw together every tradition that was likely to impose on his hearers, and by making the work a receptacle of all that was holy, to raise a presumption that it was holy itself. From the 18th chapter, which is entirely of this nature, we extract one of the very few passages which is likely to interest the cursory reader :

"Then they found one of our servants to whom we had been gracious, and given him instruction from ourselves. Moses said, may I follow thee, that thou mayest instruct me in some of what thou art directed in? He said, thou wilt not be able to bear with me; how should you bear with what you do not comprehend? He replied, thou shalt find me patient, I will not be disobedient in aught. He said, then if thou followest me, ask not of any thing until I mention it to thee. So they went on, till they entered a boat which he split. Have you split it, cried Moses, that you may drown the owners of it? You have done a strange thing. Did I not tell thee, said he, that thou couldst not bear with me? Chide me not, said Moses, in that I forget; and be not harsh at my behaviour. Then they went on till they met a child, which he killed. What, exclaimed Moses, have you killed an innocent person without his having killed another! truly you have done a grievous deed. Did I not tell you, he said, you could not bear with me? Moses replied, if I ask you about any thing after this, take me with you no longer, verily my excuses are sincere. So they went on till they came to a village, where they asked its inmates for refreshment, but they refused to entertain them, and they found in it a wall that was about to tumble, and he set it straight. If you pleased, said Moses, you might here requite them. This, said the holy man, is a separation between thee and me; but I will explain to thee that which thou couldst not bear with. The boat belonged to some poor people who labour on the sea, and I wished to injure it, because a tyrant was in search of them who takes every vessel by force. As to the child, his parents were righteous, and I feared he would afflict them with his unruliness and impiety, and I wished the Lord might give them in exchange a better than he, innocent and dutiful. The wall was the property of two children, orphans in the city, and beneath it was a hidden treasure belonging to them; and their father was righteous, therefore the Lord wished that they should arrive at maturity and obtain their treasure, a tender mercy from the Lord. I did it not of my own suggestion. This is the explanation of what you could not bear with."

But the line of argument adopted by Mahomet involved him in difficulties which more than outbalanced the advantages he derived from it. The miracles performed by the sacred characters to whom he strove to assimilate himself, formed the most striking part of their histories, and he was naturally urged by those whom he addressed to bring the same proof of his divine commission. His continual and contradictory excuses on this point form a leading topic of the work, and prove how much vexation it occasioned him. He often contents himself with expatiating on the inscrutable ways of God till he loses sight of the question. Sometimes he assures them that they would be unable to endure the terrors they demanded. Sometimes that they were too obstinate to be affected by them. His adversaries saw their advantage, and daily in the streets of Mecca the preacher was surrounded and interrupted by scoffers, who defied him to overwhelm them with the vengeance he predicted. "I am a preacher, not an angel," was the disconsolate reply. "Vengeance will come with the hour appointed by God—that hour none can accelerate, any more than they can avert it when it arrives." Here, however, was another difficulty. In his unbounded jealousy for the glory of God, Mahomet asserted the doctrine of predestination in its utmost strictness, and even while reproaching his hearers for their incredulity, he inconsistently assured them that belief and disbelief were the immediate effects of divine agency. In one of the chapters above noticed, he will be found vainly endeavouring to solve the problem by which the vastest intellects of every other age and country have been baffled and bewildered.

If the reader supposes these arguments to have been advanced, or these disputes carried on, in any connected form, or with any logical precision, he has a very imperfect notion of the Korann, where every proposition is involved and entangled in the fury of denunciation, or the rhapsody of piety and praise :

"God's treasures are the secret stores, none knows of them but He;
To Him each atom stands revealed, in earth,
or in the sea;
'Tis He that steals thy soul at night, and
watches thee by day,
And guides thee still to do His will, resist it
how you may."

Such are the incoherent, and often impressive ravings which form the groundwork of the whole text. But the more mystic fancies prevalent among his countrymen were too congenial to the enthusiasm and character of Mahomet, and too conducive

to the aid he sought, not to find a place. The secret inspection of angelic ministers—the invisible crowds of genii, that thronged alike the wilderness and the city—the imperceptible energies and inscrutable essences of the animal and material worlds—are topics he delights to dwell on. In the wilderness of his fanatic fancy he sought till he imagined he had found, among these mysterious beings, the kindly reception he in vain solicited from his fellow men. The genii, he affirmed, had heard and believed; and his idle hearers recoiled around him as they were told of the airy beings even then thronging to listen to his words. In chapters 46, 50, and 72, the reader will find enough to gratify his curiosity on this subject.

The precepts and regulations of Mahomet will generally be of a later date than his mere exhortations, since they imply that he gained attentive and zealous hearers. They will be found in chapters 6, 20, 45, 31, 17, 26, 30, 70, and 42. The two first, being of a general and prohibitory nature, may perhaps have been among the earliest composed, but, for the sake of classification, we have preferred noticing them with the rest. By no European writer has the demoralization of the Arabs at that period been adequately described. In addition to the lawless and ferocious habits which seem inseparable from the peculiarities of the country they inhabit, they lived in the grossest superstitions, and in the habitual violation of the plainest rules of domestic morality. Guided in every important contingency of life by superstitious fancies, they seem only to have exercised free-will when roused by anger or solicited by cupidity. This extreme of mental debasement produced, as is usual, the opposite excess in the more enlightened few; and we find Mahomet, induced by the scepticism of some among his adversaries, to argue repeatedly on the abstract possibility of resurrection after death. His moral instructions were well suited, by their simplicity, to reform the perverted feelings of his countrymen, and many rude converts to the beauty of truth ignorantly ascribed to him the excellences that in reality belonged to his doctrine. Besides the prohibition of interest, (a law adopted on misapprehension from the Jewish code) his rules merely embody those broad principles of rectitude which the unperverted reason of man must universally acknowledge. They form, it must be observed, a very small part even of the few chapters in which they occur—not being in their nature adapted to the amplification in which he was, on other topics, so fond of indulging in. The internal rules he prescribed to his followers were likewise of

necessity few and simple, since their number was not yet sufficient to require more, and his attention was engrossed in the endeavour to increase it.

We have already remarked the excessive austerity of devotion which he at first enjoined, and in chapter 20 we find him again exhorted not to distress himself in his religious service. As his experience increased, and his enthusiasm was diverted into another channel by the opposition he had to encounter, he adopted a course better suited to the infirmities of mankind. Three hours were appointed for prayer; the two twilights and the first watch of the night:—the noon and afternoon prayers, which complete the five, were not added till after the Higerá.

The only particular of ritual devotion he as yet insisted on, was the annual pilgrimage to the Caaba. The ceremonials prescribed on this occasion are detailed in chapters 22 and 2. Mahomet's motives in confirming this singular practice have often been misunderstood. Savary supposes him to have been guided by political considerations; and, in point of fact, the periodical assemblage of the discordant tribes of Arabia, at this common object of their veneration, would do much towards softening their mutual animosities, and strengthening the resources of the country by combination. Sale imagines that he himself was averse to the practice, on account of the superstitions that had mingled with it, but that he was compelled to sacrifice his own inclinations to the overpowering prejudices of his countrymen. In this supposition he is countenanced by the fact, that the first chapter in which it is actually prescribed was revealed only a short time previous to the Higerá. But Mahomet seems, on every other occasion, to have been so entirely guided by religious feeling, and to have so sternly resisted the slightest compromise with any thing his conscience condemned, that we are compelled to seek some more satisfactory solution of the question.

Let us hear him speak for himself.—“To every sect have we appointed a place of sacrifice—where they might call upon the name of God over what he has bestowed on them of animals and cattle.” Here he evidently alludes to the temple at Jerusalem, and the three great feasts, at which all the males among the Jews were bound to appear there before the Lord. And this is not the only particular in which he seems to have borrowed from the Mosaic ritual, for no other reason than because it was a divine one. The tradition, too, which referred the building of the Caaba to Abraham, and which is fully recognised by the prophet in chapters

14 and 2, gave it a specific sanctity in his own eyes, which probably prevented him from inquiring into the causes or effects of its being similarly regarded by others.

The injunctions most frequently repeated throughout these chapters relate to a point of considerable importance—the intercourse of his followers with the unbelievers. Men of rude intellects are more influenced by feelings than by reason; and the prophet therefore prohibited them from forming or indulging in friendship with the unconverted. Ridicule, the sharpest weapon to which feeling can be opposed, was all in the hands of their adversaries; and consequently his disciples were forbidden to engage in disputes.

It must not be forgotten that many expressions and ideas are borrowed, and many passages copied from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures; and the Korann, formed upon both, may be considered as occupying a middle place between the two. Mahomet himself at first practised as well as recommended much of the meekness and humility of the Gospel. “Be gentle towards those believers that follow thee; and if they are unruly, say, Verily I am blameless in what you do.” (chap. 26.) During a period of ten years that he was exposed to daily insult and daily peril, he never once offered to repel by violence the violence that he endured. But the hatred and ferocity of his enemies drove him to the policy which changed the history of the world. The fierceness of Hamza and the zeal of Ali scorned to acquiesce in a doctrine of submission; and on one or two occasions, when their sacred relative had been treated with more than wanted indignity, they took the liberty of signally avenging him. The feelings of the man were too strong for those of the prophet. Mahomet allowed the act to pass uncensured. The noble pair became his defenders on every emergency, and the comfort of such a safeguard grew the more indispensable the more it was enjoyed. By chapter 23 the divine sanction was given, for the first time, to a hostile principle: “Repel evil by whatever means are best.” How widely such a precept may be interpreted it is needless to observe. The rule of endurance being once departed from, the mutual animosity of the parties necessarily led to the opposite excess. The hardships to which the early converts were exposed in Mecca had induced them, by Mahomet’s advice, to seek security elsewhere; dispersing throughout the surrounding country, they carried with them, wherever they went, the story of their prophet’s sanctity, and (in their eyes) the proof of his inspiration. The contagion of enthusiasm and the beauties of the Korann

excited expectation even where they failed of credence—which, however, they often obtained. A king of Ethiopia dispatched a present to the prophet, and declared himself a believer. An ambassador, who arrived on a public mission, had the curiosity to visit the man of whom he had heard so much; and, after a short conversation, espoused his faith, which he promulgated among his countrymen on his return. The different feelings entertained towards him within and without of Mecca, must have forcibly struck the prophet, and matured the latent resentment which ten years of patience had nursed. The country seemed ripe for change. The high destinies he had promised himself were at hand, and he might now flatter himself, without extravagance, with the hope of fulfilling his sacred mission. But Mecca stood as a blot on the fair picture. What wonder if he panted to wash it away? Fiercer thoughts mingled with his holy dreams—the interests of his religion, he might say, were changed—the policy of it must be changed likewise. Other circumstances contributed to confirm him in this train of thought. Abutalib, though an infidel, his most powerful friend and protector, had died, and the violence of his enemies was proportionably augmented. His wife, Khadijeh, whose confidence had supported him in his misgivings, and whose affection had soothed him in his humiliations, was now no more—and nightly the prophet returned from a hating city to a lonely home. The exasperated state of his feelings may be traced in chapter 36, of all others the most pregnant with resentment against his adversaries, and the most calculated to excite a similar feeling among his followers. Chapter 23 had pointed to the sword, but chapter 42 took it up—revenge of injuries is there reckoned among the virtues of a believer.

Could the Coreysh have moderated their animosity, Mahomet, thwarted and incensed as he was, might still have been reluctant to leave the holy city of his affections and his faith—he might have lived, tolerated by some and revered by others, till the spirit of his party—perhaps his own—burnt feebly and faintly to a close. Unfortunately he was forced into immediate contact with his partizans. The Coreysh, tired of the disorders they experienced in their own city, and alarmed at the hostile feeling of the surrounding country, resolved to take his life. The time, place, and manner of executing their purpose was agreed on. Mahomet obtained intelligence of it—published the verses of the 22d chapter, inculcating resistance against persecution, and flight, for the free exercise of religion, and escaped with difficulty to Medina.

This city, the most populous of Hijaz, was situated in the heart of the country where Mahomet's name had been celebrated and his faith diffused by his disciples; and in this he was received with universal enthusiasm as a prophet and a prince. His confidence was restored and his conviction strengthened by the multitude of those who believed; and what before might have been the doubtful whispering of desponding fanaticism, now assumed the decisive tone of certainty, when echoed by the ready credence of thousands. Thus it was that the incredulity of his enemies appeared the more unreasonable and the more criminal, at the very moment when they had raised his resentment to its utmost height. The result was the 47th chapter of the Korann, in which war to extermination is openly declared against all the enemies of his faith. The consternation of his followers cannot be better represented than in the words of the chapter itself: "They stared on thee with the stare of a dying man." From this time the Korann is a code of law, and a law of blood. Chapters 61, 2, 65, 8, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 102, 3, 58, 59, 4, 16 and 5, are successive and pretty clear records of the policy pursued by Mahomet during the first five years, and the success with which it was attended. It will evidently be impossible to comprise within the limits of this article, even the most cursory review of his civil regulations, and our attention will necessarily be confined to the leading circumstances and prominent feelings of the period in which they were produced. It would be expected from the energy of the prophet's character, that when he had once recognised war as a principle of religion, he would take the most decided means for prosecuting it with effect; and accordingly, far the greater part of the Median chapters are devoted to this purpose. All the unlimited resources of divine approbation and displeasure are exhausted in animating his followers—but the ardour which carried them to the field could not support them while they were there. A thousand expenses were to be defrayed;—unable to meet them himself, Mahomet resorted to religious contributions and loans without interest. From one or other of these species of co-operation no one was excused, but those who were too poor to give and too weak to fight. The men who, satisfied with the truth of his religion, would have sat down quietly to enjoy the profession of it, and left its farther propagation to the Almighty Being whose care it might be supposed to be, are stigmatized as hypocrites and reviled as cowards. In these precepts, the results entirely of

Mahomet's necessities, we trace the origin of the feelings and defects which have always prevailed in Mahommedan society. From the violent and continual excitements to war, they derived their restless and indomitable ferocity. From the assurance of divine guidance and favour, arose their personal pride and intolerance and their abject submission to their rulers.

If the Arabs had heard with dismay their prophet's declaration of war against the world, it was owing to its extent rather than its nature. With that singular and unchanging people rapine has always been a legitimate means of subsistence, and war and rapine synonymous terms: it is not then surprising that they gladly embraced a principle so congenial to their characters and interests. Indeed, from Mahomet's inveighing so repeatedly as he does, against the lukewarm, the worldly-minded, the hypocritical, and the refractory, it would seem that the majority of his newly-acquired followers were more influenced by that part of his religion than by any other. This was particularly the case with the rougher tribes of the desert, who are more than once designated as peculiarly stupid and unfeeling. In the simplicity of their hearts some of them had ventured to require the repayment of the loans they had made. It is amusing enough to observe the indignation with which the prophet alludes to the circumstance.

After a series of skirmishes they had the good fortune to surprise a rich caravan and defeat a superior force which marched to its relief—but the contest had been severe, and in the ardour of their gratitude they attributed to the succour of angels what was really the effect of their own bravery and desperation. An anecdote follows, without parallel in the annals of self-deception. The prisoners were the former persecutors of the prophet, and it might have been expected that he would not omit to practise the virtue he had inculcated—revenge—but he dismissed them on ransoming themselves; and soon after being found in tears, he produced the following passages (chap. 8), and informed his friends that they had narrowly escaped being destroyed by God, together with himself, for this unseasonable clemency:—

"The prophet may not keep prisoners till he shall have destroyed (unbelievers) throughout the earth."

Captives, however, were allowed the option of becoming Moslims before execution. And again—

"Say to those who reject thee, if they will repent, what is past shall be forgiven them; but if they return to their transgressions the example of former ages is before thee.—Slay them till there is no resistance; and all religion is to God."

That this was the system best adapted to secure the triumph of his faith there can be no doubt, and the story plainly shows how strictly Mahomet considered his duty to be confined to what was so. This is the first passage that intimates any anticipation of the future extent of his spiritual empire—but it seems rather to have originated in the exultation of recent victory, than in any sober and unalterable conviction. In the next year the Moslems were totally defeated at Ohad.—Mahomet himself was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped with life. Among the many contradictory excuses by which he strove, in chapter 3, to reconcile this untoward event with his promises and his pretensions, the reader will observe with satisfaction that he never once alludes to any certain and definite hopes of the future. He seems to have accounted for it in his own mind by supposing it to be a trial of his followers' sincerity; but in his eagerness to relieve their apprehensions he rings the changes on every imaginable topic applicable to the occasion, with a hurried inconsistency that sufficiently marks his anxiety and embarrassment.

This was the only check (if we except the doubtful war of the Ditch, spoken of in chapter 33) which Mahomet met with, and this his energy and abilities soon retrieved. Not a year passed without the reduction or submission of some hostile tribe. Though commanded to kill and slay, and spare not, he seems to have considered himself authorized to treat on less sanguinary terms, and some of his enemies were allowed to remove unmolested from his dangerous vicinity. Treachery and breach of faith, however, he never pardoned, and the entire massacre of a Jewish tribe that had revolted, is a terrible instance of the severity he thought himself bound to exercise on such occasions.

Many passages, relating both to Jews and Christians, are to be found in all the Medinian chapters; and his conduct towards both people is sufficient to show that hostility in general was no farther his object than as he was prompted to it by his religious persuasions. Appealing as he did to their Scriptures, as the foundation and the proof of his own prophetic office, the idolaters of Mecca had considered him from the beginning as a Jewish or Christian sectarian. Far from wishing to disown the connection, he made every attempt to strengthen it by

conversion from those sects. But the hopes he entertained on this subject never prevented him from inveighing against what he termed their departure from the original purity of their respective faiths. The Christian tenets in particular were the subject of his repeated and most violent vituperations, from the grossness which the insufficiency of language renders unavoidable in expressing them.

"They have said, the Everlasting hath taken to himself a Son.—Verily you approach a tremendous subject. It wanted but little that the heavens had cracked, the earth split, and the mountains crumbled to the dust—for that they named a Son to the Everlasting.—It suiteth not the Everlasting to take to himself a Son; for all that is in earth and heaven, doth it not crouch to him?"—Chap. 19.

Their morality, however, he warmly admired; and it cannot escape an impartial observer, that up to the period when he was driven by his enemies to adopt the severity of the Pentateuch, his own precepts are entirely formed on the mild spirit of the Gospel; while the personal character and sacred office of Christ are invested in the third and other chapters with every attribute which, short of divinity, it is possible to bestow. On his arrival at Medina the Jews, who formed a very strong party both in the city and its vicinity, met all his overtures with the most determined opposition. They seduced his followers, openly ridiculed his pretensions, treated him with personal disrespect, and took every opportunity to unite with his assailants. The angry observations and strict injunctions which this conduct produced, are too frequent not to be observed—but it is pleasing to remark, that in the 5th and 9th chapters, the latest that were produced, long after Mahomet must have given up all hopes of overcoming Christian faith and Jewish obstinacy, he recognizes their claim to brotherhood as a scriptural people—allows his followers to eat the same food, at the same table—and exempts them from the general rule of extermination by allowing tribute in place of conformity.

The same consciousness of divine inspection, and the same reference of every provision to the interests of religion, are observable throughout. "I have seen," says Mahomet, in the pious exultation of success, "I have seen men embrace the faith of God in crowds. Then celebrate the glory of thy God, and pray to Him for mercy; verily he is willing to listen."

Observe this prayer which concludes his first attempt at legislation.—Did human language ever breathe a deeper and more unaffected piety?

"To God belongs all, in heaven and earth; and whether you show what is in your thoughts or conceal it, he will lay it alike to your account; for his power is unlimited.

"The prophet has believed in what was revealed to him, and all the faithful believe in God—in the angels, the scriptures, and the prophets, among whom is no variance; and say, we have heard and obeyed; merciful art Thou, O Lord; unto Thee shall we be taken.

"God will not require of any but according to his power; to each shall be what he gained, and on each what he incurred. Thou, Lord, wilt not scan too nicely our neglects or our offences. Thou wilt not load us with a covenant as thou loadest those before us—Thou wilt not put upon us what we cannot bear.—Thou wilt spare us—Thou wilt forgive us.—Thou wilt pity us.—Thou art our God. Oh, defend us against the unbelieving."—Chap. 2.

In another chapter, where he is desiring his followers to avoid disputes with the Jews and Christians, he tells them, when pressed on points of faith, to submit the question to a divine ordeal. The disputants were to kneel down with their wives and children and invoke the curse of God upon the erring party—what a singular contrast between the strength of his conviction and the weakness of his cause!—The pretensions are unfit for belief that will not bear discussion—and yet the man who in an ignorant and superstitious age could solemnly submit a claim of inspiration to the immediate judgment of God, *MUST* have believed all that he averred.

We now arrive at those singular and important chapters, 49, 33, 24, and 66, from which it seems evident that whatever may have been Mahomet's own opinion of the impulses by which he was conducted, they had really no deeper or holier origin than his own bosom. While at Mecca, he had constantly disclaimed any other authority over his followers than that which the sacred duty of admonition might give him: but six years of absolute power and continued success had altered his tone. His followers are now told that they are not to speak to the Prophet so familiarly as they would to each other; that they are not to raise their voices in his presence, nor call to him when he wishes to be private; that they are not to enter his house unbidden, nor to discourse on ordinary topics while they are there; and lastly, that no one is to have a will of his own when the Prophet's pleasure has been declared. It will not escape the reader that all these tributes of respect are necessary consequences of Mahomet's general pretensions. It is his jealousy in insisting on them and producing the divine mandate for their observance, which betrays the exacting feelings of earth-

ly authority. The 33d chapter furnishes us with a still heavier charge. In a casual visit Mahomet was smitten with the charms of Zinaba, the wife of his freedman Zeid. The affectionate follower balanced not a moment between his own inclinations and those of his friend and master. Zinaba was divorced by Zeid, and married by Mahomet. But Zeid having been previously adopted by Mahomet, the marriage, by the existing laws of Arabia, was incestuous. This to a Prophet was a trifling objection; the laws that made it so were condemned and abrogated; and the hesitating Moslims were assured by the word of God that Mahomet was irreproachable. Yet even this was not enough. The legal number of wives to which the faithful were to confine themselves had been fixed at four; the Prophet, however, is exempted from this and every other restriction on his connubial caprices; while his harem is secured from the attempts or wishes of his followers by the divine declaration, that the Prophet's wives must be regarded as mothers by the rest. This revolting interposition of heaven in his domestic arrangements is carried a step farther; and the word of God is at last employed to reprehend two of his wives—for resenting, with the sacred pride of women, an act of infidelity in which they had detected him.

It would be well if the effect of Mahomet's weakness in all that concerned his favourite passion had been confined to the days in which he lived; but society still suffers from another instance of it. His favourite wife Ayesha had been separated from the camp, under circumstances which gave him much uneasiness; from this he was relieved by the 24th chapter, which assured him of her innocence, and ordained that no respectable female should suffer in character till four witnesses could be found to depose to the fact; and any one who called it in question on insufficient grounds was to be publicly scourged. A worse law was never promulgated. No woman who is criminal enough to bring herself under its scope, will be clumsy enough to allow these means of proof to be forthcoming. The offence is necessarily secret; and suspicion, instead of meriting the scourge, is a useful substitute for the legal punishment that must generally be escaped. Such as it was, however, it was most unjustly enforced in the very case that suggested it; and the stripes of Ayesha's accusers furnished a most edifying and convincing evidence of her innocence. Yet the Moslims confess that the most virulent was suffered to escape, because he was a person of consideration and influence; so incon-

ceivable are the inconsistencies which fanaticism can reconcile to itself.

If there were ever moments in which, according to the immortal historian of declining Rome, the victorious impostor smiled at his early credulity, they were certainly these, in which he unblushingly legislated for his own dignity and his own indulgence. The supposition, however, is one on which it will be difficult to account for Mahomet's behaviour in every other particular during the sequel of his life; and if we attentively consider his situation, we shall perhaps be able to form a more consistent conclusion. Nearly twenty years had elapsed since he experienced the illusions in which his convictions originated; and after that period, the form in which his regulations were issued must have become habitual. Success, which was to him the confirmation of all he imagined, had been immediately owing, he must have felt, to his own energy and conduct—to his own actions and his own feelings. What wonder if at length he considered a union so long undissolved as indissoluble, and forgot in the casuistry of self for self, the sober limits by which divine interposition must be confined?

The very next incident to which the Korann (ch. 48) alludes, shows that Mahomet was still governed by his imaginations. Having been all along engaged in war with the Meccans, it was impossible for the Moslems to perform the sacred pilgrimage to the Caaba, which Mahomet had made a fundamental part of his religion. In the sixth year, however, he informed them of a dream with which he had been favoured, according to the obvious interpretation of which, he assured them, that they would that year gain admittance to the temple, and perform all the sacred ceremonies prescribed on the occasion. On the faith of this, with unexampled simplicity, he set out at the appointed time, accompanied by the chiefs only of his followers, unprepared either to offer or resist attack, and trusting for the accomplishment of his prediction to some secret exertion on the hearts of his enemies of the same high influence by which he professed to have been assured. No such solution of the difficulty, either miraculous or accidental, was fated to befall him. As they approached Mecca, the Coreysh met him by a short and stern mandate prohibiting his further advance; and the disconcerted prophet suddenly found himself not only deceived and the deceiver of others, in respect of what he had so confidently announced, but thrown by his own credulity, with all the moral strength of his party, into the reach of their enemies;—a species of

hostage for his better behaviour if allowed to return unmolested. Nothing could have saved the party and the religion from extermination, but one of those conventional points of rude morality which are sometimes found to prevail among a barbarous people, with a force exactly proportioned to their essential insignificance,—as if by an unconscious instinct of society the blindest deference was to be exacted from the feeling, when least could be commanded from the judgment. Amidst the chaos of anarchy and outrage which the entire peninsula has always presented, four months had been set apart from the earliest periods for the annual season of universal truce. Singularly tenacious were the Arabs of this their last homage to the duties and dignities of civilized life; and the wild rovers of the desert, who knew no other law, amerced themselves for all their excesses, by the undeviating strictness with which they adhered to this. Mahomet then must not be considered to have taken this singular step without something like a shadow of safeguard to his party on definite and demonstrable grounds. Of all the months that were thus held sacred to repose, the most sacred was that in which the pilgrimage was taken; and throughout all the peninsula, in which outrage was then criminal, it was most criminal in the precincts of the city he now approached. But the temptation offered was immense:—the long score of suffering and indignity that might be wiped away—the fair prospect of peace and supremacy that might be secured at a blow, which the unguardedness that provoked would almost seem at the same time to justify—this must have been no light consideration among an impetuous people and to a falling party. That the situation and the opportunity was felt on both sides we know from what followed. A treaty was concluded, in which Mahomet granted peace to his bitterest enemies, on condition of his being allowed to make the pilgrimage in future—the Coreysh being bound to evacuate the city as soon as he approached it. In his eagerness to conclude the agreement, the Prophet waived, in the wording of it, the high pretensions he had so strictly maintained on all other occasions. Nay he was obliged to acquiesce in present disappointment as the only price at which he could obtain the remote and contingent accomplishment of his predictions. In resisting their present entry into Mecca the Coreysh were inflexible, and the Moslems were compelled to retreat with only the promise of the promise they had come to fulfil. The next year the treaty was observed on both sides, and the attachment of the Moslems to the city of their faith, was augmented by the joy

of performing their long-delayed rites. Strengthened by the submission of fresh tribes, they panted for an opportunity of securing it for ever to their feelings and their faith. To persons so disposed, the occasion could not long be wanting. The Coreysh had joined in hostility against a tribe in the alliance of the Moslims. Mahomet declared the treaty was infringed, and produced the 9th chapter of the Korann, containing the decisive declaration that after that year no idolator should approach the Caaba. The composition was instantly dispatched to the Coreysh, and Mahomet followed with an army of 10,000 men. The situation of the two parties was here precisely the reverse of what it had been on the previous occasion. The Meccans were taken by surprise, and having themselves in a manner infringed on the law of the sacred truce in their conduct to the tribe whose cause Mahomet espoused, they were justly held by him to have forfeited all claim to benefit by it on the present occasion. Unprepared for resistance, submission was their only resource; and Abu Sufian, the Prophet's most determined foe, waited on him with the keys of the city. What follows is the touchstone of Mahomet's character. His bitter insulters, his unrelenting enemies were in his power, and he pardoned them!—those who declined embracing his faith, being left at liberty to go where they pleased. The conquest of Mecca was speedily followed by the submission of the provinces of Yaman and Najd; and Mahomet found himself the political and religious head of his country. With this, the historical part of our article concludes. A few passages of the 48th, 9th, 8th, and 5th chapters there are which were composed in the following year; but the interest of the Korann terminates, together with the opposition it met with, and the difficulties under which it was produced.

A slight consideration will convince us that Mahommedanism is neither to be assailed nor defended by the arguments usually resorted to. Neither the perfect conviction of Mahomet and his contemporaries, nor the rapid and unlimited conquests of his successors, can be admitted as a proof of his real inspiration. Credence equally implicit, and in the beginning equally extended, has been given in various ages of the world to tenets, to all of which it is impossible to subscribe. Invasions, equally extensive and equally successful, have often been produced by the unpretending impulses of want and ferocity. On the other hand, no considerations drawn from the character of the pretender, or the actual nature of the faith he established, can be insisted on with-

out involving us in serious inconsistencies. In its professed object and primary tendencies, the religion he preached was infinitely superior to that he supplanted, and singularly suited to the characters of his countrymen. And if the wisdom of Providence has on other occasions adapted its dispensations to peculiarities of civilisation, and given one nation laws that were not fitted for another, and precepts in which they could not live, we cannot now reject another system because it contains some and fewer imperfections of a similar kind. Inspiration seems always to have acted within the limits of character and country; and those who admit David to have lived under the guidance and in the favour of God, cannot altogether object to similar claims in another.

On this, as on many other important questions, we must be content for the present to come to a conclusion less certain than we should wish to arrive at; and in the equipoise of more decisive arguments, the reader's judgment will perhaps be satisfied with the following considerations: Mahomet's system was not uniform: it began in peace and humility, and ended in arrogance and havoc. Contradictions so serious as these bespeak the inconsistent emotions of human feeling, rather than the steady guidance of unalterable wisdom; and whatever allowance we may be inclined to make for those necessary tendencies of disposition which cannot be banished without destroying personal identity, we cannot suppose that absolute guilt, or even particular indulgence, should be sanctioned and defended by the word of God. But by the distinct admission of Mahomet and all his followers, the question mainly rests on the inspiration of his scripture, and the whole pile of Moslim faith and Moslim arrogance falls with the authority of the Korann.

But it is impossible to degrade Mahomet as a prophet without exalting him as a man. If superiority to the prejudices of age and country—if perseverance in a sacred cause, despite of persecution and of ignominy—if clemency in the full career of contest—if unequalled influence over the minds and passions of mankind—give a title to the admiration of posterity, where shall we find, short of Mosaic inspiration, a claim so undeniable as his? The inconsistencies of his conduct a philosopher will readily excuse, as they were the natural results of a system he was compelled to adopt: and a Christian will grieve to consider, that if his original intentions could have been carried into effect, the simple purity of the doctrine he taught would have left little for the propagators of the gospel to overcome.

ART. II.—*Geschichte der Magyaren* (History of the Magyars), von Johann, Grafen Mailáth. 5 vols. 8vo. Wien. 1828—1831:

TIME has been when Hungary constituted a politically important part of Europe; when upon that remote, and now unregarded eastern province, the eyes of the continent were bent, first in terror, afterwards in anxious, trembling hope. At an early period of modern history, when the Carlovingian dynasty was sinking towards final extinction, from Hungary issued the swarms of Magyars who for upwards of half a century overran and desolated those parts of Europe which by geographical position had escaped the predatory incursions of the Danes and Normans. And at a later period, when the Ottoman hosts threatened to overwhelm Christendom, Hungary was the bulwark of civilized Europe, the theatre upon which the wars of the Cross and the Crescent were hourly waged.

Those times are past; and to the rest of the world Hungary is now no more than a province of the Austrian empire; though certainly an important province, with a population superior to that of many modern kingdoms, being in round numbers twelve millions. Its history, therefore, which would once have commanded the universal attention of the reading public, can now hope only for such notice as its own independent and intrinsic interest may attract. That this interest is however by no means inconsiderable, needs scarcely be stated; for to what Christian heart can the country be indifferent, that so long struggled single-handed against the all-subduing Turks, and that, when it fell, fell a victim for the general safety.

But this is not the sole interest belonging to the land of the Magyars. It has produced splendid feats of heroism and romantic adventures, and has given birth to men in whom, however tainted with the vices of their age, the proudest country might exult. The aristocratic freedom and privileges of the Magyars themselves offer, even in the present day, a lingering remnant of feudalism; and the generous spirit with which they supported, and effectively supported Maria Theresa, when assailed by the rapacious and perjured sovereigns of Europe, may be termed the last gleam of European chivalry.

Graf (Earl) Mailáth who, in the volumes now before us, has made this land of vicissitudes and this lofty-souled nation known to Germany, is himself a Magyar, of a high family, serving their country officially

and with well-merited distinction. Earl Johann has preferred the service of the muses to that of the state; but even in his pursuit of "this idle trade" he has been actuated by patriotic impulses, and has made the fame of Hungary one of his great literary objects. As a poet he has translated her ancient Magyar poetry into German, as noticed in a former number;* he has collected her early traditions and legends; and he now stands forward in the graver capacity of her historian. In these various branches of literature Count Mailáth has earned the general esteem, as well of his Magyar compatriots as of the Teutonic literati. All his works are popular in Germany; and in the last volume of his history he speaks with gratitude of the favourable verdicts pronounced by the tribunals of criticism upon the preceding volumes, as they separately appeared.

To give in our narrow limits an analysis of these five volumes, unconnected with this country or with the political excitement of the day, is of course out of the question. But we conceive that a rapid survey of the history of Hungary, or rather perhaps of its tenour and character, in proof of our remarks, may be satisfactory to the reader. With such a sketch therefore we shall introduce the extracts that appear most interesting, characteristic, and national.

Count Mailáth commences his history somewhat abruptly, with the irruption of the Magyars into Hungary, taking no notice of their origin or former home. This omission, if omission it be, is amply atoned by the insertion, as an appendix, in three of his volumes, of dissertations translated from the Magyar of the national antiquaries, Georg von Fejer and Stephen Howath, and designed to prove that nation a branch of the Parthians or Turks. This is a topic important to the Magyars and to the investigators of such ethnological questions; but having adverted to it in the article already cited, we shall imitate our historian and begin with the occupation of Hungary.

In the year 889 the Magyars, under their leader Arpad, crossed the Carpathian mountains from Galicia and invaded Hungary, then parcelled out amongst several petty lords and princes. Some strategical skill the Magyars we are told even then displayed; inasmuch as they always detached a part of their army to fall upon the flank or rear of the enemy whom the main body attacked in front: this appears to have remained their favourite manœuvre so long as they had an independent army. It was in

* See vol. iii.

the ninth century more than sufficient for the conquest of Hungary, a conquest characterized rather by ravage and devastation than by open flight. From that moment, as stated, the Magyars under Arpad and his posterity overran, plundered, and desolated Germany, France, Italy, and the Greek empire as far as Constantinople, inflicting all the miseries attendant upon barbarian inroads. These horrors were first checked in the year 955, when the Emperor Otho the Great defeated the Magyars upon the river Lech, so completely annihilating the marauding host that, it is reported, only seven of the invaders survived to carry home the tidings of disaster.

Shortly afterwards began the conversion of the Magyars to Christianity, introduced here as elsewhere chiefly by female influence. The Christian dame Sarolta, herself a converted Magyar, who exercised this influence over her countrymen and their prince, her husband Geisa, was nevertheless the most extraordinary of lady missionaries, being addicted to the bottle, and occasionally, when angered, to the sword. Her power was such that she prevailed upon the Magyars to abandon their plundering expeditions, ally themselves with the Germans, and learn from them the arts of life. Waik, her son by Geisa, was christened by the name of Stephen, and married Gisala, a sister of the Emperor Henry II.* He was afterwards canonized, and is called by Mailáth "the greatest man Hungarian history can boast." St. Stephen sent an embassy to Rome to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, from whom he obtained a crown and the royal title, but to whom he conceded little authority in Hungary. He appointed bishops and marked out their dioceses; he founded churches, convents, and schools. He is said to have likewise given the Magyars a political constitution; but his laws are lost and forgotten: it is now only known that the monarchy was at once elective and hereditary, the individual king being freely chosen, but from the race of Arpad; that the nobles exercised much control over the royal authority, forming a sort of senate; that the administration was conducted by great officers of state with specific departments; that the country was divided as now into counties, each governed by a nobleman, with the title, first it is said of

Comes parochianus, then of *Comes supremus*, and lastly of *Obergespan*; that guilds and corporations, often composed of immigrants, existed with especial privileges; and that, whilst there was a class of free peasants, the lower orders were villeins or serfs. It rather seems that the nobles, even if bound to military service, did not hold their estates in vassalage; because it is mentioned, as a distinct condition of tenure, that the king granted lands attached to the royal castles in vassalage, and in consideration of military service, to an intermediate class of persons. Justice was administered in every county by the *Comes* in person; and the ordeal by fire or water, and judicial combat, were the usual modes of eliciting truth. In case of war the free peasants and communities were bound to send every tenth, or sometimes every eighth man to form the *banderia* or disposable force of the county.

After St. Stephen's death the claims of different candidates for the throne gave rise to civil wars, with foreign interference. The three sons of Bela, Geisa, St. Ladislaus, and Lambert, with disinterested virtue, refused the crown on account of the superior rights of Solomon, the son of Andreas I., their father's elder brother and predecessor; nor did Geisa II. accept it until Solomon had proved himself wholly unfit to reign.

The male descendants of Arpad sat upon the throne of Hungary for upwards of 400 years, viz. to the end of the thirteenth century. This was a period of incessant warfare; proceeding partly from Magyar attempts at conquest, many of the adjacent provinces being at different times subject to Hungary; partly from the interference of foreign powers in civil dissensions. The period was further distinguished by some remarkable events; as the crusades, and the steady advance of the Mongol hordes upon Eastern Europe, which threatened again to submerge just as it began to revive. Of both Hungary was in part the scene. The earliest crusaders repaired by land to Palestine, and traversed that kingdom. The disorderly rabble composing the first bodies committed all sorts of outrages, cruelly ravaging the country; and suffered as cruelly from the vengeance of the Magyars. But with Godfrey of Bouillon King Koloman negotiated the terms of his passage; Godfrey maintained strict discipline, and Koloman took care that the progress of the army should be unmolested, and their markets abundantly supplied. The few subsequent crusades that proceeded by land, were, like Godfrey's, under military government, and thence caused less evils.

It was during the reign of Bela IV., that

* Mailáth says a sister of Otho's, but no such sister of any of the Othos is known: Professor Luden, a most diligent inquirer, says a sister of Henry II.'s, and we have preferred his authority, as Mailáth is subject to mistakes in names and genealogies; for instance, calling Maria Theresa the grandchild of Joseph I., her uncle.

in the year 1240, the Mongols, after desolating the east under Gengiskhan, turned westward under his successors; and, led by his grandson Batou, overwhelmed, devastating and destroying almost without resistance Russia, Poland, Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary. The first check they experienced was in Silesia: Henry the Pious, Duke of Breslau, gave them battle with very inferior numbers, and although he was defeated and slain, his gallant example encouraged his countrymen; the towns closed their gates and manned their walls; the Mongols besieged them unsuccessfully as unskilfully, and penetrated no further westward upon this line. In Hungary they overspread the country, while internal dissensions paralysed the efforts of Bela to oppose them. He was defeated, and, escaping death only by the self-devotion of a few of his followers, sought shelter with his family in the furthest Hungarian province, Dalmatia. There and in Hungary some fortified towns successfully defied the awkward attacks of the Mongols. The death of Khan Oktay and the affairs of their own empire, rather than the resistance they encountered, appear to have determined the Mongols to return to Asia. Mailáth thus describes the state in which they left Hungary.

"In how horrible a condition did Bela, upon his return, find his kingdom!—For whole days' journeys not a human being; the wild beasts so increased in numbers and were so audacious, that by broad daylight the wolves ventured into inhabited villages, tearing children from their mothers, and even attacking armed men. Nowhere a field tilled; famine, with all its terrors, impending; sickness predominant. But great as was the need, commensurate was the energy of his counteractive measures."

Another remarkable event of this period was the wringing from the feeble Andreas II. a charter, bearing much analogy to our Magna Charta, to which it is little inferior, and subsequent but by a very few years. It is entitled the Golden Bull, and is, to this day, the law of the land; the constitution which, with the exception of one clause, every monarch at his accession still swears to observe. Count Mailáth considers the Golden Bull as superior to Magna Charta; and without entering into comparison, some points of the Hungarian document certainly deserve mention. The Golden Bull authorized the assembling of the estates of the kingdom, afforded security of person and property, ameliorated the condition of the lower orders, and sanctioned the forcible resistance of the subjects to misgovernment on the part of the king. This last is the clause

excepted from the coronation oath, and is probably unique; it being more extraordinary for the sovereign to concede the right of insurrection, than for the subjects to assume it; as did the Aragonese nobles by the celebrated "Si no,—no," (if not,—not,) of their oath of allegiance.

This period likewise produced monarchs distinguished by other qualities than their courage and military proficiency. We have already mentioned St. Stephen; we may add Bela I., who, in a three years' reign, did much for the internal prosperity of the kingdom; his son, St. Ladislaus, a conqueror and legislator, the benefactor of the church and restorer of its discipline; Koloman, who in those early and superstitious times prohibited the persecution of witches, "because witchcraft has no existence;" and Bela IV., who, in addition to his other merits, began the improvement of the judicial system, and restricted the use of the ordeal and judicial combat in legal proceedings. We cannot forbear extracting the noble historian's character of this Magyar monarch.

"Bela was certainly one of the greatest of rulers. His measures, equally energetic, comprehensive, and appropriate, saved the Magyar realm when upon the point of dissolution by the Mongol invasion. The rise of the towns, the repeopling of the country, a more regulated course of business, a fresh impulse given to the working of the mines; the ratification of popular liberties, in unison with corroboration of the regal dignity; security of the frontiers by alliances, augmentation of the revenue,* such are the unforgotten effects of his wisdom. 'A man full of virtue, whose memory, like sweet honey, lives in the mouths of Hungarians and of foreign nations,' says the old chronicler Turocz."

In 1301 died Andreas III., the last male heir of the Arpad dynasty; and the historian remarks that of the three-and-twenty kings from A. D. 1000, only Bela IV. lived to the age of sixty; these premature deaths, combining with attachment to the hereditary principle, render the accession of minors more frequent in the annals of half-elective Hungary, than perhaps of any purely hereditary monarchy.

Upon the extinction of the male line, an heir was sought in the female branch. Even when Andreas III., a collateral heir of the kings his immediate predecessors, was elected, Maria, the queen of Charles II. of Naples and grand-daughter to Bela IV., had

* It should perhaps have been earlier stated, that the public revenue of Hungary was derived from taxes, the nature of which seems to be quite unknown, from customs and tolls, as well as from crown lands.

claimed the crown for her son Charles Martel; and the Pope had, somewhat precipitately, conferred it upon him. Death prevented Charles Martel from enforcing his pretensions against Andreas; but when the throne was actually vacant, his son, Charles Robert, protected by the Pope, repaired to Hungary, and though not fifteen, contended with his rivals for the crown so strenuously and successfully, that after several years' struggle, he carried his election, and in 1310 was crowned at Buda.

Charles Robert's reign was for Hungary uncommonly long, being thirty years from his coronation; and his posterity continued, with a short interruption, to rule for upwards of 200 years, in fact as long as Hungary remained independent. In 1526 the unfortunate battle of Mohács against the Turks destroyed the forces of Hungary; and by the death of the young king, Lewis II., without children, made way for the election of his sister's husband, the Archduke, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand I., who incorporated Hungary with the other dominions of the House of Austria.

This period like the former is full of wars, foreign and civil. The foreign were occasioned first by schemes of conquest and involvement in the affairs of Naples; afterwards also by the necessity of opposing the progressive preponderance of the Ottoman arms: when Hungary appeared as the bulwark of Christendom. The civil wars originated chiefly in contests for the crown. Like the former, this period produced some great men; of whom may be mentioned Charles Robert himself, an able, and generally speaking a prosperous ruler, although he greatly augmented the power of his patrons, the popes, in Hungary; his son, Lewis I., called one of Hungary's greatest kings, who added Poland, Red Russia, Moldavia, and part of Servia to his hereditary dominions; John Hunyadi and his son Mathias Corvinus.

Hungary was now no longer an independent kingdom; but its history, in some measure independent, does not cease simultaneously with its separate existence. Although Ferdinand was twice elected King of Hungary, the whole nation did not acknowledge him; rebellions and civil wars, envenomed by religious dissensions, followed; Transylvania, under the ambitious John Zapolya, aimed at independence; he and his successors even preferring vassalage to the Porte when the alternative was submission to Austria.

Favoured by these internal feuds that paralyzed resistance to the common enemy of Christendom, the Turks pursued their victorious career more successfully against Hun-

gary under the Imperial House of Austria, than as a single, unassisted kingdom. They now reduced three-fourths of the country so completely, that the national division into counties was changed for a Turkish division into *Sangiacks*, all placed under the supreme authority of the Pasha of Buda. It was only under the Emperor Charles VI., in the early part of the eighteenth century, that the whole of Hungary was finally and completely recovered from Ottoman domination; and it is with the accession of Charles's daughter, Maria Theresa, whose wise and maternal government conciliated even the most turbulent of the Magyars, that Count Mailáth considers the separate history of Hungary as terminated. He concludes his narrative of heroism, chivalry, and romance, we must say unpleasantly to our feelings, by calling in question the celebrated, generally-believed, and heart-stirring burst of Magyar enthusiastic loyalty, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!*"

During the early part of this period it may perhaps be thought that the character of Hungary as the bulwark of Christendom, was merged in that of the victim; but still, at least negatively, it served in the former capacity. It formed the boundary line beyond which the stormiest tide of Ottoman conquest advanced no further westward; once only a vigorous effort at such advance was made, and it ended in the memorable siege of Vienna, raised by the gallant King of Poland, John Sobieski, with the utter discomfiture of the Osmanlis. Nor was this the only memorable siege, the only heroic exploit achieved in the continuous war against the intrusive Turk. The desperate resistance of several Hungarian towns, though seldom successful, still affords the mind of the reader some relief from the sense of depression that steals over it, whilst dwelling upon the details of misgovernment of paltry and ill-advised ambition, and the disastrous results.

But perhaps the most remarkable incident belonging to these two centuries of struggle between Austria and Turkey for Hungary, relates to the religious vicissitudes that occurred there. The Reformation had struck root so firmly amongst the people, was so rapidly and so widely spreading, that *Magyar-Orszag*, as the Magyars denominate Hungary, seemed upon the point of becoming a completely Protestant state, when the sheer intellectual energy and eloquence of one man, the Jesuit, Pazman, reconverted almost all the higher orders to Catholicism.

This period likewise produced some remarkable men, whose names well deserve to be recorded. Pazman was born of a noble, though not wealthy family, was edu-

cated in Calvinistic principles, and became a Catholic at thirteen, a Jesuit at seventeen years of age : his success as a missionary preacher has been told. But this is not the only Hungarian name entitled to a better fate than oblivion. Stephen Bocskai and Bethlon Gabor were endowed with the qualities which should have made men as good as they were great and real benefactors of their country, had they not suffered themselves to be impelled by an ambitious, a factious and sectarian spirit to attempt an impossibility, namely, the independence of a mere province ;—and in the prosecution of the attempt to throw themselves into the arms, or more properly speaking, under the feet of the enemy of their faith, instead of using their ascendancy to procure fair terms of union for Hungary and Transylvania with Austria, including toleration for their various sects and shades of Protestantism. The later insurgents, the Rakocskis and Tököly in Transylvania, and Zrinyi, &c. in Hungary, were in comparison with these men little more than romantic adventurers. They all offer rich matter to the historic novelist, and as such have been used by Bronikowski,* and made known to our readers.

We now offer some specimens of Magyar history, as also of Magyar historians. The early account of these Magyars, their heathen religion and customs, contained in the first volume of the work before us, has been noticed on a former occasion,† slightly indeed, yet sufficiently to prevent our now attempting a more detailed analysis. We therefore proceed to a later period, and select the portion of the Turkish wars which embraces the lives of the two Hunyadis. We begin with an extract which Mailáth gives from a contemporary narration, illustrative of the state of the country, of the individual misery resulting from Turkish aggression, and of the singular adventures to which it gave birth. In one Turkish inroad, about 1438, 70,000 Transylvanian captives were dragged away to slavery ; and our author thus proceeds,

“From amidst the mass of these unfortunates one figure stands forward, claiming our attention, our sympathy. It is a youth who was made prisoner at Mühlenbach, and who, returning home two-and-twenty years afterwards, faithfully and intelligently described the manners and customs of the Turks. His name is unknown ; he calls himself only the Teacher of the Transylvanians ; and in the writings of the day is often referred to as the Mühlenbacher, from the place where he was captured. His adven-

tures cannot be more attractively given, than as told by himself in the ingenious preface to his Description of the Turks. After briefly mentioning their invasion of Transylvania, he thus proceeds : ‘ At this time I was a lad of fifteen or sixteen, a native of this province. and had a year previously quitted the town in which I was born ; repairing, for the purpose of study, to a small town called in Hungarian Schebesch, in German Mühlenbach, which was then populous enough but not as well fortified. Therefore when the Turk came, and encamped, he at once prepared to storm. The Duke of the Wallachoben (Wallachians ?), who had accompanied the Turks, on account of an old friendship between him and the inhabitants and citizens of this town, drew nigh to the walls, makes peace, calls upon the citizens, and persuades them to follow his advice, which is, not to contend with the Turks whose might they were too weak and too few to resist, but to surrender peaceably ; in which case he would obtain leave of the Turk to take the higher classes, unharmed in property, home with him to his own country, leaving it to their free choice to stay with him or return to Hungary. The rest of the people the Turk would take with him to Turkey, without injury to person or property, and there give them a country to possess and remain in at their pleasure, or allow them to go away in peace undeceived and undetained. All this was done according to engagement. Thus was the war appointed for the morrow,* that each might prepare his property and family, to depart in peace with the morrow.

“ ‘ One high-minded nobleman, who had been commandant of a castle, with his equally high-minded brother, who had fought much against the Turks, would by no means follow this advice, but a hundred times rather die than surrender himself, his wife and children, to the Turks,† and he persuaded many to adopt his opinion. They made choice of a tower into which the whole night long they carried provisions, arms, and all requisites for defence, fortifying it as they best could ; with them I entered the tower, awaiting with earnest desire rather death than life.

“ ‘ In the morning the Grand Turk came in person to the town gate, and commanded that every one who came forth with wife and children should be registered by name, and kept under guard, to be conducted to

* We confess to being perplexed by some sentences, here and further on, but whether the puzzle rests with the old Transylvanian or his German translator, if indeed the original be not German, we know not.

† We must state, in vindication of the course adopted by this high-minded nobleman, that the capitulation here detailed is pretty nearly a solitary instance in Mailáth’s volumes of a capitulation honourably observed by the Turks. The tale of surrender is so generally followed by that of the murder of the disarmed garrison, that the reader begins to wonder what circumstances could tempt any one to treat of submission.

* See vol. xiv.

† See vol. iii.

Turkey, without damage of person or movable property. He recommended it to the Duke of Wallachia in the above-mentioned manner to guard the citizens and authorities of the town and take them into his own country.

"The whole army, getting no booty from these people, now turned with unanimous frenzy against the town in which we were, and ran at it to storm it, in the hope of finding much to plunder amongst us. What an assault, what a tempest there was, no tongue can sufficiently say; such a thickness of arrows and stones that it was thicker than rain or snow to look at; such a shouting of warriors, clashing and clanging of arms, and crackling and rushing of assailants, as though heaven and earth were breaking at one instant. Now as the town was not very high, they easily crushed and destroyed the roof-work and upper rooms, so that nowhere (*niedert*—in this an obsolete word, a provincialism, or a misprint?) could we stand safe for the arrows and stones; but they could make nothing of the walls on account of their strength. When now the afternoon sun tended towards setting, and nothing was yet accomplished, they took counsel that some should not neglect the storming the tower, whilst others should bring wood, with which they built up such a bastion as well nigh equalled the tower in height. This they enkindled, baking and scorching us like bread in an oven. When now almost all were melted and dead with the fire, and they perceived that nobody stirred in the tower, they tore away the fire, and broke in at the door, to see if there were any half dead whom, refreshed and revived, to drag away. Thus half dead they found me; recovered, and sold me to a trader, who chained me to other prisoners, soldered on my fetters, and so drove me across the Danube to Adrianople, where the great king then made his residence. Now from the above-mentioned year 1436 even to the year 1458, I bore the heavy burthen and intolerable anguish of this most hard and miserable captivity, not without danger and detriment to body and soul. In this time I was seven times sold, I ran away seven times, was seven times retaken, and purchased with money; accordingly I became so accustomed to their barbarous speech that, forgetting my mother tongue, I learned their observances and their writing, so that they would have given me a post in their Church of no small consequence and income. I have also known more of their creed, by writing and in my head, and known better to speak of it than themselves, so that not only my neighbours, but deputations sent from distant lands, and much people came to hear me, also many priests. To my last master I was as dear as his own child, as he often acknowledged and also proved. When I was already free, he would fain have kept me with him as a free man; his whole family prayed me; I was at last obliged to excuse myself craftily, making as though I would visit an university and return, which they conjured me to do in the name of God and

their Mahumed. So should I go back, and with my imperial letter of liberty, I came away over the sea, God be praised!"

We are now to explain the circumstances under which the Hunyadis first appear in history. The emperor Sigismund who had married Maria, eldest daughter of Lewis I. and heiress of Hungary, and who had latterly governed in her name, upon her dying without issue, was elected king; he bequeathed the crown to Elizabeth, his daughter by a second wife; and her husband Albert, Archduke of Austria, was elected king in acknowledgment of her right. Albert died in 1439, leaving two infant daughters and the prospect of a third child. The widow, unambitious by nature, and depressed by the loss of her husband, shrank from the troubles of the times. She assembled the Estates, informed them that she felt herself unequal to wield the sceptre though hers by right, and was convinced that her unborn babe would prove another girl; wherefore she advised them to elect a king. The crown was accordingly offered to Wladislaus, King of Poland, the son of Maria's younger sister, Hedwig, and consequently the right heir of the Angevine-Arpád line. Elizabeth, being delivered of a son, revoked her precipitate abdication, and caused her infant boy to be immediately christened Ladislaus and crowned; but she could not wrest from Wladislaus the power she had rashly surrendered. She fled to Vienna with her son and the crown of Hungary; committing both to the guardianship of his nearest kinsman, the Emperor Frederic III. The Emperor made no exertion on behalf of his ward; and though the realm was distracted with civil war until 1442, when Elizabeth's death left her party without a head, Wladislaus was from the first actually king, and with him rested the defence of the country against the Turks. John Hunyadi was his general.

The services of Hunyadi were early rewarded by Wladislaus with the appointment of *Woiwode* of Transylvania; but the care of this large province interfered not with his military duties. He twice defeated the Osmanlis upon Hungarian ground; then, leading across the frontiers an army, to the assembling and equipping of which he had largely contributed from his own resources, he gained five pitched battles and took several fortresses in the provinces already subject to the Crescent. A letter written by the victorious general in the midst of his successes to his friend Niklas Ujlak has been preserved, and is thus given by our historian in its native devout simplicity.

"God is to be praised and glorified for his great mercies bestowed upon his Christian people : and so, after the battle, we gave thanks to God, and we brought to the king's majesty the banner of the enemy, and our prisoners. He received both piously, and gave God thanks. But the Emperor Amurath himself is now only three days' march distant from us, so that it is no wise possible but that we must fight with him, and what must befall God knows already, for we are in God's hand. What God wills, be the event ; once we must die, and especially for the faith."

The Turks now proposed to treat ; and the victorious Hunyadi, disappointed by the lukewarmness of the great Christian powers in his plans for expelling the Moslem from Europe, strongly recommended the measure. A truce for ten years was accordingly concluded in July, 1444, the Turks agreeing to restore all the Servian fortresses within a given time. And now we have to relate one of those disgraceful acts of sanctioned perfidy which but too often disgraced the Church of Rome in the darker ages, and still traditionally bring down upon her the reproaches of her enemies. But with the crime, we have to relate its signal punishment. Soon after the signature of the truce, circumstances peculiarly favourable for attacking the Turks occurred ; and Count Mailáth, himself a professed Catholic, thus narrates the result.

"Cardinal Julian advanced the doubly erroneous principle that a promise to unbelievers was not to be kept, and that Hungary was not authorised to make peace without the consent of the Holy See and the other allied Powers. He determined the king to break the treaty just ratified by oath ; and made him swear by his royal word and honour, by the Christian faith and holy baptism, by the hope of immortality, by the most holy Trinity and the most glorious Virgin Mary, and by the sainted kings of Hungary, Stephen and Ladislaus, that he, the king, would begin hostilities on the 1st of September.

"The same oath was taken by most of the grandees of the realm ; amongst others by John Hunyadi. To him the supreme command of the army was intrusted, and Bulgaria promised in writing as a kingdom. The commencement of the war was deferred till the 1st of September, because in the interim the Turks were bound to restore the Servian fortresses.*** With 10,000 Hungarians, 5,000 Poles and Crusaders, little artillery and much baggage, (2,000 waggons were counted following the army,) the king marched from Szegedin. He crossed the Danube at Orsowa and turned towards Widdin, where he was joined by Hunyadi with 5,000 men from Transylvania.***

"Arriving before Nicopolis the Hungarians

fruitlessly assailed the town ; for a regular siege they had neither artillery nor time, and thus was the reduction of this, in a military point of view, important place, omitted. Whilst the king was encamped before Nicopolis, Drakul Prince of Wallachia appeared with 4,000 auxiliaries, but earnestly dissuaded further advance. The Sultan's hunting-train was larger he said than the king's whole army. When his advice to return with all dispatch to Hungary was rejected, he pressed upon the king, against his time of need, two swift horses, and two Wallachians of tried fidelity, whom he prayed him always to have near his person."

For awhile the king with his 24,000 men, advanced prosperously, took towns, slaughtered Turks and delivered Christian slaves. But the Ottoman government was not idle. Amurath or Murad, whom Mailáth terms "the greatest and most humane of Ottoman sovereigns," at the age of forty had abdicated in reliance on the peace, and had retired to Magnesia to enjoy himself.

"When tidings of the breach of treaty reached Asia through the despot of Servia, the viziers and beys of the sixteen-year-old Sultan thought him unequal to the impending storm, and implored their old master with his secure hand to resume the command. Murad rapidly assembled the army, and advanced to the Hellespont ;—the sea swarmed with Christian ships, amongst which an hundred and twenty-eight galleys majestically and formidably towered. The passage could be neither forced nor stolen ; it was purchased. The Christian fleet retired, compelled, as the leaders asserted, by storms and want of provisions ; and the merchants of Venice and Genoa betrayed the cause of Christendom for gold. Murad paid a ducat a head ; and in one night 40,000 Turks were transported from Asia to Europe.***

"The Hungarians encamped near Varna, and in the evening saw the whole northern sky reddened ; it was the glare of the watch-fires of the Turkish host, [of whose approach they knew nothing,] encamped upon a range of hills not far distant."

The details of the battle of Varna, in which the great hero, John Hunyadi, was defeated, and the king lost his life, do not add anything important to the narratives of historians regarding that event.

Ladislaus Posthumous was now, upon the death of his successful rival, universally acknowledged king, but as he was still a child, John Hunyadi, upon effecting his escape from his Wallachian confinement, was named Gubernator, or administrator, by the estates of the kingdom. Mailáth says,

"The land needed a powerful ruler ; for during the long contest for the crown, and

the masterless state consequent upon the death of Wladislaus, disorder had risen to a high pitch, and outrages were everywhere perpetrated.**** Masterless rabble, soldiers without pay, ruined men reduced to despair, united, forming a band the leaders of which were freely elected. In their organization must have been something mysterious and strict, for they were compared to monks. They conquered many strong castles, gained others by fraud, and built others. Plundering and ravaging, murdering and burning, they prowled in all directions.

"Under such circumstances justice naturally suffered most. Hunyadi therefore administered justice whenever a complaint came before him, in his progresses through the realm. His exertions to re-establish law and justice were so striking, and so uninterrupted, that the historians of his day quaintly describe them by saying, "Sitting and standing, walking and riding, he administered justice." He appointed excellent men to the widowed churches, and incessantly urged the pope to confirm as bishops those whom he knew to be the fittest for the office. He likewise regulated and improved the coinage."

But the main business of the Gubernator was with enemies domestic and foreign; the Turks included. Of war in this history, we have, and must have more than enough; suffice it therefore to say that in 1452, he delivered over his kingdom to Ladislaus, in peace at home and abroad; and the first act of the young monarch was to heap honours and wealth on him who had so well deserved them at his hands. Ere we again return perforce to scenes of broil and battle, a sketch of the young king's life at Vienna under Ulrich Cilly's tutelage, as given by Count Mailáth from the pen of the legate Eneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II.,) and therefore characteristic of the times and country, may afford an agreeable variety.

"In the morning, as soon as the king is up, boiled nuts are set before him, with old Greek wine, that is called Malicatico: then he goes to church, and hears mass publicly: thither and back he passes through crowded multitudes of men, that he may not appear to love solitude, like his uncle the emperor. Upon his return roasted birds, pastry, and country wine are set before him, but he does not drink, that he may repair to council with a clear head. His dinner is rich and luxurious, at least twelve dishes, and those Austrian wines which are deemed most spirituous. Parasites, buffoons, guitar-players, and songstresses are admitted; those who most endeavour to please, lampoon the emperor, praise the king, and extol the count's (Ulrich Cilly's) deeds. When there has been enough of dancing and singing, he takes an afternoon's nap. Upon his

waking, a refreshing draught is presented to him, with apples or preserved fruit. He then goes to the council, or rides into the town and visits the ladies, married and single, most renowned for their beauty. When he returns home supper is served, and often prolonged into the night. At going to bed wine and apples are again set before him, and he is urged to eat even against his will. Thus is his day allotted. Many blame this, especially censuring the Earl who regulates it all. Others so hate the emperor that they praise whatever is opposed to his mode of life. But the youth's good disposition will not be corrupted by these seductions. He bears manly earnestness in his young breast, drinks not, eats no more than needful, speaks little, abhors what is shameful, rebukes those who lampoon the emperor; says that he has been well off with that prince; calls his uncle holy and moral, and behaves in all things so as to give promise of a wise ruler."

The war with the Turk was now Hunyadi's chief occupation, and whilst he waged it with varying success, Ladislaus listened to his enemy, Cilly; now consenting to the hero's ruin, now again seeking his friendship. The last exploit of John Hunyadi was forcing the Sultan in person to raise the siege of Belgrade; and upon this occasion he had the aid of an ally very characteristic of the age and of that remote part of Europe. Count Mailáth thus depicts him and his proceedings.

"Whilst the estates of the realm were assembled at Buda, a Franciscan monk came thither, a little old man, lean, withered, mere skin and bone; but indefatigable in labour, ever confident, satisfactory to the wise, intelligible to the ignorant, swaying the hardest hearts; this was John Capistran. Sent from Italy by the pope to preach a crusade against the Turks, he had traversed Austria, Bohemia, Poland, and reached Hungary, where the danger was greatest, the need most urgent. Bishops and communities wrote, praying him to gladden them with his presence; thousands awaited him when he came, thousands followed him when he went. The sick recovered when he prayed; when he preached, which was daily, twenty and thirty thousand hearers thronged round him. Priests and monks, beggars, peasants, and students, took up the cross. Guns, bows, and slings, pikes, and flails, swords, scythes, whips and hatchets, were their arms; a wondrous army of 60,000 enthusiasts clamoured round the seventy-year-old greybeard.

"John Capistran joined the regular troops summoned by Hunyadi. The saint and the knight of Christendom marched together against the heroes of Islam."

In justice to Giovanni di Capistrano, so

named from his birth-place in the Abruzzi, and of whom Count Mailáth speaks somewhat slightly, it should be stated that he was not, as might be supposed, a mere enthusiast working sympathetically upon the fanaticism of his hearers, but a man of extraordinary erudition, and in those days highly renowned for his success in polemical divinity. Previous to undertaking this crusade, he had combated with his pen almost every heresy then disturbing the Catholic Church.

Hunyadi attacked and defeated a part of the besieging host, and entered Belgrade with his army: the monk's bands there proved, as was to be expected, unruiny; but their disobedient rashness appears to have been most beneficial in its results.

"Hunyadi, a prudent commander, stationed his troops in the town, and forbade, on pain of death, any person to venture outside the walls, the Turks being still too numerous. His troops obeyed, not so the crusaders; singly, in small or large bodies, they sallied forth, and fell upon the Turks. Five crusaders were assailed by a disproportioned number of Turks; they defended themselves with arrows, others hastened to their assistance, and thus gradually commenced a skirmish, that grew more and more considerable, more and more serious. When Capistran saw this, he led in person the remainder of the crusaders to the battle; himself unarmed, in his hand only a staff on which was carved the sacred sign of the cross. Hunyadi then moved out with his troops, either to decide the victory, or protect the crusaders if beaten. The Turks fought like desperate men, Mohammed himself like a hero as yet unacquainted with defeat. But the crusaders pressed on more and more irresistibly; the Turkish works were stormed, the Sultan himself was wounded: the whole army fled in wild disorder, carrying their bleeding sovereign along with them: only at Adrianople could he check the flight, by the execution of some of the most considerable leaders. In the siege, battle, and flight, 50,000 Turks perished. The booty of the victors was immense, the exultation of Christendom unbounded.

"But the joy of rescued Hungary was soon turned to mourning, for twenty days after the victory died John Hunyadi. When he felt the approach of death, and the holy sacrament should have been brought to him, he suffered it not; but caused himself to be carried to the church, there to receive the body of our Lord. He expired immediately afterwards, at the age of fifty-six, in the arms of Capistran, his friend and companion in arms. The greatest man Hungarian history can boast, a man throughout blameless and admirable, if he had not been sometimes cruel. Soon after the hero's death Capistran began to sicken. When King Ladislaus came to Belgrade, he was already very fee-

ble; the King twice visited him. The first time Capistran could advance to receive him; the second he could not rise from his bed; but with words full of unction he admonished the king to protect the Church and lead a pious life. This done he presently expired."

Soon after this a brawl between Ulrich Cilly and Ladislaus Hunyadi, the eldest son of the deceased hero, and in which Cilly was the aggressor, ended in his death. The king pardoned the dead, and professed to the widow of Hunyadi the utmost regard for herself and her two sons. But under this show of good will, having got both brothers into his hands, he caused the elder to be publicly beheaded, and kept the younger, Mathias Corvinus, in close custody. The bereaved mother and widow, in conjunction with her brother, Michael Szilagyi, armed their friends, levied troops, and prepared for hostilities; but in the midst of their preliminary operations an inflammation of the bowels suddenly carried off King Ladislaus, a very few months after the execution of Ladislaus Hunyadi.

The party of the Hunyadis, armed and unarmed, now increased daily; and by the aid of his troops, Szilagyi succeeded in procuring the election of his nephew Mathias Corvinus, who, in January, 1458, was proclaimed King of Hungary.

Mathias was then a lad of fifteen, and this is a yet more extraordinary instance of the election of a minor, than when the choice fell upon the natural heir of a deceased king. Szilagyi was at the same time appointed Gubernator for five years. The new monarch was at the moment of his elevation a prisoner at Prague; but the powerful George Podiebrad, subsequently elected King of Bohemia, immediately released him; first however bestowing his daughter Catherine upon him in marriage.

Mathias was, and still is, considered by his countrymen as the greatest king that ever reigned in Hungary; and a compatriot opinion thus unanimously entertained by contemporaries and posterity must have great weight. The faults that we feel as painful drawbacks upon his really great qualities, chiefly an ambition unmarked by principle and a tendency to arbitrary measures, were the faults of his age and country; sympathy prevented their being then felt as defects; and conduct instigated by sentiments then deemed generous and exalted, should not in fairness be measured or appreciated by the more philosophic standard of the nineteenth century.

Almost the first act of Mathias displayed this ambition, and its recklessness of all re-

straining ties. He was impatient of the authority of the uncle to whom he mainly owed his crown, and threw him into prison. Szilagyí effected his escape; and Mathias, whose object was now accomplished in the possession of the full regal authority, blushed at his own ingratitude, and was reconciled to him.

The young monarch next turned his thoughts to the organization of an army; and in the edict he published upon this occasion, originates the name still borne by one description of troops. He ordered every twenty military vassals to furnish a warrior; and we learn from Mailáth that "the man thus furnished was called a *hussar*, from *huss*, twenty, and *ar*, price." Whether the original law for the service of the tenth or eighth man had become obsolete, is not, that we can find, stated.

Mathias had abundant occasion for the army thus organized. The Turks were still in arms; but before he could make head against them he had to oppose a combination of domestic and foreign enemies. His election had not been unanimous; and the friends of the Cillys, with all other adversaries of the Hunyadis, now tendered their allegiance to the Emperor Frederic, who had the crown of St. Stephen in his possession. The mediation of the Pope and of King George Podiebrad of Bohemia, aided by the growing reputation of Mathias, and the equally growing danger from the Turks, induced Frederic in the end to abandon his pretensions. The king first quelled the insurgents by arms, and then turned his attention to the Turks. His first campaign against them is thus described:

"Mathias Corvinus now drew the sword. To the frontier commandants was enjoined the utmost vigilance during the time that he was assembling his troops. Whilst the king proceeded to the Save, much fighting occurred upon the frontiers. The inroads of the Turks extended as far as Futak, which with difficulty resisted these marauders. Michael and Peter Zucholi fell upon them; Ali Beg, who frantically defended himself, was constrained to fly. Near Temeswar 4000 Turks, driven back on all sides, were slain. Mathias crossed the frontiers, and marched straight upon Jaiesa, (the capital of Bosnia, just conquered by Mohammed,) which was garrisoned by 7000 Turks. The commandant, Haram Beg, held out for a month and a half. The king's perseverance triumphed over the obstinacy of the enemy and the severity of the season. The young monarch entered Buda as the conqueror of a kingdom and deliverer of 15,000 Christian prisoners. Haram Beg and the captive Turks enhanced the splendour of his triumph.

"Mohammed, incensed at the fall of Jaiesa,

resolved to recover it. With immense numbers he appeared before the walls; the cannon thundered unceasingly; and when the fortifications were deemed sufficiently shaken, the Sultan divided his host into three parts, assigning to each a day for storming. The garrison resisted the three days' fury. The Turks were discouraged; and when Emerich Szekheli approached to relieve the town, the report that Mathias in person led the advancing army, multiplied its numbers. The Sultan raised the siege; and so precipitate was the retreat that many guns with a great quantity of baggage was left before the town, and fell into the hands of the Hungarians."

Whether Mathias ever entertained his father's projects for expelling the Turks from Europe, does not appear. In fact he himself, like the other princes of Europe and even the then spiritual head of Christendom, the Pope, though regarding the Osmanli with hatred, seems to have been scarcely sensible of the magnitude of the danger from the warlike and enterprising temper of these new intruders into Europe; otherwise they would not have suffered every petty private interest to divert them from the common object. This, to Mathias in particular, should have been a paramount consideration; yet the pursuit of a second kingdom was preferred by him to the defence of that in his possession.

Papal intolerance induced the revocation of the indulgences previously granted by the Roman See to the Utraquist heretics of Bohemia. George Podiebrad, though himself an orthodox Catholic, interfered on behalf of his subjects; and the Pope, Paul II., in consequence deposed him, offering his crown to his son-in-law Mathias. His beautiful and beloved young queen, the daughter of George, was no more; she had died childless; and although his attachment to her memory long prevented the widower from marrying again, it had not the power to restrain his ambition. He accepted the Pope's offer and invaded Bohemia. The commencement of hostilities is thus described:

"Mathias encamped near Laa on the March. He was received with rejoicings by the citizens, as the Emperor's ally; the arsenal was opened to him, and provisions were abundantly supplied. On the opposite bank of the March encamped Podiebrad. Thus they remained for a whole month, without striking a decisive blow. Alike in talent for war, courage, prudence, and military equipment, they were unlike in age, and the qualities of their armies. Podiebrad was sixty, Mathias hardly twenty-five. The Bohemians were the most renowned infantry in the whole world, the Hungarians were formidable from their numbers and the boldness of

their cavalry. The resources of the two princes were equally various. The king of Hungary had the Pope and the Emperor for allies, and was supported by the Catholic Bohemians: but mighty foes were rising behind him, and his own subjects reluctantly saw themselves involved in an expensive and destructive war. Podiebrad had no adherents except the Utraquist Bohemians, but these were fired with the wild fanaticism of religious enthusiasts.

"The two princes frequently saw each other on the banks of the river, and conversed, sometimes in wrath, oftener in recollection of past friendly times. At length the principal men on either side endeavoured to mediate a peace; but the Cardinal Legate Lorenzo, in Corvinus's camp, interposed; the Prince of Peace became the Apostle of Discord, and the negotiations were broken off."

The war was hard fought on both sides. Mathias made great progress in Moravia and Silesia, but none in Bohemia, which however he invaded with increased forces, laying all waste with fire and sword.

"Podiebrad now proposed peace. The two kings met; they conversed alone, and the Cardinal Legate, who accompanied Mathias everywhere, dreaded the conclusion of peace. This however was not accomplished, but a truce only settled. The kings parted, and Podiebrad's sons, Victorin and Henry, accompanied Mathias to Olmütz. There the Cardinal Legate suggested to the king that he might end the war at a stroke by making George's two sons prisoners; but Mathias indignantly rejected the advice. At the end of the truce Mathias held a diet at Olmütz, at which he was proclaimed king by the Bohemian Catholics; whether he was likewise crowned, is doubtful. Whilst Mathias visited the chief Silesian towns to receive homage, Podiebrad held a diet at Prague, for the election of a king. It was generally expected that he would propose one of his own gallant sons; but he passed them by, and recommended Wladislaus, the eldest son of the Polish King Casimir, to the Bohemians. The proposal pleased them, and they offered Wladislaus the succession to the crown, but upon conditions."

These conditions were, their own and their king's reconciliation, through him, with the Roman See, the ratification of their privileges, ample princely provision for Podiebrad's family, and Wladislaus's marriage with the daughter of the latter. Podiebrad's death shortly followed; Mathias and Wladislaus were severally proclaimed King of Bohemia by their respective partisans, and the war continued.

"Whilst Mathias was striving to conquer a new kingdom, he was on the point of losing his own. The Hungarians, dissatisfied with his arbitrary government, disliking the Bo-

hemian war, which exhausted the strength of the country, and left it, on the other side, exposed to the incursions of the Turks, turned to Casimir, King of Poland, and asked his second son, Prince Casimir, for their king. The oldest friends of the house of Hunyadi, even Vitéz, Archbishop of Gran, fell off from Mathias; of the seventy-five counties into which Hungary was then divided, only nine, of the grandes only the Archbishop of Kolocza, and the Palatine, remained true to the king. * * * Mathias, informed by the Chapter of Gran of the danger menacing him, hastened back to Hungary, and held a diet at Buda, by which he regained most of those who had fallen off from him. * * * Casimir vainly expected to be joined by the Hungarian grandes who had visited him, for the Buda diet had borne good fruit. * * * Casimir feared to be besieged by Mathias in Neutra; he left 4000 men to defend the castle and fled, unpursued, yet with such hurry that sixty waggons fell into the hands of the peasants."

Mathias now sought to conciliate the Archbishop, who had been the chief promoter of the attempt to supplant him; but when he had completely cleared his realm of all the Polish invaders, he turned upon his ecclesiastical enemy, confined him in one of his own archiepiscopal castles, and transferred the management of his diocese to the Bishop of Erlan. He then returned to the invasion of Bohemia; where his strategical abilities prevented his rival's deriving any advantage from his very superior numbers. A truce for a year and a half suspended hostilities, leaving each in possession of what he held.

Mathias had now leisure to attend to the incursions of the Turks, who, during his Bohemian wars, had constantly infested Hungary, ravaging the country, and carrying away sometimes 10,000, sometimes 50,000 victims to slavery. He defeated them on their own ground, and took the fortress of Shabacz. Yet so far were the Turkish marauding expeditions from being ended, that we are told the king's new bride, the Neapolitan Princess Beatrice, whom he married in 1476, "saw everywhere upon her road the most recent traces of Turkish devastation, and often passed the night there, where the Turks had raged during the day."

Again was Mathias diverted from his task as champion of Christendom, by wars with his Christian neighbours, Wladislaus and the Emperor Frederic. A peace was, however, mediated with the last-named enemy, by the Pope, Venice, and Mathias's Queen, Beatrice; and the Emperor confirmed to the King of Hungary the kingdom and electorate of Bohemia. In point of fact, however, the kingdom was divided between the rivals, both

of whom bore the title; whilst Wladislaus held Bohemia Proper, Mathias Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia.

In the last invasion of Hungary by the Turks during the reign of Mathias, two circumstances are worth noting. One of the leaders against the Moslim, Paul Kinizsy, Earl of Termes, was humbly born, and promoted by merit alone. He was the son of a miller; served as a common soldier in these wars; and having distinguished himself by headlong audacity and extraordinary bodily strength, was raised by the king to this high rank of nobility—a proof that, even in the feudal times, the barriers of birth were not actually insuperable to merit. The nature of the other circumstance is illustrative of the then state of civilisation in Hungary.

“As the Turks broke in, Stephen Batori, Woywode of Transylvania, called upon Paul Kinizsy, Earl of Termes, for assistance; whilst, with the warriors whom he could hastily collect, he at once threw himself before the plundering bands. He engaged them on the Brotfelde, (in Hungarian, Kenyérmező.) Such was the Ottoman superiority in numbers, that the Christian soldiers, like martyrs, prepared for death by receiving the eucharist. Batori drew up his army in two lines, the Szeklers* formed the right wing in the first, the Saxons the left, and he himself with the heavy horse, and the Bishop of Transylvania's people, was in the centre. The Wallachians and Hungarians formed the second line. One of the most desperate of battles began: three thousand Saxons lay dead on the field or in the waters of the Maros; the Szeklers gave way, the Woywode led to the combat all that remained able to fight; two horses were killed under him, his blood streamed from six wounds; when, behold! at the highest, the utmost need, Kinizsy appeared! Like a maddened lion, in each hand a sword, the man of giant's strength dashed in amongst the enemy. He cut himself a path thither where Batori was fighting with dying exertions: the victory was won, thirty thousand Turks strewed the field of battle. The released captives mingled in exulting thankfulness with the victors, and revelled in the plenty of the hostile camp.

“Upon the corpses of the slain Turks the conquerors spread their meal, whilst they sang extempore songs in praise of their generals. They danced amidst the dead bodies. Kinizsy was challenged to join in the round. With herculean strength he seized a dead man with his teeth, so lifted him from the ground unaided by his hands, and with the corse hanging freely, waltzed in the circle, to the astonishment of all the spectators.”

* The Szeklers, one of the races or tribes found in Hungary by the Magyars, occupy part of Transylvania, which, in another part, has been colonized with Saxons.

Perhaps few things are more remarkable in the life of this king than the splendour he maintained amidst all these incessant wars; which, with the exception of the Turkish, his subjects reprobated, and unwillingly sustained by personal service or pecuniary contributions. The dislike appears in various laws, calculated to restrain his ambition and somewhat arbitrary government, extorted from Mathias by different diets. Yet we have the following description of the magnificence he displayed at an interview with Wladislaus.

“The princes had a meeting at Olmütz, when Mathias exhibited oriental pomp. For a whole fortnight tournaments, comedies, and balls succeeded each other. In the square a pyramid was erected, by way of buffet, thick-set, from the ground to the summit, with drinking vessels of gold and silver. Upon ten tables placed round it the banquet was spread; but not a cup was removed from the pyramid for the use of the guests, such was the profusion of the king's service of gold and silver. Mathias had royally furnished the lodgings of the Bohemian nobles, and especially that of Wladislaus, the walls of which were covered with hangings of silk and gold. When the princes separated, Mathias bestowed gifts upon all the Bohemian grandes, and presented to King Wladislaus the whole furniture of the house in which he had resided.”

In corroboration of the magnificence of Mathias, we give the following extract from a letter written by the legate, Bishop Castelli, to Pope Pius II., and which is part of the Papal Correspondence touching Hungary, inserted by Count Mailáth in his third volume.

“I had imagined that this king must be impoverished by the long war, as was suggested to me at Gratz; and in enumerating the causes which should induce peace, this was not the last I mentioned; hence, I conceive, a friend of mine invited me, on the 20th, to inspect the palace; than which, with the good leave of Italy, I must say, she possesses not a finer or a larger. Introduced into the wardrobe, I saw so many costly garments, loaded with gold, jewels, and pearls; such tapestry hangings; so many gold and silver vessels wrought with exquisite skill, that I deem fifty men* could not carry them. Amongst other things I saw steps, (qy. stove, in Latin *stufam*, in German *stufe*,) of pure silver, of such height and size that two persons can scarcely embrace them; also two unicorns, the one like a common horse, the other like an ass, with their real horns;

* This correspondence is in Latin, and the word is *maribus*, which a Hungarian writer conceives to be a mistake for *navibus*.

further, admirable crucifixes and altar ornaments, upwards of 590 large dishes, 300 golden goblets, and trenchers and basins without number, all which cannot in truth be justly estimated. Such precious household stuff, such precious plate, such an adorned hall have I seen of this king's, that I believe the glory of Solomon could not be greater."

This, perhaps, is the place for mentioning, that to Mathias Corvinus we are said to owe the invention of posting in carriages, and, indeed, of carriages themselves; coaches deriving their very name from Hungary—for Count Mailáth says:—

"Tomori made use of the posting established by Mathias Corvinus, and journeyed in one of the light carriages, called *Kocsi* by the Hungarians, to the king at Visegrad."

And in a note he appends to this the following explanation:

"The light Hungarian carriages, drawn by three horses, changed horses every four or six miles, [German miles of course, each equal to upwards of four English miles.] * * * The carriages derived their name from the town Kocs; either because invented there, or because the Kocs peasants were the best drivers. * * * Lithius, in his notes on Bonfin, calls Mathias Corvinus the inventor of these carriages. And even if he did not invent the carriage himself, the arrangement for changing carriage and horses may, with all likelihood, be attributed to him."

But however the Hungarians might object to the belligerent propensities of Mathias, or to his occasional assumption of arbitrary power, he was, during his life, and remained after death, their darling and their pride. The fond admiration still attached to his name may have been enhanced by the disasters that followed his death, from Turkish conquest, civil wars, and final loss of independence; but that it does not spring from such causes, that it existed amongst his contemporaries, is evident from the number of anecdotes, and of pictures by pen and pencil, of their great king, preserved and transmitted to us. To these Mailáth dedicates a whole chapter, from which we shall make ample extracts. He begins with the personal appearance of his hero.

"Mathias was of a middle stature; with hair reddish and curly, eyes black, large, vivacious, and fiery, often suffused as it were with blood; his face was ruddy, his nose straight, his mouth rather wide, his gaze the lion's. Whomsoever he looked full in the face, to him he was favourably disposed; him to whom he gave a side glance, he disliked. He was wide-chested, broad-shouldered; his fingers were long,

and the little one he seldom straightened. The aspect of the man was martial; and when he sat on horseback he seemed larger than usual.

"Four pictures of him have come down to us, all contemporary, all dissimilar. * *

"Mathias was one of the best horsemen of his time, and skilful in all martial exercises. His knowledge was great. Besides his mother-tongue, he was acquainted with the German, Slavonian, Latin, and Bulgarian or Turkish languages. The classics were his favourite study; he was familiar with Frontinus and Vegetius, and on retiring to rest he read Livy or Quintus Curtius, to whom he was very partial, or some other classic, after he was in bed. He likewise read the Holy Scriptures very diligently, and astonished those about him with the number of texts he quoted by heart. He was addicted to astrology, and not unversed in other sciences, although he bestowed no especial study upon them. He owed this to his constant intercourse with the learned men of his court, and to his natural quickness.

"To business he most sedulously attended. He read every letter immediately; the answers he generally directed his private secretary to write, and read them over; but frequently he dictated or wrote them himself. His autograph style was most laconic; of which two specimens may suffice. Upon occasion of a dispute respecting the nomination to a prebend, he wrote to the Pope: 'Your Holiness may be assured that the Hungarian nation will rather convert the double cross that is the ensign of our realm into a triple cross, than suffer the benefices and prelacies belonging of right to the crown, to be conferred by the apostolic see.' A letter in his own hand to the men of Buda runs thus:—'Mathias, by God's Grace, King of Hungary. Good-morrow, citizens. If you do not all come to the King, you lose your heads. Buda. The King.'

"With the troops he lived as with his equals. He knew every common soldier by name. He visited the sick in their tents, and himself administered their medicines; the desponding he encouraged; in battle he often bound up wounds with his own hand. Accordingly the army was devoted to him, even unto death. The troops often fought without pay.

"In the first year of his reign he lived like the old Magyar kings. The palace was negligently, or not at all guarded. Many tables were daily laid, at which he eat in friendship and sociability with the great men of his kingdom. The doors were open during the repast; beggars and collectors entered freely, and every one, even the poorest, might speak to the king. Subsequently, when he had married Beatrice, he was more reserved. The court was regulated after the Italian fashion, and the residence adorned with all the luxury of the age. Door-keepers were appointed,

the king was no longer accessible ; only at stated times did he appear, and administer justice."

* * * * *

"In one of his Turkish campaigns he visited the enemy's camp, with a single companion, both disguised as peasants. All day long Mathias sold eatables before the tent of the Turkish general. In the evening he returned in safety. Next morning he wrote to the Turk that he had himself explored his camp, and to authenticate his statement named the dishes that had been served up to the Ottoman. The Moslem was scared and fled.

"At the siege of Shabacz he disguised himself as a common soldier, got into a small boat with a single attendant and a rower, and was rowed along the fortress, in quest of the best place to assault. The Turks fired upon them ; the attendant was killed, but the king, without a symptom of alarm, continued his exploration of the walls."

We here adduce another anecdote relative to the same subject, which our author has separated from it. In fact he seems to have written his anecdotes as he happened to light upon them, without the slightest regard to order or classification.

"During the siege of Vienna the king entered the town in disguise, and after strolling about sat a long time, as though to rest. Suddenly it was rumoured that Mathias was within the walls, and he was every where sought. The report reached him ; without discovering any alarm, he took a wheel in which was a broken spoke, and rolling it before him, walked along the street, passed out of the gate, and returned to his camp. When Vienna was taken, the Hungarians, in commemoration of his disguise, danger, and escape, caused his image to be carved in stone, and set it up in the place where he had so long sat and rested."

The following anecdotes of his mode of giving audience evince great adroitness in baffling arrogance, and extraordinary readiness and powers of mind.

"A Turkish ambassador boasted that he had by his eloquence swayed at his pleasure every prince to whom he had been sent, and that even so would he manage King Mathias. Mathias was informed of the vaunt, and ordered Neustadt, which he was then besieging, to be stormed upon the day appointed for the Turk's audience. He led him to the scene of action, received his communications amidst a shower of balls and arrows ; answered upon the instant, and dismissed him. The envoy was so amazed and bewildered that he entirely forgot the king's answer. In vain did he beseech its repetition ; Mathias gave him

a letter to Bajazet, in which he requested the sultan to send him in future men who were capable of noting a message.

"At Vissegrad he once received a Turkish envoy in full regal state : and looked at him so formidably that the diplomatist altogether forgot his errand, and could say nothing more than, 'The Emperor greets ;' 'The Emperor greets.' Thereupon the king turned to his court and said, 'See what beasts are suffered, by our own fault, to ravage our lands and those of other princes !' Then followed the proclamation of a Turkish war, and the Moslem was sent home."

* * * * *

"Envoys from the King of Poland presented themselves at Vissegrad, and made a speech in the Polish tongue that lasted full two hours. When it was ended Mathias inquired whether they wished the answer to be in Polish or in Latin ? The envoys referred that to the king's pleasure. Then did the king recapitulate all that the envoys had said during these two hours, improved the arrangement of their matter, and refuted it point by point, to the astonishment of the envoys and of all present."

Of this monarch's love of justice, we are told ;

"The king's justice was so generally known as to have become proverbial. The Magyar says even to the present day, 'Mathias is dead and justice is lost.'"

* * * * *

"When the war broke out between Hungary and Austria, a brave officer accosted Mathias with a request for leave to join the Emperor Frederic, to whom he had pledged himself by oath to return in case of war, be he where he might. The king dismissed him with rich presents, and extolled him highly for having preferred his oath to his own interest and a king's favour."

* * * * *

"It was reported to the king that some of his court designed to poison him. The accusation did not seem improbable ; but Mathias replied : 'He who governs justly has neither poison nor dagger to fear ; and what is most probable is not always true.'"

As Mathias was deemed by his subjects and himself so just a king, he may have fancied, however erroneously, the right to be on his side in his attempt to wrest Bohemia from his father-in-law. The following however shows somewhat whimsically that his notions of right and wrong were derived strictly from precedent.

"During the Bohemian war, a person accosted Mathias Corvinus, and undertook to slay King George by the sword, in consideration of a reward of 5000 ducats. Mathias promised him the reward, but the man presently saw that the thing was im-

practicable. He returned to Mathias, confessed that he found it impossible to kill King Podiebrad by the sword, but offered to poison him. Mathias forbade him, saying: 'The Roman Fabricius warned his enemy Pyrrhus against poison.' And he forthwith sent to admonish King George to have his food tasted, as he was in danger of being poisoned."

The next anecdote shall be our last, and should perhaps have followed the account of the king's skill in martial exercises, but comes not amiss as the close.

"There came to Buda a stout combatant, named Holubar, of marvellous size and strength, who was reputed invincible in tournament. The king, excited by his fame, challenged him. Holubar declined the proposed tilting match; but Mathias defied him a second time. Holubar then accepted the challenge, resolving to yield to the king's least blow, and let himself be unhorsed. This was reported to Mathias, who compelled Holubar to take an oath that he would fight with him (the king) as with his worst enemy. * * * Many thousand men witnessed the tournament. The two combatants ran at each other; Holubar, struck on the head and borne backwards off his horse, lay swooning on the ground, with a broken arm. The king, struck on the breast by his antagonist's spear, fell sideways out of the saddle, but held himself on by the horse's mane. Mathias caused Holubar to be well leeches, and upon his recovery bestowed rich garments and much money upon him."

We must now turn to the close of this extraordinary man's life. He had no legitimate children, and tried hard to induce the Estates of the kingdom to choose his natural son, John Corvinus, for a successor. In this he failed, partly by the opposition of Queen Beatrice, who seems, however, to have been instigated either by a step-mother's feelings or by a hope of marrying the next king, and not by conjugal jealousy; for John Corvinus, now of man's estate, must have been born prior to her marriage. In the midst of his exertions for this object, and in the vigour of manhood, death overtook Mathias.

"It was on Palm Sunday that he returned from church fatigued; he ordered dinner to wait for the queen, but asked for some figs. Bad ones, that he could not eat, were brought him, and he was exceedingly angered. The queen now came in; soothed him, and offered him various viands; but he refused all, complained of dizziness and a cloud before his eyes, and was led to his room, where he was struck with apoplexy." John Corvinus, the Bishop of Erlau, and all the grandes poured in; and it was

a sad sight to behold the king, tortured with pain, and unable to speak, whilst only the *jaj! jaj!* (oh! oh!) of suffering, or the sacred name of Jesus, passed his lips. The queen alone retained presence of mind; she encouraged the physicians, forcibly opened his firmly-compressed lips, and administered medicine; she opened his half-closed eyes; she left nothing unattempted to recall him to life. His pains nevertheless increased; he sometimes roared like a lion; his greatest grief was that he could not speak. He looked now at the queen, now at his son; he was evidently struggling for words. The queen tried to guess his thoughts, and asked did he mean this or that? In vain! He could neither assent nor deny. So passed this day and the next. His sufferings then relaxed, but he remained dumb. In the morning of the third day, it was conjectured from his gestures that he was appealing to the mercy of God; and before eight o'clock, Mathias was dead." [He was not fifty years of age.]

* * * * *

"I cannot possibly quit the history of the great king, without quoting the judgment of an able and experienced man, namely, the Apostolic Legate Castelli. He writes to the Pope: 'The king is learned, he speaks with earnestness and majesty, saying nothing but what seems to him worthy of belief. When I consider his talent, eloquence, morals, art, and valour, I find that he surpasses all the princes I know, without a single exception. Most Holy Father! This king is of an unwearied spirit; he is wholly martial, thinks but of war, and carries it on without many words.'"

The sun of Hungary set with Mathias Corvinus; and the remainder of the history of the Magyars is saddening. Yet its gloom is occasionally relieved by some gleams of intellect and heroism. Of the powerful Jesuit we have already spoken, and we cannot take our final leave of the subject without bringing before the reader one of those invincibly resolute defences of besieged towns, to which we have heretofore alluded.

"When the Sultan appeared before Szigeth, A.D. 1566, he saw the walls hung with red cloth, as though for a fêstal reception, and a single great cannon thundered once, to greet the mighty warrior monarch. Zrinyi assembled his troops, swore in their presence to hold out to the last drop of his blood, and required a similar oath from them. He then issued severe orders; whoever disobeys his commanders; whoever receives or reads a Turkish letter; whoever finds a letter shot into the town with an arrow, or otherwise introduced, and brings it not instantly to his commander to be burnt; whoever deserts his post; whoever speaks secretly with another; whoever sees such things and declares them not;

whoever steals a single farthing, shall be forthwith executed. The gates were blocked up; the gardens and hedges that might have sheltered the Janizaries, burnt.

"The Turks assaulted the new town on three sides; they pressed on so powerfully the whole day long, they continued the attack so hotly through the night, that Zrinyi despaired of its defence, and next morning set fire to the new town. The Janizaries occupied the smouldering ruins, and thence fired upon the Christians in the old town."

We pass over several repulsed storms, as too long to detail.

"Not content with the force of arms, the Turks likewise tried craft and seduction. German, Croatian, and Hungarian writings were shot into the town with arrows; they were so many exhortations to the troops to surrender upon honourable terms instead of uselessly resisting. To Nicklas Zrinyi himself the Sultan promised the whole of Croatia. The hero had a harder trial to surmount, when he saw his son's banner wave in the Turkish camp, heard his son's trumpeter wind the well-known war-song in the Ottoman army. Zrinyi was to be led to believe that his son was prisoner to the Moslem, in order to be induced to redeem him with the fortress. The fact however was otherwise,—young Zrinyi was in the emperor's camp; only his standard-bearer and trumpeter had fallen into the hands of the Turks.

"Vainly did Zrinyi gaze around; no relieving army appeared, and he knew but too well that a fortress must fall if not relieved. The Turks stormed and were repulsed; the ex-pacha of Egypt was slain, and two standards of the misbelievers fell into Zrinyi's hands. Three days after, the assault was more vehemently renewed; the anniversary of the battle of Mohacs, of the capture of Buda and Belgrade, was to be glorified by the fall of Szigeth: but the efforts of the Osmanli were unavailing. A few days later the Turks stormed more decisively. During the fight they managed to set fire to the houses in the fortress. Though pressed from without by the Ottoman arms, from within by the conflagration, Zrinyi battled still. Twice did the Turks break in, twice were they driven out; at length the flames approached the powder magazine; the Turks had struggled in on the opposite side, and Zrinyi retreated perforce into the inner castle. From its walls the waves of Ottoman war again recoiled. Solyman, peevish and impatient, wrote with his own hand to the grand vizier: 'Is not this chimney yet burnt out, and sound not yet the cymbals of conquest?' He lived not to joy in the fall of Szigeth, but died that night of dysentery, apoplexy, or old age.

"The grand vizier, Mehmed Szokoli, concealed the padishah's death, and zealously prosecuted the siege. Three days Zrinyi

held out in the inner castle; provisions he had none; women and children were perishing of hunger and thirst; the Turks flung in fire, and the roofs were in flames; the death-hour had struck. Zrinyi ordered his chamberlain Thawz Serenk, to adorn him as for a festival: he concealed the key of the fortress in his garment, with an adjunct of 100 Hungarian ducats, 'In order,' he said, 'that he who strips me may not complain of want of booty! From four sabres he chose that which his father had wielded, with which he himself had in youth ridden into his first battle. Thus he appeared amongst his men, who awaited him crowded together in the courtyard. He exhorted them to think of God and their country, took a single shield from his chamberlain, and ordered the gate to be thrown open. The Turks were rushing on, he fired a great mortar that lay under the gate, and the foremost rank fell. With the battle-cry of *Jesus!* Zrinyi rushed out; his standard-bearer, Juranich, waved his banner before him, his men stormed after him. Two balls in his breast and an arrow in his head laid him low. With the exultation of victory the Janizaries shouted *Allah!* lifted him up, bore him above their heads to their aga, laid him, face downwards, on Kabzianer's cannon, and struck off his head.

"Death, flames, and confusion held divided sway in the conquered castle; the Janizaries slaughtered women and children when they could not at once agree as to their allotment. Zrinyi's chamberlain, treasurer, and cup-bearer, were taken alive; their beards were shorn and burnt in scorn, and they were dragged before the grand vizier. He asked for Zrinyi's treasures. Then did the cup-bearer, a nobly-born, proud-spirited youth, reply; '100,000 Hungarian ducats, 100,000 dollars, 1000 goblets and other vessels has Zrinyi consumed; what remains, scarcely 5000 ducats, lies in a chest. But of powder he has plenty, and soon will it explode; that fire, without which you had never taken the castle, will destroy you.' The Tshaush Bashi rode hastily off with his Tshaushes to prevent mischief; but ere he arrived, the town blew up with a thundering crash, and 3,000 Turks were blown up in it, or buried under its ruins."

With this extract we take our leave of Count Mailáth and the Magyars; yet, we would fain trust, not a final leave, as we cannot but think that his collection of Magyar legends, which we have not yet met with, must contain original and highly interesting matter, and that the mine he has undertaken to work cannot yet be exhausted.

With respect to the volumes now before us, that we consider them a very valuable contribution to the historic stores of the age, is evident from all we have said, and we should hope from what we have shown; but we cannot profess to esteem the

History of the Magyars quite so highly as our German brethren. Considered as a composition it is not the production of a master-hand. The matter has assuredly been collected with great, laudable, and not easy diligence; but to omit minor defects of arrangement, blunders in names and genealogies, &c., already mentioned, there is great want of method in the conduct of the narrative. When the affairs of different countries or the different affairs of the same country, as religious and military, foreign and civil, wars, or the like, have to be carried on simultaneously, the author does not so order them, so keep them abreast, as to enable the reader to feel and appreciate as he proceeds their action and reaction upon each other. A difficult art certainly, but the historian's proper and especial business. With respect to the occasional inaccuracies in language and composition, and the awkward repetitions, all of which have now and then cost us no small trouble in translating, we apprehend that they may in great measure be excused upon the plea alleged by Count Mailáth for the numerous typographical errors; to wit; that his failing sight obliges him to trust, wherever it is possible, to the eyes of others. The work, however, in spite of these defects, is a great acquisition to literature and history.

Charles Rosenkranz.) Königsberg. 8vo. 1835.

3. *Das Hirn des Negers mit dem des Europaers und Orang-Outangs verglichen.* Von Dr. Friedrich Tiedemann. Mit sechs Tafeln. (The Skull of the Negro compared with those of the European and Orang-Outang.) Heidelberg. 4to. Im Verlag bei Karl Winter. 1837.
4. The Brain of the Negro compared with those of the European and the Orang-Outang. By Dr. F. Tiedemann. Philosophical Transactions, 1836. London. 4to. 1836.
5. Bibliographical Essay on the Collection of Voyages and Travels edited and published by Levinus Hulsius and his Successors at Nuremberg and Francfort from 1598 to 1660. By A. Asher. Printed in English, and only sixty copies taken. London and Berlin. 4to. 1839.

ALTHOUGH few persons will agree with the eloquent and enthusiastic German reviewer* who claims for his countrymen the glory of *alone* leading the world in all future improvements, none will deny them the honour of having heretofore done a vast amount of good in this shape to mankind; and they undoubtedly stand at present among the very foremost of those Christian communities which are pressing forward the most energetically to advance general civilisation.

"Two great powers," says the writer alluded to, "are in conflict; that which seeks to preserve all existing things, and that which would change them for some supposed better condition. The Germans *alone* of all mankind are capable of bringing this conflict to a good issue. Italians, French, and English have proved themselves incapable of that thorough regeneration of the heart which is indispensable for realizing the destiny of man. It is to Germany that the world must look for those who by individual character and by the favour of circumstances will purify it. The free German of antiquity destroyed the despotism of Rome; the German league of the Rhine, and the Hanse Towns, created the powerful marine of the middle ages, and then established civilisation and freedom in all parts of the north and west of Europe: German genius produced the printing-press; and the German Luther, with his train of intellectual followers, destroying Roman Domination a second time, show our influence."

ART. III.—1. *Véritable histoire et description d'un pays habité par des hommes sauvages, nus, féroces, anthropophages, situé dans le nouveau monde, nommé Amérique, inconnu dans le pays de Hesse avant et depuis la naissance de Jésus-Christ, jusqu'à l'année dernière que Hans Staden de Homberg, en Hesse, l'a connu par sa propre expérience et la fait connoître actuellement par le moyen de l'impression.* Marbourgh and Kolben, 1557: republished Paris, 1837.

2. *Das Verdienst der Deutschen um die Philosophie der Geschichte. — Vortrag zum Krönungsfeste Preussens am 18 Januar, 1835, in der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg gehalten, und mit erläuternden Beilagen herausgegeben von Karl Rosenkranz.* (The Merit of Germans in developing the Philosophy of History. An Address to the Königsberg German Society at the Anniversary of the Coronation of the King of Prussia, 18 January, 1835; with Notes, by

* Dr. F. Tiedemann.

"The principles which now animate the whole German nation are peculiar. They have no one point in common with the equality which the French have boasted of since 1789. They are the doctrines which alone can elevate the whole human race, and Germany *alone* is thoroughly imbued with them.*" It is not very clearly shown by this writer what these all-important doctrines are, and his pretensions, which are not new, have been disposed of by at least as able a *German* pen as his own, and in terms upon which those who share his opinion will do well to ponder.

"The historian of mankind," says Herder, "must take care that he chooses no tribe exclusively as his favourite, nor exalts it at the expense of others, whose situation and circumstances denied them fame and fortune. The Germans have derived information even from the Slavians: the Cimbri and Lettonians might probably have become Greeks, had they been differently seated with respect to surrounding nations. We may rejoice that people of such a strong, handsome, and noble form, of such chaste manners, so much generosity and probity as the Germans, possessed the Roman world, instead perhaps of Huns or Bulgarians; but on this account to esteem them God's chosen people in Europe, to whom the world belongs in right of their innate nobility, and to whom other nations are destined to be subservient in consequence of this pre-eminence, would be to display the base pride of a barbarian. The barbarian domineers over those whom he has vanquished; the enlightened conqueror civilizes those whom he subdues.†"

But without being troubled by patriotic exaggeration it will readily be admitted that the circumstances of the German people for some centuries past have been singularly propitious to the steady progress of civilisation, and that these circumstances have greatly aided the natural advantages which favour the regions between the Baltic and France. The territorial riches of the Germans; their various resources in trade; their learning; their ancient free spirit, which, in spite of general political enslavement, has produced many ameliorations in their laws; and their unchanging military prowess, requiring only a better direction to restore political freedom;—all these things give them enough influence in the world to justify a high degree of national self-respect.

But what the Germans have accomplished in one most important branch of human relations is both remarkable in extent and peculiar in variety and character. This branch relates to "THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE MORE AND THE LESS CIVILIZED RACES," between powerful Christian nations, and the comparatively feeble natives of the New World, of Africa, Asia, and the South Seas. This intercourse, as is well-known, has hitherto been fatal to the weaker and less civilized parties. But the generally destructive character which it bore during many centuries, has of late been considerably modified through good men's efforts, largely, although indirectly, shared by the Germans.

Of these efforts the obvious examples are, the attempts to abolish the slave-trade from Africa to America; the more humane treatment of slaves; and the partial abolition of negro slavery; yet these are only the commencements of humane enterprizes, calculated to change the condition of all the remotest regions of the earth.

It will not be attempted here to follow out completely any of the operations of the German mind, which have promoted these results, for the vastness of that inquiry far exceeds our limits; but the sketch proposed to be made of these operations will open a subject less studied than its importance deserves. The missionaries of that country, such as the Moravian brethren; its philosophical writers, such as Herder, Schiller, and Schlegel; its linguists, travellers and geographers, the Forsters, Adelungs, Chamisso, and Von Humboldts, have altogether produced materials which throw a clear light upon the subject: and it will not be difficult to infer from these some distinct views of what has long been contemplated by eminent Germans, and to conclude how far their objects have been realized. The utility of such an inquiry is obvious. Vices common to all Europe, and false opinions, prevalent among the most civilized people, contribute to the ruin of the coloured races; and to rescue them it is indispensable to improve both the conduct and the sentiments of enlightened Christians generally on the whole subject, in order that the oppressed may have some chance of protection; that the ignorant may be adequately instructed; and the debased elevated every where.

The grand characteristic of Germany on this head is, that a national colonial interest does not exist there to bias the national judgment, and harden the popular feelings in regard to uncivilized tribes. The German consequently has during three centuries looked impartially upon the relations between those tribes on one side and colonists and the

* Braga. Heidelberg. 1838, pp. 295 and 311.

† Herder's Philosophy of History, (English translation) 2d vol. p. 361. 2d edition. 8vo. London. 1803.

maritime government on the other. The union of Spain and its American dominions with the German empire in the person of Charles V., created a brief exception to this exclusion from colonial power and prejudice. Two hundred years afterwards, a vigorous attempt was made by another Emperor of Germany, Charles VI., to obtain a share of the Indian trade; but without success. This was in the beginning of the last century, when the Ostend Company was formed under favourable auspices, but was finally ruined through the jealousy of the Dutch and English. The Prussians have subsequently met with less formidable difficulties in the same quarter; and since the general peace of 1815, as many as 20,000 Germans emigrate yearly to America and other new countries to the west, and a large number to Russia; but in no part of the world have they yet formed colonial settlements of their own;—a fact which is particularly worth attention at this moment when three other great nations, the Russians, the people of the United States of North America, and the English, are literally bringing the ends of the earth together, and covering large portions of the uncivilized world with new settlements, beyond all example extensive and rapidly formed; and when France and Portugal are struggling to pursue the same career in Northern, Western and Eastern Africa. It is well in this state of things that one great civilized people should stand apart; and exercise a calm, disinterested, and enlightened judgment upon the way in which other nations use their power and prosperity.

The history of the German race has indeed been very remarkable in regard to the nature of its migratory intercourse with other nations. That intercourse for a long time varied but little from the common career of a powerful people; it was characterised by unscrupulous conquests, and not unfrequently by a merciless extermination of the conquered, such, for example, as took place in at least a large portion of Britain after the first Saxon invasion; and presents but few claims to the love or respect of mankind. Rovers by sea and land, the Germans were long characterised by several of the bad as well as good qualities which spring from a precarious course of life. A brief record preserved by Procopius of the Erulians aptly illustrates their early history. This tribe, which inhabited a country north of the Danube, were highly superstitious, and addicted to human sacrifices: they even required wives to put themselves to death at the graves of their husbands. They were powerful, and prone to war; savage, and incen-

santly occupied in making predatory incursions upon their neighbours. At length they were completely defeated by the Lombards; whom they had grievously oppressed, and foully insulted. Meeting with deserved chastisement from this kindred tribe, the Erulians migrated, and were kindly received by the Roman emperor Anastasius, until their insolence again brought down a severe vengeance. Under Justinian they preserved their old perverse character as a people, but were incorporated with the provincial Romans in the north of Italy. A portion of this tribe, however, emigrated to a far more remote land;—the real Thule perhaps of the ancients—a country lying beyond the ocean, west of Denmark, of ten times the extent of Britain, and where the sun did not set for forty days in summer, and in winter was entirely lost for many weeks. This country, the Greenland of our days, was then peopled by numerous tribes, of whom the Scrithifins, or Esquimaux, fed on little but animals, and were clothed in skins.

The Erulians were received in Thule with great cordiality; obtained lands: and became sufficiently flourishing to furnish their people who took refuge in Italy, with a king from the royal stock which accompanied the Transatlantic emigration.*

It deserves a passing notice, that, three or four centuries later, the same parts of the world were visited by the North-men, accompanied, it is recorded, by Germans who recognized the grape of America from its resemblance to the fruit of their own vine. On this occasion the conduct of the voyagers to the Scrithifins, who appear still to have existed, was not such as to ensure them a warm welcome in the new country†.

But we hasten to less apocryphal times. The discovery of America found the Germans of the 15th century perfectly capable of appreciating all the wonders, present and probable, of that great event. If they were not yet nationally interested in the financial results of this opening of supposed new routes to the rich countries of the East, or in those of the real benefits Europe was to derive from the West, still no people devoted more intense, or more continued attention to all that was daily related and written concerning the latter land. At this period Germany itself was the fairest country in Europe, no extensive part of even Italy excepted, and supplied, almost alone, all other lands with the finer products of its industry. The gold

* Procopius, de Bello Gothico, lib. ii., cap. xiv and xv.

† Antiquitates Americanæ Ante-Columbæ, Hafniæ. 4to. 1837; and see also Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XLI.

and raw productions of other countries flowed thither to reward that industry. The splendour of its public buildings was only equalled by the refined adornment of private habitations. If the Germans did not keep up with the Spaniards and Portuguese in their progress over the ocean to the West and South, they were remarkable for the ability with which they studied all the important branches of knowledge connected with the extension of geographical science, and with the spread of civilisation into remote regions. It was a native of Franconia, John Muller (Regiomontanus), whose astronomical Ephemerides, published at Nuremberg in the fifteenth century, were used on the coasts of Africa, America, and India by Diaz, Columbus, Vesputius, and Gama; and it is justly said by the writer whom we are following, and who in this particular department of science has himself done so much for the honour of his country, that the names of Regiomontanus, and Martin Behem, a native of Nuremberg and the friend of Columbus, alone give to Germany a large share in the glory of discovering the new world; and that the geographical renown of the latter has even suggested, for America, the German name of Western Bohemia.*

It is probable, indeed, that more books on all topics concerning African and American discovery were during the half centuries before and after the voyages of Gama and Columbus, published in Germany than in any other country; and Von Humboldt again justly notices the extent to which the earlier writers carried their speculations upon the nature of the newly-found tribes of men, almost anticipating the philosophical inquiries of later times.

But these speculations produced no beneficial effect upon any of the practical men who then went to the new world to get gold, and who were all utterly regardless at what cost of blood and tears to the natives it was obtained. Germany in the sixteenth century must be included within the strict terms of this condemnation. The Emperor Charles the Fifth gave a province in America to the great merchants of Augsburg, the Welzers, who had lent him large sums of money. This cession led to the occupation of Venezuela by Germans for above twenty-six years. Some of them wrote full accounts of the country at that period, and their books were published in the original language soon afterwards. They have been lately repub-

lished in French in the collection of M. Henri Ternaux; and more impartial testimonies could not be desired to show how little German DOMINATION in the new world differed from that of Spain, or England, or Portugal.

One of those works, the narrative of Nicolas Federmann, appeared originally in print at Haguenau in 1557. The author commanded a party of Spanish soldiers and German miners sent in 1529 to Venezuela: and his first intercourse with the natives does not place him in a favourable point of view. He very calmly, and quite as a thing of course, set about seizing the natives for interpreters and guides; and exhibits the recklessness of the practice by taking prisoner a poor woman who complained of the injustice of their conduct, as she and all her tribe were the Christians' friends. He also mentions without a word of reprobation the marauding expedition of another German commander during eight months in the interior, where one hundred of the men were either killed in attacking the natives, or died of diseases. These disasters did not daunt Federmann, who, in his turn, set out in September, 1530, upon an expedition that might procure him some "advantage." The party consisted of one hundred and ten armed footmen and sixteen cavalry, with one hundred friendly Indians. They were absent six months, making a circuitous route through an unknown country towards the Pacific, which they reached at Xaragua. The remotest point of their route was at seventy miles distance from Coro, the place of departure. The objects of the expedition were, to collect gold by any means; to subjugate the natives to the emperor and to his grantees, the bankers of Augsburg: and to convert them to Christianity by force if persuasion should fail. All these objects Federmann pursued with a spirit of perseverance worthy of a better cause, and quite regardless of the claims of humanity.

He encountered twenty-two tribes upon this expedition; eleven were friendly, and eleven hostile.

With the former, amicable communications were held by means of interpreters, before the arrival of the whites at the villages of the Indians. In the latter, the Indians were never approached with caution or consideration, and were often attacked by surprise. This uniform correspondence of various results with the various character of the proceedings of the party, speaks powerfully in favour of the more humane system of conciliating the friendship of strange and uncivilized tribes by at least the simple step of opening communications with them through competent interpreters. The following sum-

* *Examen critique et historique de la Geographie du Nouveau Continent.* Par Alexandre de Humboldt. Paris. 8vo. 1836: vol. i. p. 274.

mary account of a part of the occurrences will be found highly characteristic ; and leaves no doubt of the fact, that German authorities in the sixteenth century in America differed little from those of other Christians, in regard to the rights of the Indians.

After describing several sanguinary conflicts, which he attributes to their *treachery*, Federmann states, that he caused two of the chiefs who had accompanied him willingly, to be seized and tortured, in order to compel them to confess why they had assembled their people in arms, and why they had ill-treated a party whom he had left behind, refusing them provisions, which it was his practice to demand *without payment*. They bore the pain without acknowledging their offence ; and one was then shot in cold blood “for an example.” Federmann adds that the promise of life induced the other to confess that an attack upon the Christians had been concerted. Thereupon he amused the followers of these chiefs, above eight hundred in number, with *friendly discourse*, and taking his measures properly, put five hundred of them to death by surprise ; the cavalry of the Christians easily dispersing this body, the infantry “stabbing them like pigs.”

Upon another occasion his people, assisting one tribe against another, destroyed great numbers of the enemy and made 600 prisoners, of whom he kept the able-bodied for his own use, but gave the wounded, the children, and old men, as slaves to the chiefs of his Indian allies.

The close of the expedition was signalized by acts of extreme barbarity :—

“We now reached the Caquaties,” says Federmann, “and took our usual course. Reaching a village at an early hour, when they take breakfast, we surprised them so completely that, not being able to escape, they barricaded their houses. Hereupon I signified to them that their alarm was needless, but that if they would not open their doors I would burn down their town. They then communicated with us, apparently in a friendly manner. But it being soon perceived that the women and children were gradually withdrawing from the place, a step that usually precedes hostilities, I told their cacique that the strange Indians *he saw with us in irons* were thus punished for endeavouring to betray us ; and that if he persevered in his treachery, the same fate awaited him. Alarmed for his personal safety he attempted to escape, and when my men laid hold of him he uttered loud and piercing cries to his people for aid. To prevent a tumult I ordered a soldier to stab him. We then set upon the Indians, and, after killing many of them, came back to the chief’s house, where we had deposited all the gold collected in our expedition. Here twelve Indians had con-

cealed themselves in a corn-loft ; having killed eleven of them after a desperate conflict, I caused the survivor to be tied to a post, and to be left in that condition when we departed, in order that he might tell his countrymen when they should come in of the vengeance all might expect who should deal treacherously with us. We took some of the people of this village in irons as our guides ; and on discovering that they were misleading us, we tortured some, but they persisted in their story. I then ordered two of them to be cut in pieces to terrify the rest ; in which object we failed, for they preferred death to being in our service, and hoped to have destroyed us by conducting us throughout a country without provisions, and without water ; this plan almost succeeded.”—p. 190.

These atrocious acts seem to have excited no attention at the return of the party to the capital of the new colony ; and the commander of the expedition proceeded to Europe, undisturbed either by the Imperial prosecutor’s investigations or by the stings of conscience.

The cool way in which Federmann pursued his vocation of religious missionary, shows that he was in no very imminent danger from the latter. “One day,” says he, “receiving a friendly chief and sixty of his tribe, I caused them all to be baptised, and I explained the Christian doctrines to them as well as I could, which, it will easily be credited, was poorly enough. This preaching is indeed a senseless affair, for it is through compulsion only that their profession of our faith is obtained.”

Certainly the clerical aid furnished for the expedition indicates that force, not persuasion, was depended upon for making converts. The religious teacher, a monk, partook more of the character of Friar Tuck than of Las Casas, or Xavier. Upon the only occasion on which he is personally mentioned by Federmann, he saves some of the soldiers from a huge panther at the risk of his own life, by bravely closing with the furious animal, and stabbing it with his halberd.

After a few years, upon the separation of the empire from Spain in the persons of the successors of Charles the Fifth, Germany ceased to have a national interest in America ; and whilst the maritime powers of Europe,—Spain, Portugal, Denmark, France, Sweden, England, and Holland, gradually acquired possession of half the new world, Germany shared their acquisitions only through private adventurers ; either by occasional drafts of soldiers hired to fight particular battles ; or by a few emigrants, such as from time to time have sought a refuge from religious persecution at home ; or,

finally and indirectly, by the attention which learned men have given to the progress of discovery.

The lead taken by Germany towards the end of the sixteenth century in Geographical studies, independent of any colonial interest, is proved by the encouragement given to these studies there, when it has been refused elsewhere. The works of this class published by our Hakluyt in that period, bear a deservedly high reputation; they unquestionably tended greatly to the founding of our old North American Colonies. But the works of Levinus Hulsius, a refugee, far surpass them, not only in extent but in character. Mr. Asher of Berlin, whose interesting Essay on the Collection of Voyages and Travels, edited and published by him and his successors, ought to have a more extensive circulation than *sixty* copies can give it, is doing a public service by his enlightened labours on the subject. In pursuing those labours we hope he will not forget De Bry's early works of the same class, to which Herder attaches the credit of having supplied almost the only drawings of objects found in new countries, used by speculative writers from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

The difference of national position clearly created a difference of principle in the national mind; and accordingly, it was from Germany that *first* proceeded opposition to the enormous wrongs which coloured men have so long suffered from Christian colonists. Upon this point the testimony of the ablest writer on the general history of the United States of North America is positive, although even short of the whole truth. "On the subject of negro slavery, the German mind," says Mr. Bancroft, the historian alluded to, "was least enthralled by prejudice, because Germany had never yet participated in the slave trade. The little *handful* of German Friends from the highlands above the Rhine, resolved that it was not lawful for Christians to buy or to keep negro slaves. This occurred when the general meeting of the English Quakers hesitated to make the only just decision on the question!"*

The same freedom from contaminating interests prevails still in Germany; and unless we greatly err, it has long been working a degree of purity in public opinion there on these questions concerning the coloured races, that has produced very remarkable results in the public mind. A rapid survey of more recent facts that seem to justify this observation, will fully explain our meaning,

and show clearly in what manner those countries which are less favourably circumstanced, may best and most directly turn this German purity towards the correction of their own errors. To this end it will be found, that large contributions may be obtained from the researches of science as well as through religious conviction,—and that the philosophy of German professors may be consulted with advantage by the statesmen of every land, upon most of the great questions which concern mankind at large. It is extremely probable that the condemnation of negro slavery, for example, by those professors, preceded its discussion in England; and no where has British negro emancipation been hailed more cordially than by German writers.

They who claim for Germany the very highest pinnacle of glory, to the exclusion of other nations, are so far at least in the right, that there has been in that country more than elsewhere a continued pursuit of objects tending to the general good of mankind. Although the German language may have been but recently polished, studies and principles, which are prevalent in that country at the present day, were in high estimation there in times far removed; and the catalogue of illustrious names, to be selected as those of the men who long represented the genius of the land, will spread not very unequally over the whole of the last four centuries. The age that produced Luther is rightly asserted to have been the true parent of that cheering spirit which the people at large are now beginning to share. Thence besides those who have already been mentioned, and many more who need not be named, came Ulrich von Hutten, Melancthon, Keppler, Leibnitz, Zinzendorf, Haller, Wolff, Moser, Iselin, Lessing, Kant, and Fichte; nor need we prolong the list by the addition of those who have not yet ceased to do their country honour.

Principles which most beneficially affect uncivilized nations might be easily deduced from the writings of those great men, and formed into an admirable system; and missionaries, settlers, geographers, physiologists, but in especial, *political* philosophers, have all liberally contributed to this result. The land of Luther was not likely to be backward in Missionary efforts among the heathen; and the interest felt in Germany in favour of those efforts has never been confined to, what may be considered a somewhat interested party—namely, the actual Missionary labourers. But such men also as Herder and Goethe studiously consulted their records, watched their proceedings with vigilance, applauded their success, and frankly noted

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. ii., p. 403.

their occasional errors. Those who were sent forth by Count Zinzendorf, originally with a view to visit the whole world, have been pre-eminent from "Greenland's icy mountains" to the pestilential regions of the burning zone. The Moravians, who are in our day almost as much English as German, and to whose example must be attributed much of our English missionary success, although founded at Herrnhut in Lusatia in 1722 only, came from the ancient Bohemian church, known under the same appellation, in the middle of the fifteenth century. "Watered by the blood of its martyrs, John Huss and Jerome of Prague," says its historian, "it spread in numerous flourishing branches through Poland and Moravia."* After many persecutions, and having been once snatched from the brink of ruin by the timely assistance of the Church of England, this body of Christians assumed their present form of discipline; and they have ever since been the steadiest, if not the most important of Protestant Missionaries to the heathen world. Other German churches are at the present moment actively engaged in the same cause. They are swelling the ranks of the spiritual labourers in that most hopeful field of religious cultivation, South Africa: and they have thrown themselves, without counting the risk, into the almost hopeless contest of the savage with the convict in New South Wales.

Whilst they neglect none of the duties of their peculiar calling, they, like worthy followers of the clergy of the Middle Ages, bestow inestimable benefits on the tribes they visit, by carefully teaching the arts of social life, and by curing those diseases "as a work of compassion," which governments ought to endeavour to check by means of adequate establishments.†

In regard to the boundless field of interest opening in China, a German missionary, Gutzlaff, has given perhaps a greater impulse than any other man to the desire and

means of promoting the best sort of intercourse between Europeans and the people of that most important empire; which, together with the regions of Central Asia, other German Missionaries had in view a century ago, when Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut planned his gigantic scheme of Christianizing the whole heathen world. In British India also, German missionaries are now labouring with eminent success.

As mere *emigrants*, seeking new homes, Germans are met with in almost all quarters of the world, where the civilized nations are abusing their power. But it does not appear that German *colonists* have ever directly made great efforts to stay the evil. Their wide-spreading settlements in North America, where their language is firmly fixed in numerous churches and towns, present no peculiar refuge to the harassed Indian. In South Africa, where they are more dispersed, they have formed no exception to the general rule, when Hottentots, Bosjemin, or Caffres were to be hunted down. In South Australia, where they are now thronging under better auspices for the aborigines, it remains to be seen whether they will take the more humane course, which their own origin, and the kindly dispositions of many colonists, equally recommend.

But it is in Russia that the *indirect* colonization of Germans has produced the greatest effect in the civilisation of barbarous people. The German party in the government of that country is most important, but perhaps the power of their political party is the least of the German good influences existing from the frontiers of Poland to Bhering's Straits.

Although the civilizing influence of Germany was felt in Russia before the reign of Peter the Great, it was that enlightened barbarian who laid the most extensive foundation for the remarkable efforts since made unceasingly by the Russian sovereigns to give their people the direct advantage of German instructors in many branches of knowledge, and of German functionaries in various departments of the government. Peter looked upon the Germans as a far advanced people, because they had already erected some of those arts and manufactures in Moscow; and he and his successors have encouraged the settlement of Germans of all classes in all their dominions with the steadiness that characterises Russian policy. Several rich German merchants have been settled in Petersburg for many generations; they speak Russian for business, but otherwise generally very pure German, and are sufficiently numerous to keep their own society apart.

* The History of Greenland, including an Account of the Mission of the United Brethren in that Country. From the German of David Crantz, vol. i. p. 2. 8vo. London, 1820.

† "The little physical skill of the Middle Ages was in the hands of the clergy, and hence it was a tissue of superstitions: the devil and the cross acted the most conspicuous parts of it. It would have been a truly guardian office, if all Europe had combined against the influx of diseases, as real works of the devil, and left neither small-pox, plague, nor leprosy in the land; but they were permitted to enter, rage, and destroy, till the poison exhausted itself. TO THE CHURCH, HOWEVER, WE ARE INDEBTED FOR THE FEW INSTITUTIONS FORMED TO COUNTERACT THEM; this was done as a work of compassion, which men yet wanted skill to perform as a work of art." Herder's Philosophy of History, vol. 2, p. 524, b. xix, c. iii.

In the Uralian mountains many families are German.

An influential portion of the resident population of Tobolsk are the descendants of German families. Their manners are polished, and most agreeable to strangers; they are chiefly employed in public offices, and thoroughly attached to their new country, having entirely accommodated themselves to the manners of Siberia. But they are in an extraordinary degree devoted to their old religious faith.*

The influence of free German principles and aspirations has indeed reached the wilds of Siberia in several forms. Officers of the greatest merit, who had been enlightened by their fellow soldiers in the German armies in 1813 and 1814, and who had adopted the views of the German Association of Virtue (Tugendbund), attempted to introduce a more liberal government into Russia, by an extensive conspiracy; and for this attempt in 1826-7, many of them were banished to Siberia. Among those Murawiev has acted a conspicuous part. After some years he was appointed to an office of responsibility at Irkutsk, and discharged its duties not only with great zeal, but also most beneficially for the country to which he had been exiled. Distinguished for his talents in civil as well as in military affairs, this persecuted patriot established his family in Siberia. Devoting themselves to scientific pursuits, and to the good of the native people, their house was open to the studious youth of the country who had acquired a knowledge of medicine, mathematics, and the languages of Europe. "Here," says Erman, "we saw Igumnov, whose intimate acquaintance with the Mongol dialects, and other East-Asiatic tongues, eminently qualified him for the office of public interpreter, and who had already some zealous native pupils in his office."†

The importance of these results will be best appreciated when it is considered that prior to the immigration of Germans under Catharine, in pursuance of the plans of Peter the Great, "drunkenness, sloth, and debauchery, with all their concomitant diseases, prevailed there."‡ And it will readily be conceived how much further the improvement would have been carried if these good influences had not been counteracted by the frightful system of convict banishment, which has been truly described by

a modern Siberian poet, as "*the creator of woe in every house.*"*

The German geographers and voyagers of modern times are of surpassing excellence:—the two Forsters, Lichtenstein, Hornemann, Burckhardt, Ritter, the elder Niebuhr, von Humboldt, are only a few in that numerous catalogue. Of the last it is unnecessary to say one word. His name, unrivalled in modern days, represents a whole class of illustrious travellers beginning with Herodotus, who were the lights of their time, and destined by their labours far and wide to preserve to posterity the secrets of the remotest and obscurest regions. Forster, however, deserves particular mention in reference to the spread of civilisation in the parts of the world which he visited with our great discoverer Captain Cook; and in reference also to the fate of the unhappy inhabitants of the new countries then discovered. An individual who also accompanied Cook, the late President of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks, who, with many eminent qualities, was comparatively a man of small capacity, entirely failed in his estimate of the physical resources of New Holland. After mistaking the rushy marshes of Botany Bay for rich meadows, he recommended the House of Commons not to colonize New South Wales; while Forster, on the contrary, clearly saw its vast resources. He did better than this. At a time when the powerful many scarcely noticed the barbarities which voyagers most recklessly committed upon the ignorant people they visited; and when enlightened men were found to vindicate the killing of natives by explorers, as an inevitable and therefore a justifiable proceeding, Forster took the other side, and when denouncing to all Europe at his return the acts he had witnessed, he boldly maintained that they were as needless as they were criminal.

Upon a token of honour being given lately by a distinguished scientific society† in London to Dr. Rüppel, a German friend of that eminent traveller in acknowledging the compliment, enumerated with just pride those of his countrymen whose merits had been long ago recognised in England. The names he mentions, which are among those cited above, attest, indeed, less the liberality of the country which received them with deserved honour, than the genius of the people who, almost severed from the usual incitements to foreign enterprise, namely, fo-

* Professor Erman's Travels round the World. Berlin, 1838. Vol. i. pp. 90, 303, 462.

† Erman's Travels round the World. Berlin, 1838. Vol. i. p. 79.

‡ Modern Universal History, vol. xxxv. p. 95.

* Professor Erman's Travels, p. 50.

† Report of the Eighth Anniversary of the Geographical Society. Athenæum, 1 June, 1839.

reign possessions, and a great foreign commerce, send distinguished men forth not only as friendly, but also as successful, rivals to those whose more profitable share in such incitements should place them far beyond all competitors.

The Germans, of all enlightened nations, have struggled the most to remove our ignorance respecting India. Whilst such men as Dugald Stewart in Great Britain still persevered in the vulgar error that the Hindus derived their learning from the west, a whole school of Germans, the Bopps, the Schlegels, the Humboldts, and others, following, however, in the wake of the best English Orientalists, had successfully studied the original languages in which Oriental learning lay hidden, and which prove that to the East the West is probably,—we ourselves indeed assert, is certainly, and altogether,—indebted for its early instruction. But what is more surprising, the translations from the Sanscrit published in *English*, both at Calcutta and in London, and which afford valuable illustrations of Hindu character and institutions, are more read in Germany than in England.*

The ablest living anatomist of Germany, Professor Tiedemann, has lately directed his researches with singular felicity to the vindication of the uncivilized man's capacity for improvement. In the works mentioned at the head of this article, and in the translation read at the Royal Society of London, of which the professor is a foreign member, that important question seems to be set at rest for ever. The results of a most exact analysis of cases are thus stated by him :

"I. The brain of the Negro is upon the whole quite as large as that of the European and other human races. The weight of the brain, its dimensions, and the capacity of the cavum cranii prove this fact. Many anatomists have also incorrectly asserted that Europeans have a larger brain than Negroes.

"II. The nerves of the Negro, relatively to the size of the brain, are not thicker than those of Europeans, as Soemmerring and his followers have said.

"III. The outward form of the spinal cord, the medulla oblongata, the cerebellum, and cerebrum of the Negro, show no important difference from those of the European.

"IV. Nor does the inward structure, the order of the cortical and medullary substance, nor the inward organization of the interior of the Negro brain, show any difference from those of the European.

"V. The Negro brain does not resemble

that of the orang-outang more than the European brain, except in the more symmetrical distribution of the gyri and sulci. It is not even certain that this is always the case. We cannot therefore coincide with the opinion of many naturalists, who say that the Negro has more resemblance to apes than Europeans, in reference to the brain, and nervous system."

And after a minute survey of proofs respecting the intellectual faculties of the Negro, Professor Tiedemann concludes in the following words :

"The principal result of my researches on the brain of the Negro is, that neither anatomy nor physiology can justify our placing them beneath Europeans in a moral or intellectual point of view. How is it possible then, to deny that the Ethiopian race is capable of civilisation? This is just as false as it would have been in the time of Julius Cæsar to consider the Germans, Britons, Helvetians, and Batavians, incapable of civilisation. The slave-trade was the proximate and remote reason of the innumerable evils which retarded the civilisation of the African tribes. Great Britain has achieved a noble and splendid act of national justice in abolishing the slave-trade. The chain which bound Africa to the dust, and prevented the success of every effort that was made to raise her, is broken. Hayti and the colony of Sierra Leone can attest that free Negroes are capable of being governed by mild laws, and require neither whips nor chains to enforce submission to civil authority."—*Philosophical Transactions*, 1836, p. 525.

Thus does physical science come in aid of the cause of benevolence; and the rigorous deductions of the calm and philosophical anatomist of Heidelberg sanction the enthusiastic movement of the British people, and justify the decisions of the British legislature.

But it is in the *practical* portions of German philosophy that the best results of German intelligence are to be seen. Derived from all the sources here briefly noticed, and from many more which have been scarcely alluded to, that philosophy has made a great impression upon thinking men in England; and it richly merits the fine eulogium of Coleridge, of having created "*ideas, or laws anticipated.*"*

During the last fifty years especially, these *ideas* have exercised general influence through a very remarkable process. Excluded from a direct share in the local government, and in the foreign relations of their own states, a considerable body of Germans devoted to intellectual pursuits, and

* Dr. Bryce on Native Education in India. 1829. 8vo. p. 161.

* The Friend—Coleridge's Works, 3d ed. 1837. vol. iii. p. 70.

professors in the universities, entered upon the profoundest political abstractions, and the most active philosophical researches bearing upon government. Mere political discussion in the ordinary sense being forbidden, philosophy and history were resorted to for the same object, which elsewhere is sought by political discussion; and the Lockes, the Defoes, the Edmund Burkes, the Juniuses, the Erskines, and the Mackintoshes of England are represented in Germany by the men whose *philosophies of history* are really well-reasoned schemes for the practical reform of all societies. This gives a peculiar value to the writings of the new schools of German philosophical *historians*. To them history has not only been philosophy teaching by examples, but the lessons so learned have actually produced changes in opinion of a nature calculated to impress deep and distinct characters upon the great political events that are preparing in Europe. The earliest writer of these modern schools is said to have been Iselin, who, in Switzerland, in 1764, examined thoroughly the idea that man has innate faculties capable in themselves of complete development; and who treated the history of events as the history of civilisation. In 1773 and 1774, Weguelin in Berlin pursued this theory further; and expounded with many historical details, the results that flow from the *antagonist* principles under which men act. He dwelt much upon the progress thus made inch by inch in the formation of the various political constitutions of Europe. In 1780 Lessing, in a short essay, rested mainly upon religion the improvement of man, with which, he insisted, divine revelation might be reconciled.

Thus arose in Germany three separate schools, quite distinct from that of the philosophical historians, such as Müller, Luden, and F. Schlosser; and from the philosophical jurists, such as Savigny and Mittermaier. The eloquent address of Rosenkranz furnishes a satisfactory, but brief, view of the characteristics of those three schools.

Herder in Weimar became the leader of the first, or NATURAL school; Kant, in Berlin, of the second, or POLITICAL school; and Schelling, in Munich, of the third, or RELIGIOUS school. Of these three chiefs, Herder is unquestionably the ablest, and ought scarcely to be confined to any one of the schools. He it was who first wrote a real philosophy of history. He observed, and reasoned upon every thing,—upon nature, and her works—upon political institutions,—upon religion—and upon the influence of all the arts and sciences on the progress of mankind. Combining all in one grand system, he crown-

ed it with the purest sympathy for the whole human race. So early as in 1775, he published an essay on the subject; and in ten years afterwards appeared his *Philosophy of History*. The perfectibility of man is in the first place demonstrated in this immortal work, from the relations of matter to intellect, and from the innate tendency of intellect to improve; and mankind is then shown to have in fact steadily advanced from the earliest period of its history. Kant supplied what was thus defective in Herder as to the application of his opinions. He holds also that by nature man is capable of indefinite perfection; and that freedom is the grand means of attaining it. Freedom, however, necessarily leads to contention, from which must ultimately and after long struggles, spring well-adjusted laws; the most difficult problem of history being, how to organize civil society so as to make its internal and external relations—the political constitution of different states—produce the greatest possible good to all. To this end each state—as had long before been proposed by the elder St. Pierre—must become a member of the whole commonwealth of nations; for thus alone can an universal peace be obtained. In 1795, Schiller, in Jena, showed that in order to elevate and purify human society, the cultivation of all the arts by minds divested of all undue restraints, must be connected with the political reforms called for by Kant. Schiller's favourite idea, we are told by William von Humboldt in his essay on that great man's genius, was, that the rudest savages are deeply sensible to the charms of music and poetry; and that the elements of all that is refined may be discovered among them, so as to be capable of assuming in able hands a beneficial direction for their civilisation.

In 1804 Fichte, in his lectures delivered in Berlin, connected these speculations with those of the purely religious school of Schelling. Fichte adopts the doctrine of perfectibility through freedom of action. Originally, says he, reason was mere instinct; and then man was an innocent being. With corruption this pure instinct disappeared; and ultimately the human race fell into confusion, and became savage and barbarous. True science will work a restoration; and, after various epochs passed through, the fallen will be perfect again. According to the bold denunciations of Fichte, the present age is in the last degree base. But his system saves him from despondency; and whilst he repudiates every corrupt thing with unsparing scorn, he declares himself, with the earnestness of an enthusiast and the dignity of a prophet, the unwea-

ried advocate of truth and moral goodness, of boundless knowledge, and the tenderest affections.

Schelling placed religion as the basis of all historical deductions. He divides time into three periods. The first was the reign of destiny, which crushed men and nations, and displayed its blind power in the East and in Greece. The second, he calls the reign of nature, which began with the Romans, and continues still. The third period is to come with all its glories, derived from the lessons of the past: the Christian religion being, according to Schelling, the mainspring of human improvement.

Of the numerous theories to which the writings of these remarkable men gave birth, those of Görres, Steffens, and Fr. Schlegel of Bonn are deservedly the best known. Görres pursues Schelling's speculations upon catholic principles: Steffens reasons upon principles of protestantism: Schlegel is by profession a protestant, but leans decidedly to catholicism. The brilliant and highly figurative eloquence of Görres once made a great impression. His analysis of the indestructible elements of society, which he shows to be ever recurring in new and nobler forms of political existence, is a production of surpassing merit. This analysis appeared in his *Europe and the Revolution*. Görres has since lost himself in religious mysticism, and in speculations upon the influence of benevolent despotism in politics.

Steffens has also given a remarkable analysis of the elements of society, in his pictures of the different ranks and classes of men,—the husbandman, the citizen, the scholar, &c. In his work entitled "The present times and how they arose," he develops with great ability the history of mankind since the invasion of the Roman Empire by the barbarians, and since the cotemporaneous establishment of Christianity to our days. He is most successful in the narrative of the last three centuries. His style is wonderfully fine; and has been well described as presenting the German language royally adorned with pearls and gold.

Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*, the production of his old age, can only be looked upon as the result of all that this universal scholar and enlightened man has thought in politics, in religion, in science, and in the fine arts.

Two more names must be mentioned, and they complete a catalogue of which Germany may indeed be proud; we mean Hegel and Herbart. But yet, after all that those eminent men have written, little has

in effect been added to what Herder produced in favour of the steady progression of the human race. To follow the subject completely in his pages, would be to survey all the relations of man, and all the ends of creation. The essential distinction of the human creature from the inferior animals, the enormous error of confounding man with the ape, the intellectual identity of the various human races, their natural tendency to live in peace, the gratuitous cruelty of the usual intercourse of civilized nations with savages all over the earth, the abomination of Negro slavery, the degrees of civilisation which are steps to a higher state of social being, the necessity of studying the language, the music, the government, and the particular condition of savages, the duty of sympathising with all mankind, the poorest as well as the most powerful,—all these things, upon which the public is only beginning to be agreed, are clearly expounded by Herder; and it is no small praise to the Germans, that all parties among them hold him in as much estimation now, as their fathers did sixty years ago.

ART. IV.—1. *Essai sur la Statistique Générale de la Belgique, composé sur des Documents publics et particuliers.* Par Xavier Heuschling. Bruxelles. 1838.

2. *De l'Etat de l'Instruction Primaire et Populaire en Belgique.* Par Ed. Ducpétiaux. 2 Tomes. Bruxelles. 1838.

3. *Des Progrès et de l'Etat actuel de la Reforme Penitentiaire.* Par Ed. Ducpétiaux. 3 Tomes. Bruxelles. 1838.

THE kingdom of Belgium is in some shape, and industriously speaking, the most satisfactory result of the revolutionary movement which eight years ago shook the thrones of Europe. Whilst in France a mistaken policy has hitherto prevented the realization by the nation of the full practical benefits for which its blood was spilled in the three days of July, and whilst the unhappy Poles rue the day when an evil destiny tempted them to lift their arms against their too powerful oppressor, the Belgians are in the enjoyment of as substantial advantages as their most sanguine hopes before the struggle of September ever ventured to anticipate. Their country is delivered from a foreign yoke; their constitution is based on the most liberal principles; their sovereign is of their own choice; and their laws and in-

stitutions, though not yet in perfect organization, are in that state of progression which promises well for the prosperity and happiness of the people.

Our present purpose is not political, but to offer some information illustrative of the institutions and state of society in the Belgic provinces. We have sympathized deeply with this people both in its original struggles for independence, and its subsequent diplomatic martyrdom by means of the thousand and one protocols. We shall, however, confine ourselves here to a passing expression of regret at the dismemberment of the territory, whereby 350,000 inhabitants of Limburg and Luxemburg have against their will been made subjects of Holland. Our observations will be limited to the following heads;—

- 1st. Industrial Operations.
- 2d. Education.
- 3d. Crime and Prisons.

INDUSTRIAL OPERATIONS.

There can be little question in regard to the elements of wealth which Belgium contains within herself, and we shall record them briefly. It will suffice to state, that the population of the Belgic provinces is now near four millions and a half,* and that the working classes, who form about three-fourths of that number, are in their general character industrious and frugal. A fertile soil, nine-elevenths of which is under actual cultivation, and an agriculture so advanced as to be in some respects a model to other countries, produce annually about twice the quantity of corn required for home-consumption. The average price of wheat throughout Belgium in the year 1836, which may be taken as a fair average year, was, in English computation, 35s. 2d. per quarter.† The small cultivators are in tolerably easy circumstances, and the flourishing state of agriculture operates favourably upon manufacturing industry, every branch of which is in full activity. The coal mines of the province of Hainault alone produce more than those of all France together, and the annual quantity of coal raised in Belgium exceeds 2,600,000 chaldrons. The iron mines of Liege, Limburg, and Luxemburg, were never worked so extensively. Upwards of 150,000 tons of iron are annually

founded, being about half as much as the whole quantity made in France, and nearly one-fourth of that in Great Britain. We need not describe Mr. Cockerill's gigantic establishment at Seraing, which with steam engines of not less in the whole than 1000 horse power, and 3000 workmen, sends forth daily for use, some 25 tons of machinery of every description. We heard with regret of the late temporary embarrassment of this distinguished house, but with the aid so timely and judiciously afforded by the Government, are glad to find it has resumed the activity which for the moment was suspended. The cloth manufacture, in which, at Verviers alone, 40,000 workmen are engaged, employs in its various branches a capital equal to three millions sterling. The linen manufacture, principally in the two Flanders, gives employment to 400,000 persons, and the annual production is estimated at four millions and a half sterling. The cotton manufacture, notwithstanding the loss of the Dutch colonial markets, has steadily improved since 1830, and now represents a capital of at least three millions sterling. The manufacturers begin to find the natural home-consumption more advantageous than a forced foreign market, and we were informed, during a recent visit to Ghent, that notwithstanding the loss of the artificial stimulus of the Dutch fund called the "Million of Industry," there were 52 cotton-factories in full activity. The lace and silk manufactures are also thriving. Foreign commerce has, to a certain extent, changed its direction, but there can be no doubt of its being in a healthy state. The value of the imports, on an average of the two last years before us, (1834 and 1835) was 212 millions of francs, and that of the exports, 148 millions of francs. The reader may be surprised to hear that a considerable part of this trade was carried on with Holland, notwithstanding the nominal *warlike* status lately existing; the imports from that enemy averaged 25 millions, and the exports 16 1-2 millions. The Belgians even supplied the Dutch with arms to be used against themselves! The diminution of the trade of Antwerp we believe to be a mere phantasm of the Orangists; the truth being that some large capitalists have suffered by the change of circumstances, and that the trade has passed from the hands of a few, into a wider and more beneficial range. The number of ships that now enter the port of Antwerp is considerably greater than it was at any time during the union with Holland, as the following figures will show:

* On 31st December, 1836, it was ascertained to be 4,242,600.

† In August, 1838, wheat had risen in Belgium to the rate of 50s. 6d. per English quarter, but it will be remembered that at the same period the average of England and Wales had risen to 72s. 11d. per quarter.

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1829 . .	1031 . .	138,945
1830 . .	722 . .	123,407
1832 . .	1258 . .	145,639
1834 . .	1065 . .	138,206
1836 . .	1250 . .	176,461
1837 . .	1426 . .	225,759

The capital invested in commercial speculations in Belgium must altogether be very considerable indeed. Upwards of 300 millions of francs have, since the year 1833, been invested in the *Sociétés anonymes*, which are exclusively restricted to manufacturing operations. The amount of property insured in eleven assurance offices in Belgium was, in 1837, 1,786,832,222 francs, exclusive of marine assurances, and of the value of 200 millions of francs insured in foreign countries. The capital invested in the *Société générale pour favoriser l'Industrie* is 105 millions of francs; that of the *Société des Capitalistes re-unis*, 50 millions; and of the *Société des Actions re-unis*, 40 millions; and although the *Banque de la Belgique*, with a capital of 20 millions, lately suspended its payments, that unfortunate event does not appear to have given any serious shock to banking and trading operations in general. To these indications of natural wealth, we will only add, that the progress of the systematic lines of railways, ordered to be constructed by the law of the 1st of May, 1834, has already advanced so far, that a direct communication is open both between Antwerp and Brussels, and across the whole extent of the kingdom from Ostend to Liege. The undertaking is not only profitable to the government, but, what is very important, places the means of locomotion within the reach of all classes of the population, the fares being properly fixed as low as possible.* We will not dwell on a matter of such notoriety as the facilities of communication which these railways are opening, not only between all parts of the Belgic provinces, but eventually between the east and west of Europe. The Belgian line will be extended in the one direction to the Rhine, and in the other to Paris, and with it the commerce of Belgium cannot but acquire a large prospective increase of activity and expansion.

EDUCATION.

The educational institutions of Belgium are of three kinds,—the primary schools, the colleges or secondary schools, and the universities. Of these, by far the most import-

ant branch is that of primary or popular instruction, of the actual condition of which M. Ducpétiaux has furnished us with a very complete account in the work before us.

Public instruction may be entirely unrestricted, as in England; or it may be placed under the exclusive control of the government; or a mixed system may be adopted, of vesting the general superintendence in the government, but with liberty to individuals of teaching, and keeping schools, without any previous permission of the government for that purpose. Before the Belgic Revolution, the government had the exclusive superintendence, by virtue of a clause, in the fundamental law of the Netherlands, to this effect:—"L'instruction est un objet constant des soins du gouvernement. Le roi fait rendre compte tous les ans aux états généraux de l'état des écoles supérieures, moyennes, et inférieures,"—subject to a concurrent surveillance of the athénées and colleges by the municipal authorities. The primary schools were superintended by provincial boards nominated by the government, and all teachers were subjected to examination, and to receive diplomas, or certificates of capacity, without which they were prohibited from teaching at all. The line of examination taken was such that the Catholic clergy could not conscientiously submit to it; and so much was required of the candidates, that the competition of private teachers with the public schoolmasters was gradually excluded, and numbers of private boarding and day schools were obliged to be discontinued. The government succeeded in monopolizing to itself the education of the people upon the Dutch system;* and whatever may be the merits of that system in other respects, it was obviously so inappropriate to the circumstances of Belgium, that it is no great wonder the Belgians regarded it as an injury and an insult, and that it formed in fact one of the proximate causes of the Revolution. The right of private instruction had always been free in Belgium at all former periods of her history. Education had, in truth, been practically neglected, both by her Austrian and French rulers. Joseph II., indeed, made some laudable efforts; among which was one for the establishment of normal schools, but they resulted in nothing; and the legislation of the French revolutionary period also failed, principally by reason of its making the national instruction contingent upon its being solicited by the inhabitants of particular districts;—a contingency not in unison with the habits of the mass of

* The fares in the open waggons are, from Brussels to Ostend (85 English miles) 3½ francs; to Liege (70 miles) 3 francs; and proportionately for shorter distances.

* For the details of the Dutch system, see M. Cousin's *Treatise on Education in Holland*, translated by Mr. Horner.

the people any where, as experience has fully shown. The Dutch system, with all its faults, was far more successful than any previous educational experiment that had been made in Belgium. It appears that in the interval of eleven years, between 1817 and 1828, the number of pupils frequenting the public schools had increased from 152,898 to 247,496, and the amount of salaries paid to the *communal* teachers, from 157,580 to 488,150 francs. In the same space of time 1146 schools and 668 teachers' houses were built or repaired; 1977 masters and 168 mistresses were licensed; and the revenue raised from the *communes*, the provinces and the state, for educational purposes, was gradually augmenting. These facts are candidly recorded by M. Ducpétiaux, who fully admits the benefits which the country derived from the Dutch system. The methods of teaching were improved; one normal school was established, as well as several model schools, in the great towns; and the provincial juries put the schools into organization with an efficiency which, if free competition had been permitted, would have been highly desirable. But no system of policy could be lasting which was so decidedly opposed to the great principles of social justice and religious toleration, and which interfered so directly with the national language and feelings. Accordingly M. Ducpétiaux informs us that in 1828 its downfall was preparing.

"From 1828 began to show itself, in the southern provinces, the reaction of opinion against the monopoly assumed by the state in regard to instruction. That system, to which the liberals had at first given their consent and support, but which the Catholics had received with reserve, was openly attacked by both in its tendencies, avowed or secret. It was reproached with admitting no competition, and converting education into an instrument of Dutch and Protestant propagandism; the proscription of the teaching religious congregations who had refused to submit to the forms of examinations and degrees, excited also just reprehension. The substitution of the Dutch for the French language in many schools, the disgust of the teachers who refused to comply with the prescribed rules, the sort of discretionary power exercised by the inspectors of districts in the name of the government—stirred up interests and susceptibilities easy to be excited and alarmed. In spite of the decided hostility of public opinion, the government, in 1829, determined to propose to the legislature a project of law intended to redress grievances, based upon the principle of the free exercise of instruction. But this law was withdrawn in the month of May in the following year, in consequence of the discussions to which it gave rise in the Second

Chamber. Soon afterwards the Revolution of September destroyed at once the Dutch dominion in Belgium, and the system of instruction which it had introduced into our country."—Vol. i. p. 61.

The constitution of the new kingdom of Belgium proclaimed the general freedom of instruction in these terms:—"L'enseignement est libre : toute mesure preventive est interdite : la repression des delits n'est réglée que par la loi. L'instruction publique donnée aux frais de l'état, est également réglée par la loi."* The new government abdicated entirely all the coercive powers exercised by the Dutch king and the provincial boards acting under him, and limited the superintendence of the latter to the schools supported by the public treasury either wholly or in part. Diplomas, though permitted, were no longer obligatory, and inspectors were appointed on the recommendation of the provincial states (the elective body.) Finally, the provincial boards were wholly suppressed by a decree of the Regent, reserving only to the government the right of inspecting the schools paid by the state, as it should deem fit;—a right, however, which hitherto it has not thought proper to exercise.

The constitutional charter evidently contemplated a subsequent law for the regulation of public instruction, and commissioners were appointed, in 1831 and 1834, for this purpose, who framed two distinct *projets de loi*; but neither of them has been adopted by the legislature. At present, therefore, instruction in Belgium is subject to no legislative enactment beyond the general dispositions of the constitution. The government has no power, except as regards the schools in the pay of the state; the rest depends upon the pleasure of individuals and the caprice of the communal councils, who in many cases have refused any aid whatever out of the funds of the *commune*. Thus the communal schools on the Dutch system have, in their turn, been forced to give way to private schools, of an inferior description: bad school-masters have taken the place of good ones; and there is no longer any normal school in existence. The allowance to the government schools is considered insufficient; and although in some towns (especially at Ghent and Liege) the inhabitants have exerted themselves to keep up their schools, things are, upon the whole, in so unsatisfactory a state, that in Brussels, according to M. Ducpétiaux, the proportion of children attending the primary schools is scarcely 1 in 20 of the population of the city.†

* Art. 17.

† These remarks were made at the close of the year 1838.

It cannot excite surprise that, under this do-nothing system, education in Belgium should rather have retrograded than made progress since the Revolution. At least one-third of the rising generation (M. Ducpétiaux considers one-half) are absolutely without any regular instruction; for, reckoning to every seven inhabitants one child of a fit age for school, the public and private schools together ought to contain 600,000 pupils; whereas they are only attended by about 420,000, of whom 185,000 are girls, who are therefore worse off in proportion than the boys, the numbers of both sexes in Belgium being nearly equal. The following table compiled from the official returns, will show the numbers receiving instruction at periods before and since the Revolution :

	Year 1826.	Year 1833.	On 31 Dec. 1836.
Number of schools, viz.			
Communal } 2170 469
Mixed }	2054	2590
Private	487		
Total	2541	5220	5622
Number of scholars, viz.			
In common schools . . . } 185,089 175,661	
Mixed do. }	187,722	46,774	92,357
Private do.	119,858	139,133	153,285
Total	307,580	370,996	421,303
Proportion of scholars to the whole population . }	1 in 10.7	1 in 11.3	1 in 10.7

The provinces of Luxemburg and Namur are those in which instruction is the most widely, and the two Flanders and Liege those in which it is the least diffused. Comparing Belgium with other countries, in respect to the diffusion of instruction, she stands just below Austria, and just above England. She is several steps above France and Ireland, but falls very short of Holland, the Swiss cantons, Prussia, Bavaria, Scotland, the United States, and of every country indeed where education is pretty widely spread.

But it is not the mere deficiency of instruction that is to be lamented. It rarely happens that anything is taught beyond the elements of reading and writing, and in the summer season one half of the children enumerated as scholars are employed in the fields, and do not attend school at all. The increase of private schools affords of itself a strong presumption of the inferiority of the teachers; for, whilst in 1828 there were only 2145 teachers with diplomas attesting their capacity, we have seen that in 1836 there were no less than 5622 schools, and reckoning but one teacher to each, we have thus more than 3000 teachers of whose fitness no proof has been given. All these circumstances concur in showing the very bad state into which the education of the people has fallen in Belgium, and the necessity of the legislature's adopting some early and decisive measures for its improvement.

M. Ducpétiaux, who is never weary of promoting the welfare of his countrymen, has, in the work before cited, suggested a

measure, in the shape of a *projet de loi*, which has been favourably received by enlightened persons in Belgium, and is not unworthy of attention in other countries. His plan is briefly this. Primary instruction is to be declared either private or public. Private schools to continue unrestricted in every respect, except that their existence is to be notified to the authorities. The public primary schools to be of three kinds, viz. guardian schools for children from two to six years old: elementary schools, in which are to be taught morals and religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, weights and measures, and the French or German language, according to circumstances: and superior primary schools, in which the instruction is to be still further advanced. The number of schools to be on a scale in proportion to the population. Model, and normal schools, unions of teachers, and circulating libraries, to be also established. All parents either to send their children to the public schools, or to provide sufficiently for their instruction elsewhere, from the age of six to fourteen years. Teachers to be appointed by the communal councils, on the recommendation of local committees. Committees of examination to be appointed for each province. The primary schools to be maintained by the *communes*, the model schools by the provinces, and the normal schools by the state. An inspector-general to be appointed for the kingdom; and reports to be made periodically to government and the Chambers. Such is M. Ducpétiaux's plan, which develops a more complete system than that of

either of the commissions referred to, and the leading features of which are by no means unlikely to be adopted by the legislature.

It has been well observed by M. Ducpé-tiaux, that a system of national instruction would lead incidentally to the correction of that enormous evil,—the over-working of children in the factories. There is at present no legislation in Belgium on this subject, and there are to be seen in the manufacturing at Ghent, Liege, and Verviers, thousands of young persons, whose pale and etiolated faces proclaim the rapid decay of their health and strength. *Their hours of labour are thirteen and even fourteen hours daily.* We are well aware of the difficulties of restricting factory-labour, without placing the manufacturing interest itself in jeopardy, and we are inclined to think a general educational law would in all countries prove a better remedy than any special legislation in regard to working hours.

The second or intermediate branch of Belgian education, consists at present of the colleges, or *Athénées*, established in all the large towns. These are maintained principally by the inhabitants, but receive in addition some aid from the state. The classics, modern languages, history, geography, and the mathematical and physical sciences, are taught pretty much upon the Dutch system. Beside these, there are other colleges for general education, under the exclusive management of the clergy. The Jesuits alone have established four,—at Brussels, Namur, Alost, and Ghent. These are intended to compete with the *Athénées* in the education of all classes, and it may easily be supposed are conducted with a more marked religious bias. They are distinct from the theological seminaries, established in each diocese, for the special training of the priesthood. The schools of industry, of painting, music, &c., belong also to this branch of education. They are numerous and well attended.

Belgium contains four universities; two of the States, at Liege and Ghent, which existed also during the union with Holland; the Catholic University of Louvain, founded by the clergy; and the free University of Brussels, established by private association. The number of students, according to the last returns before us, was as follows:—

Liege (Session 1837-8)	317
Ghent do.	260
Brussels do.	210
Louvain, (1 January, 1838)	416
Total number receiving superior instruction	1203

The freedom of university instruction is almost as complete as that of the schools. Universities have been erected quite independently of the government, and without being in any way responsible to it for the system pursued. Degrees, however, can only be conferred by the central body, called "*le jury d'examen*," at Brussels, composed of members of the several universities, out of whom the jury is selected which assigns the university honours. Both the private and the state universities are equally obliged to resort to this central jury for their degrees; but, beyond this, their systems of education are not subjected to any standard or rule.

The idea of a free university originated with the Catholic party, who did not, however, give their establishment the title of Catholic, until the liberal party had begun to set up another in opposition. It was opened, under a bull of institution from the Pope, in November, 1834, at Mechlin, with all the éclat of a high mass, and a Latin oration from the rector, (the Abbé de Ram,) demonstrating the consistency of the Catholic faith with the progress of the arts and sciences; and it was afterwards, by the favour of the government, removed to Louvain, the seat of the most ancient University of Belgium, and recently of the Philosophical College, with which King William so injudiciously scandalized his Catholic subjects. The Catholic University has unquestionably been a successful attempt; its numbers have gradually increased from 86 in its first session, to between 400 and 500, and it bids fair to become an important post of clerical ascendancy and Catholic propagandism.

The Liberal University was founded in Brussels within a few days after its rival. In addition to the ordinary course of study, it claims the merit of a fifth faculty, dedicated to political and administrative science, with a view to the qualification of students for public life. It numbers among its professors men of considerable distinction in science and philosophy, but these professors have been very inadequately remunerated. The liberals have not, in fact, supported their university so well as the Catholics, whose zeal in the cause has been quite overflowing. But there is, we trust, no fear of Brussels being able to maintain an institution so peculiarly adapted to prepare the Belgian youth for a sphere of public usefulness in after-life.

We cannot stay to inquire here into the many important considerations which occur in arranging a scheme of national education. But there is one point upon which its success in Belgium will probably depend

more than upon any other; viz. its connection with the religion professed by more than nineteen-twentieths of the population; that is, the Catholic faith. There are, in fact, only a few thousand persons belonging to other persuasions. The Belgians are in general warmly attached to their religion, and the fate of the Dutch government ought to be a standing proof of the folly, not to say wickedness, of attempting to proselytize them from their ancient creed. We do not believe the Protestant form of Christianity to be suited to the Belgian temperament and character; but however this may be, the fact of Protestantism never having made any progress in the Belgic provinces, is enough to show that, in whatever the legislator has to do with religion, he must at least respect Catholic institutions. It is true that no established church is recognized by the constitution, which, like that of France, declares liberty of conscience for all persuasions, and assigns stipends to the ministers of all, even of the Jews. But still, Catholicism is practically the national belief; and the Catholic clergy, by their numbers alone, cannot but keep alive a mighty influence over the public mind. There is the Archbishop of Mechlin, (the well known M. Sterx, lately elevated to the rank of a cardinal,) with five bishops, a proportionate number of vicars-general and canons, a staff of 4731 secular clergy, and 333 monasteries and convents, inhabited by the regular clergy and female devotees. The clergy as a body unquestionably command the reverence of the people, more especially in the rural districts, where they exercise considerable authority in political matters and march their flocks up to the poll at elections in such excellent discipline, that in some parts of the country, no opposing candidate has any chance against the protégé of the priesthood. We will not dissemble that the Belgian clergy are keenly alive to the interests of their church, and that they desire to sway their flocks in worldly as well as in spiritual affairs. But they are certainly not an ignorant and bigoted clergy, in the sense in which those terms are applicable to the priesthood in some other countries.

"We cannot doubt," says a late intelligent observer—himself a Protestant—"that the Belgic clergy has in itself enough of the spirit of the Gospel to act as an antidote to the tendency, which the sense of political power has, to deprive man of that healing balm—the sentiment of profound submission to God. . . . It would be unjust to compare the clergy of Belgium to that of Spain, for in the latter country two things are wanting, which in the former exercise a most salutary influence, the

mildness of the national character, and the advanced state of civilisation.*

The Belgian clergy have participated, some of the inferior orders very strongly so, in the liberal notions of their times; and, far from any hostility to the education of the people, they have shown every possible disposition to further it, provided only it be based upon religion,—by which is meant, of course, Catholicism. A circular letter from the Archbishop of Mechlin, now before us, is in substance to that effect.

Now the promoters of public instruction, rightly considering it a *sine quâ non*, that religion should in all cases be taught in the schools, have, without hesitation, agreed to place it under the superintendence of the clergy, saving the rights of conscience of dissenting parties. The commission of 1834 and M. Ducpétiaux have alike adopted from the French code the following declaration, as a part of their plans: "L'enseignement de la religion est donné sous la direction de ses ministres: le vœu des pères de famille sera toujours consulté et suivi en ce qui concerne la participation de leurs enfans à l'instruction religieuse." Thus the schools will be essentially Christian; teaching generally the elements of the religion approved by the mass of the nation, and making at the same time adequate provision for those who differ from it. We should not anticipate in Belgium any practical difficulties in the working of this plan, which will secure the co-operation of the clergy, and we trust lay a good foundation for the improvement of the lower orders. In countries like England or the United States, where a variety of religious sects are constantly coming into contact with each other, the difficulties of making a satisfactory arrangement for conveying religious instruction in the national schools are greatly enhanced. To these the circumstances of Prussia are more analogous: there, according to M. Cousin, religion is uniformly taught in the schools, provision being made that there shall be teachers as far as possible of all sects, and where this is impossible, the parents are themselves to educate their children in their own tenets. But, says the Prussian code, "in every school in a Christian state the predominant spirit, and which is common to all sects, is a pious and profound veneration for Almighty God." This is a sentiment which most will agree ought to pervade the laws that regulate national education in all countries. In surrendering to the Catholic clergy the general superin-

* Lettres sur la Belgique, par Loebel, Professeur à l'Université de Bonn. 1837.

tendence of religious instruction, the Belgians may perhaps sometimes find that clerical zeal will outrun discretion; but the schools will be the foundation of the best bulwark that can be erected against excessive clerical pretensions,—namely, the growing knowledge and discernment of the people themselves.

CRIME AND PRISONS.

The state of crime is, of course, one of the most important indices to the morality of a nation; and we shall therefore refer to some statistical data illustrative of this point. It will be seen that crimes have considerably diminished since the Revolution; and although we are not exactly prepared to say that the separation from Holland has had a direct moral effect, still it is satisfactory to know that the Revolution cannot be charged with having introduced an increased propensity to crime. In all countries ignorance and poverty may be regarded as the immediate progenitors of offences; and it is by the removal of these evils, rather than in the perfection of penal systems, that the way is really to be prepared for lightening the criminal calendars, and relieving the prisons. From what has been said, it will easily be supposed that education is not sufficiently diffused in Belgium to operate with any great force towards the reduction of crime; the cause of its diminution would seem rather to lie in the improving circumstances of the people in wealth and ease, and in the growth of those industrious and careful habits amongst them, which are the strongest antidotes against temptations to violate the laws. The small cultivators, who form a very numerous class of the population, are remarkable for their industry, forethought, and economy.* The system on which relief is administered to the poor is by no means free from objections, but the inmates of the dépôts of mendicity, and the poor colony of *Merx-plas-Ryckevorsel*, have decreased in numbers since the Revolution; and the gradual increase of the deposits in the savings' banks is particularly gratifying. In 1833 the amount of these deposits was between three and four millions of francs,—in 1835 it reached 13,707,348 francs,—and on the 1st of March, 1838, it was no less than 39,971,634 francs. We cannot but consider such facts as these to be closely connected with the diminution of crime which we shall show to have taken place since 1830.

The administration of criminal justice and classification of offences being very

much the same in Belgium as in France, we have the ready means of comparison between the two countries; and by that comparison it appears that the number of persons annually charged with crimes is 40 per cent. less in Belgium than in France. The average annual number of persons accused of crimes in Belgium was,—

Years	Inhabitants.
1826 to 1830, 767, or 1 in every 5007	
1831 to 1834, 620, or 1 in every 6724	

which exhibits a general diminution of about 25 per cent. The diminution appears to have been the greatest in the province of Brabant (in which Brussels is situate), where it was as much as 42 per cent., and the least in Luxemburg, where it was only 4 per cent. In speaking of crimes, we mean offences of a grave nature, and tried by the courts of assize. In regard to minor offences, (*delits correctionnels*) the average number is also less in Belgium than in France, but it has remained nearly stationary in Belgium during the two periods referred to; the numbers charged having been,—

Years.	Inhabitants.
1826 to 1829, 22,641, or 1 to every 171	
1831 to 1834, 23,443, or 1 to every 173	

The acquittals are stated at from 15 to 20 per cent. of the accusations for crime, and at nearly 25 per cent of the correctional charges.*

Capital punishment forms a part of the criminal code of Belgium, but its execution is gradually becoming less and less frequent. Its secondary punishments consist wholly of different degrees of imprisonment, the *bagnes*, or galleys, having been for some time past abolished. The penal prisons consist of the *Maison de force* at Ghent; the *Maison de reclusion* at Vilvorde; the house of correction at St. Bernard, near Antwerp, for correctional offenders, with a separate ward for boys; and the military prison at Alost. The number of persons confined in these prisons has lately averaged from 3600 to 3700. In addition to these a distinct prison for convicted females is in progress of erection at Namur. In the chief town of each province there is a *maison d'arrêt et de justice*, for the accused, and those condemned for short terms; at the chief towns of each arrondissement a *maison d'arrêt*; and about 150 *maisons de dépôt*, or police stations.

We have devoted some personal observation to the management of these prisons,

* See the Report of George Nicholls, Esq. on the Condition of the Labouring Classes in Holland and Belgium, 1838.

* See the official document entitled, "Compte de l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle en Belgique pendant les années 1831 à 1834," published by the minister of justice in 1836. The account has not been continued to a later date.

and have no hesitation in pronouncing them very inadequate to their purpose, both as penal institutions and places of safe custody. The old vicious system of association continues to prevail, and the legitimate ends of punishment are made so subordinate to those of profit derivable from the prisoner's labour, that the establishments at Ghent and Vilvorde are, in fact, great manufactories rather than prisons.

The Belgian army is almost entirely equipped by the labour of the prisoners, which is assigned to contractors for each particular branch of work. As an inducement to labour, the prisoners are allowed a portion of their earnings; and of this portion one-third only is required to be set aside as a reserved fund, the other two-thirds being allowed to be spent at the canteens, which are to be found in all the large prisons. Meat, tea, coffee, beer, and tobacco, are permitted to be sold in the canteens; and, we were assured, that, but for this indulgence, it would be found difficult to get the work done by the prisoners. Now we are fully aware that the treatment of prisoners, confined for long terms, will always require considerable modifications of general rules; and in the penal prisons of Belgium, offenders are confined for terms of twenty years and upwards, or for the residue of their lives. We even saw an old man in the *Maison de Force* at Ghent, who had been a prisoner for sixty years! But we are convinced that it is perfectly idle to expect in Belgium, or any other country, either the repression of crime, or the reformation of offenders, from a system of prison discipline such as that we have been describing. M. Ducpétiaux, the inspector-general, is fully aware of its worthlessness; and in his valuable work on the Penitentiary system, prefixed to this article, has given the most satisfactory reasons for preferring a system of entire separation of the prisoners from each other. The government has also so far approved the latter system, as to cause an addition to be made to the *Maison de Force* at Ghent, comprising thirty-six cells, of sufficient dimensions to become the habitation of prisoners in a state of complete separation. We have some doubts whether the construction of these cells is such as effectually to preclude communication; but, at all events, the experiment is creditable to the Belgian government, as manifesting a desire to introduce into its prisons the system which the most experienced persons concur in recommending, as that which alone affords a prospect of any satisfactory moral results.

Discharged criminals are placed under the surveillance of the administrative com-

missions, and colleges of regents, who take measures to provide them with employment. This is no light difficulty in any country; and continually brings us back to the paramount importance of the systematic education of the people. For, upon a recent inquiry, it was found, that out of every hundred offenders detained in the penal prisons of Belgium, sixty-one could neither read nor write, fifteen had received partial instruction, and twenty-four only could read and write fairly. Such facts speak more than volumes of argument, for sending the schoolmaster abroad, with all speed, throughout the Belgic provinces.

ART. V.—1. *Kant's, Im., sorgfältig revidirte Werke.* Gesamt-ausgabe, in 10 Banden. — (Kant's Works, carefully revised. Complete edition, in 10 vols.) Leipzig. 1837 to 1839.

2. *Kant's, Im., Sämmtliche Werke.* Herausgegeben von Karl Rosenkranz and F. W. Schubert. (Kant's Complete Works, edited by Rosenkranz and Schubert.)—Vol. I. to VIII. Leipzig. 1837 to 1839.

It is not when the cold grey dawn of morning is first visible above the horizon, and the student, recruited by rest, feels empowered to grapple anew with the intricacies of some subtle argument; it is not when the sun attains his meridian, and the sense delights in visions of spar-studded grottoes and crystal fountains; it is not at the gentle vesper hour, when sweet emotions and kind sympathies are busy with our nature—but in the dead hush of night, when outward scenes and earthly relationships seem lost in the silence of Solemnity; when the soul retires from the external sphere, into the inmost world, and marvels that the common cases of Life should ever disturb her sublime repose; when she hearkens, a loving disciple, to the teachings of intuitive conscience—then is the time when the Philosophy of Kant is most worthily appreciated. The state of mind which he requires is not activity—that is too restless; not lassitude—that is too dormant; not affection—that is too tender; but an elevated and wakeful submission, wherein truths are *communicated* by Reason, rather than *acquired* by Perception.

In a sympathetic estimation of Kant's Philosophy, there is first generated within the breast an indifference to, if not a doubt of, the world's material existence. The thoughts are then directed to a different order of things, where we are fully compensated for losing the empirical charms of sense, by

a more dignified perception of moral and legislative Reason. Kant, it is true, deprives that reason of a hundred interests with which other teachers have associated it. He neither looks with Fichte at the combat which ensues between Reason and the outward world as a sort of knightly tournament, wherein the Mental Power is the perpetual antagonist of Sense. He seeks not, with Wolf, to impose upon the Sovereign Faculty the mighty task of harmoniously perfecting the relationships of Spirit and Matter. He neither demands of it, with Schelling, enthusiasm for a religious system, nor presents to it the ideals of Hegel, to be realised in national, social, or family life. All these are interesting theories, which vanish with the close of day, and are lost in the oblivion of the midnight hour, when Kant summons before our eyes the magic power of *Will*, and commands us to submit implicitly to practical reason's abstract law, called Duty.

This law Kant renders most prominent, impressive, and distinct, by divesting it of all the insinuating and alluring garbs wherewith, for the sake of attraction, both ancient and modern philosophers had apparelled it. They pointed out the beneficial results accruing from a strict fulfilment of duty, and sought to enlist the mental and moral faculties for the service of a stern though just Sovereign, by holding out hopes of speedy psychical promotion, and the realization of whatever ideal majesty Poets had ascribed to the soul. These were the highest motives exhibited to induce obedience to the law Duty; others of a less elevated character were not wanting. Kant, however, considered all such coaxing discipline equally futile and injurious. Reason demanded acquiescence; and she would make no compact with Inclination for the honours which Deity had chartered to her sway.

The novel mode of thought opened by Kant is not only distinguished by its contemplative depth, and the strange mental world which it opens to the disciple, but for its immense progeny of notions, now become inalienably connected with all metaphysical theories. How many use with fluency and instinctive refinement of diction, the categories of *subject* and *object*, without once reflecting that Kant, in his criticism on Reason, first moulded those notions by a slow and persevering process into that philosophical profundity which has since rendered their application general and practical. Indeed every existing mode of thought is thoroughly tinctured with the categories of Kant, not to mention the various theories professedly based upon his system. Nor can we, by any possibility, travel out of his sphere. We

shall now endeavour to sketch, as briefly and clearly as possible, the outlines of that powerful system which has wrought so great a revolution in modern philosophy.

The doctrine of Kant is Idealism; and, not common, but transcendental Idealism. The difference between the two is this—Common Idealism considers the whole existing world as deception and shadow; and admits not the existence of objects in themselves, but only of the notions which we entertain concerning them. Transcendental Idealism, on the other hand, allows the existence of an external universe, but denies that we know it as it really is. It permits us only to be conversant with those *apparitions* of Nature which rise before our perceptive or cognitive faculties. Common Idealism never deals with the outward world as a result, but with its constituting qualities; while the transcendentalist only denies a perfect correspondence between objects themselves and the virtues which simple and uncritical consciousness supposes in them. Thus simple Consciousness considers that all which comes in contact with sensible perception; such as colour, form, continuation of parts, their connection, &c.; are contained in the object itself and constitute its real substance—while Transcendental Idealism discerns in the object the mere reflection of the cognitive Power in Man, which engraves upon the surface of sensible nature the impression of an innate law, resident in human existence. With the transcendental philosopher, the whole of the material world rests between two inscrutable points, as its two poles—between the objects themselves, on the one side, and the power of Cognition on the other. These two extreme polar points—absolute *object* and absolute *subject*—have undergone further investigation by Kant's successors. According to his theory, however, Object and Subject form the boundaries of both Theory and Experiment.

All the notions which we form of objects—all the qualities which we attribute to them—are derived either from the impression of external Nature on the Senses, or from the innate forms which dwell in human perception. All we really know, therefore, of outward objects is, that they ARE; but WHAT they are, remains, according to Kant, a perfect mystery. With the same mystery he likewise shrouds the true character of the pure subject in man, since its existence is real, and it may be contemplated as an object by itself. All the proper qualities which the subject discovers in itself, to wit, the faculties of thought, feeling, desire, &c., only indicate PARTS of the innate experience and conceptions of which it is capable. Thus

our real knowledge of the subject is bounded by its existence—we are ignorant of its absolute essence. On the other hand, the manifold forms of our perception, (which perception may be termed the eye of the subject,) and the objects of the outward world, Kant admits to be perfectly intelligible and fully developed. He divides Forms into two classes; the one he distinguishes as *à priori*, the other as *à posteriori*. By the former he understands all that is necessarily contained in our intellect, apart from experience. The latter, on the contrary, signifies with him, every thing that is deduced from the exhibition of facts.

The *à priori* class is of a twofold character. It comprises forms by which we behold and view, and forms by which we deliberate and judge. Of the former kind are SPACE and TIME, together with all that we know in and by them; viz. the three dimensions, as the properties of space; the mathematical figures, as its possible divisions and sections; the arithmetical progressions, which originate in the ascent and descent in the sphere of Time, with all the various forms of locomotion, as changes of time manifested in Space. The body of these Forms of views, so far as they have been ascertained by Science, presents to us an infinite field of endless and varied manifestations, in which all the phenomena, by a law of necessity, appear under the one or other aspect.

In proportion as the phenomena appear engrafted on those Forms, we judge of them as, in a greater or less degree, objects of experience. The relations which we discover between the phenomena and the *à priori* forms of Time and Space, constitute the substance or nature of our judgment on matters of experience. In order, however, to render the judgment complete, we must add to it the second class of forms *à priori*.

The forms of judgment fall under four Rubrics. We make, *imprimis*, either one thing, several things, or all things,—the object of inquiry and adjudication. The form which comprises that process, Kant terms THE CATEGORIES OF QUANTITY. Our reason then proceeds to grant or deny a certain predicate to a certain object. The form comprising this process Kant calls THE CATEGORIES OF QUALITY. But as in attempting to judge of an object we are compelled to contemplate the qualities with which we are about to invest it, a third form ensues, which consists in the relation of the Substance to its accidents. Two conclusions or judgments may likewise be so combined that one may be the accident of the other. Thus in saying, when the sun rises it becomes day, becoming day is the accident or effect of the

Rising Sun. The forms of judgment, of substance and accident, of cause and effect, Kant distinguishes by the common title THE CATEGORIES OF RELATION.

The fourth form consists in our positive or negative conclusions with respect to the objects of judgment. A fact or thing attains its highest degree of certainty by proof that difference or contrariety are, with relation to itself, impossible. Certainty then becomes the exhibition of Necessity. Kant designates the forms of necessity, possibility, and certainty, by the term CATEGORIES OF MODALITY. Thus concludes the second branch of *à priori* forms in their most essential bearing.

Our knowledge is the result of a concurrent operation in both divisions of the *à priori*; viz. the forms by which we behold, and those by which we judge. Every form of judgment has its peculiar mode of operation in the field of viewing and beholding. Thus if we perceive therein a regular order of successive and similar phenomena; such as, the sound which ensues every time we strike upon a glass; the freezing of water whenever the cold has attained a certain degree; the display of colours whenever the sun shines;—we are then conversant with those phenomena which give rise to the categories of Cause and Effect. On the contrary, a regular order of succession in a varying object,—such succession, for instance, as may be discerned in water changing from congelation into fluid, then into vapour or steam;—the converse process;—the moon's full aspect changing into the crescent form;—childhood, as one mode of humanity, giving way to senility as another;—the senses, vigilant during the day, surrendering themselves to sleep in the night;—such order of succession gives rise to THE CATEGORIES OF SUBSTANCE AND ACCIDENT. The changing states we term Accidents, and the object in which the mutation is wrought we call Substance.

The knowledge of things is, with Kant, the result of an extremely artificial machine. The wheels do indeed revolve by, and within, each other, and by their complicated action the science is, so to say, properly manufactured. All things which we *know* have previously undergone the process requisite to recognition:—in fact, to know a thing, is simply to invest it with the results of the *à priori* operations in connection with it. We are ignorant of the *raw* material of the objects. Thus, the metaphysics of Kant refuse us a view into the super-sensual empire of things as they really are. The suspicion which has been often entertained that the deceptive and chimerical are inseparable from the mere realm of sense, is much fos-

tered by the doctrines of the philosopher under consideration. His tenets, on the other hand, frustrate our hopes of arriving at the knowledge of things by reflection and reasoning concerning nature and the universe.

We have now arrived at that stage in Kant's system where perfect darkness veils from our view the nature of the external world. It is in vain that the soul in accents by turns commanding, expostulatory, and persuasive, interrogates Nature of her Secret. All is still as the grave; and the opaque atmosphere arrests even the voice of Echo.

But although the mind pauses in bewilderment before the mystery which rests on the sphere of outward inquiry, it discovers when it returns within itself a system of wonderful consolation in the resolution of THE WILL. Inspired by divine consciousness, it no longer carries study and investigation into the region of natural phenomena, but fortifies itself with stern determination—in the sphere where it RECEIVES instead of DISCOVERS—to believe in, and hope for, all the blessings to which man is fairly entitled when he conscientiously practises the Moral Law uttered by our Practical Reason.

The resolution to consider oneself as a member of a spiritual world extending far beyond the limits of this life, is identical with the determination to take the moral law as the standard for our conduct. For that law commands us to act in a way becoming members of a higher sphere; and it is impossible to practice it without fully believing it. Our RESOLUTION thus becomes identified with our belief, and shares all its fruits and consequences.

No sooner do we believe in the existence of a spiritual world, and resolve to act as becomes its members, than we acknowledge ourselves creatures belonging to two spheres, and arrive at the position from which Kant himself acted, thought, and lived.

The proud consciousness that we, though linked to a low nature by the *a priori* forms of both spheres, transcend in the majesty of an individual being, and in the loftiness of our destiny, the entire aggregate of the material universe; and that we are permitted even from our low position an insight into the glorious future; this consciousness pours balm into the soul, and causes it to forget the toils of the way in the prospective of its end.

Kant's own life bears witness that he fully felt the truth of his theory. He never for a moment quitted his native place, Königsberg. He was born in 1724, the year of Klopstock's nativity. His parents were poor but respectable persons, of Scottish extrac-

tion. His whole life was as a smooth river on which the image of the Heavens rested in undisturbed entirety. His existence was one of perpetual thought and contemplation. He was appointed Professor Ordinarius in the year 1770, when he published his Latin treatise "*De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis formâ et principiis*," in which he for the first time revealed the ideas afterwards fully developed in his criticism on pure reason. This treatise was a sealed book to the public in general, on account of the dead language in which it was written and the strict mathematical form in which it was couched. Seventeen years of comparative neglect rolled over his serene and thoughtful existence. In 1787 he published his celebrated work, the *Criticism on Pure Reason*. This, however, did not bring him into public notice until 1792, after he had been for five years exposed to the polemic attacks of the learned of all countries. At that time Kant was in his sixty-eighth year—he had published, however, when only twenty-two, a treatise in which we fully discover the fundamental idea expressed in his great work given to the world nearly half a century afterwards. In the treatise referred to, young Kant undertook nothing less than a philosophical expedition against Leibnitz, Des Cartes, Benaali, and many other celebrated writers of the day, and set himself up as an umpire to decide the controversies which were then carried on with great zeal between the schools of Leibnitz and Des Cartes.

The treatise, as it did not espouse the opinions of either school, remained wholly unnoticed. Kant bore this neglect with the greatest equanimity. So entirely had he realized the truth that prompted his assertions, that it had become an element in his existence. His Being was the world in which his philosophy made triumphant progress day by day: his views were too much associated with reality to be affected by the patronage or the dissent of the Public.

The thinking world was at that time divided between two opposite systems, the Dogmatism of Wolf and the Sensualism (or sensuous system) of Locke. The gigantic mind of Kant had occupied itself with equal force and influence in the investigation of both systems. As public teacher of logic and metaphysics he was compelled to take Wolf as his text book; nevertheless he introduced into his lectures his own independent remarks, which threw doubts on several dogmatic doctrines of Leibnitz. On the other hand, in his work on Pure Reason, Kant started from the text-book of Locke, and had to defend inch by inch the elementary axioms of Dogmatism, which in his lec

tures, previously delivered, he had taken for granted. Kant thus found himself between the fires of the contending parties; and with what almost supernatural power of genius and grasp of thought he contrived to brave the perils of that emergency, it shall be our task to develop in the following pages.

Wolf found in the radical principles of reason the fundamental laws of the outward world, inasmuch as the relations of substance and accident, cause and effect, possibility, &c. form alike the elementary conditions of our reason, and of all that exists around us. Wolf therefore asserted that the only reality in an object was what fell within the scope of our perceptions; while the activity of our senses, or whatever forms the condition of our individuality, he considered as ACCIDENTS of the SUBSTANCES,—the general manifestations of our reason.

Kant, however, only admitted the first part of the axiom of Wolf, without granting the conclusion to be correct. Besides entertaining many doubts as to the necessity of the inference drawn by Wolf, he even suspected that it involved a contradiction, as our notions indicate possibilities rather than realities, and if Wolf's assertion, that individual existence is the accident of notions, were correct, it would follow that reality is the accident of possibility, a supposition absolutely absurd.

When Kant afterwards resolved to base, with Locke and Hume, his philosophy upon the ground of Experience, the case became entirely reversed. The *conclusion* of Wolf's assertion was easily established, while the *first* part fell to the ground. In this result Kant was most unwilling to acquiesce, and in escaping from it he was compelled to *prove* by argument that the fundamental laws in the outward world are identified with the primary perceptions of our reason; or in other words, that the elementary laws of the sensible sphere appertain, as essential attributes, to our reason.

The complicated labour of reconciling systems so extreme as those of Wolf and Hume involved him in difficulties on all points, and it is no marvel that the whole of his life was a continual devotion to one arduous task. Wolf derived all philosophic knowledge from pure reason, while Hume deduced it from the experience of the senses. Kant, in starting from Hume's system, undertook to demonstrate, *à posteriori*, all the axioms of Wolf.

Among the same axioms, that of the intelligible world,—or a world of *noumena* in opposition to the world of *phenomena*,—occupies a prominent place. This we shall now endeavour to illustrate.

Leibnitz, and with him Wolf, had maintained that man is a being living in two opposite spheres,—in a physical sphere known to him by the experience of his senses, and in a spiritual sphere known to him by the operations of his pure reason. Kant was upon the whole penetrated with the truth of this opinion. It formed in fact the very essence of his own philosophy, but he was compelled after all to urge many doubts against part of the assertion. He afterwards proved, in his Criticism on Pure Reason, under the head "*antinomies*," that there is nothing beyond the limits of Experience which can serve as a touch-stone for the correctness of our thoughts. Nor did he find in the knowledge which psychology affords us, with the aid of experience, sufficient evidence to substantiate the life of human nature in two distinct worlds. Being however MORALLY convinced of the truth of that assumption, Kant had recourse to the moral postulates to uphold and affirm it. He thus opposed to *empiric* consciousness one of a higher character. He confronted, if we may so say, the obstinate silence or apparent opposition of Sense with the direct affirmations of Spirit. Finding that outward nature, and even speculative thought, were unable to confirm him in a conception which haunted him as it were instinctively, he determined to accept it in all its vitality as the result of moral necessity. This implicit evidence in the declarations of conscience forces the soul to acknowledge her own will, and points out to her the means of avoiding scientific allurements. It demands of the soul that she shall give audience to no philosophy save that which is of an intuitive character, and never surrender the faculties to investigations solely in the field of sense; that by such discipline we may from time to time find it possible to divest ourselves of outward impressions and propensities.

Kant's philosophy, which has not only abolished all previous systems, but, as we before intimated, has interwoven itself with all subsequent theories, is distinguished by three reforms; in the method of knowledge, the deductions of belief, and the notions concerning the moral law.

The task of the subsequent modern systems, and more especially that of Hegel, the most fashionable of the day, consists merely in bridging over the immense chasm that exists between Kant's modern school and Wolf's ancient school; to the end that the old scholastic views might be transferred with greater facility and security to the new system.

The first reform of Kant was, we said, in

the Method of Knowledge. Before his time philosophy was withheld from assuming the rank of absolute science. Instead of keeping strictly to positive knowledge, she claimed it with respect to things of which she failed to prove even the existence. Thus in amalgamating perfect with imperfect knowledge, she became suspected of vain and speculative presumption, based on hypothesis alone. Kant, however, undertook to banish from the philosophic sphere all notions uninvested with the character of positive and demonstrative knowledge. He disposed, one by one, of those subjects of contention which had continually given rise to controversy, and which were involved in the opposition then believed to exist between Dogmatism and Scepticism. Before him the philosophers conceived themselves compelled to enlist under the banners of one of these. The dogmatists who reduced all philosophic knowledge to *one* principle, assuredly could not admit the opinions of the Sceptics, who doubted of the certainty and positiveness of philosophic knowledge in general : but the system of Kant, which drew a line of demarkation between positive and uncertain knowledge, easily reconciled both opinions.

The second subject of contention which Kant removed by his reform in the method of knowledge was, the opposition that existed between Intellectuality and Sensualism, or Sensuousness. According to Kant, all knowledge, though it begins its operations with sensual experience, nevertheless does not flow therefrom, since the facts themselves are conceived and properly arranged by innate and *à priori* perceptions, or categories of pure reason. But the particular exhibition of those facts depends upon the situation, position, and form of the sensual vessels which become recipient of innate contemplation.

By this method Kant proved himself the umpire between Sensuality and Intellect, and effected a lasting peace between the contending parties. Until his time, ever since that of Des Cartes, it had been the subject of bitter dispute, whether philosophical knowledge or conceptions were, as according to the sensualists, derived from pure experience, or, as according to the intellectualists, from pure reason. Kant has shown the fallacy of both opinions by demonstrating that all phenomenal knowledge must arise from the co-operation of the outward and the inward. An intellect that loses sight of experience, has no object on which to act. The objects which experience presents cannot truly be said to exist, until Intellect with its combin-

ing and arranging power commences its operations upon them.

The third subject of controversy which Kant disposed of by his reform in the method of philosophical knowledge, was the speculative theology in vogue from the scholastic times, and which had found an advocate even in Wolf. Here Kant did not attempt a reconciliation, but extirpated the very root of the evil. He it was who entirely annihilated that learned monster against which many other philosophers had previously contended with more zeal than success. Speculative theology deduces its doctrines concerning God, the creation of the world, the character of the soul and its future state, from notions of pure reason alone. This ridiculous system had infected even the matter-of-fact Locke, who, though starting from the principle that all knowledge is derived from experience, extended his categories of reason, drawn as he supposed from mere experience, far beyond the boundaries of all experience, and concocted arbitrary postulates with regard to eternal matter, creation, and the Deity. Kant however terminated the phantasy ; and this leads us at once to the second reform, which he wrought in Belief.

The subjects of belief or faith, viz. God and immortality, are far beyond the reach of human knowledge. Belief does not rest on any soil of knowledge or perception, but solely on moral resolution of a peculiar character. Belief is always and necessarily associated with a change in mental disposition. Nay it is even identified with that psychical tendency which attracts man from his earthly exertions, and worldly interests, to the serious accomplishment of the moral law. With the disappearance of that tendency, belief vanishes also, and with the return of the mental disposition, belief also returns. He who perseveres in the fulfilment of the moral law is a believer, since belief is none other than the operation of that law. The identity between a necessary direction of the will by the moral law on the one hand, and belief on the other, may be illustrated in the following simple manner.

The moral law, which commands us to act uprightly, and which is inherent in every human being, requires implicit and unexceptionable submission. Man will find no difficulty in obedience, if he associates with it the idea of utility, and sees that compliance with that law is conducive to welfare, honour, or fortune ; inward or outward comfort ; internal or external perfection. For virtue and happiness are ideas which bear

the relation of cause and effect to each other in the innate judgment of our practical reason. Thus, whenever the moral law is apprehended as the source of happiness, there is little difficulty in obedience to the former. The connection, however, between virtue and happiness is not always perceived to exist: on the contrary, there are cases in which actions that seem to deserve the highest reward, yet apparently conduce only to misery, or even death. In such instances the moral commandment frequently appears absurd, and he who resolves implicitly to obey it, is considered by the multitude little better than insane. With many the acknowledgment of the moral law is limited by the beneficial consequences which result from it in the outward world. Such a state will never cease while we expect as the reward of obedience to the moral law the generation of circumstances externally favourable. That law proposes no recompense during the period of trial. It does not contemplate man as a mere mimic warrior whose battle with Circumstance is to be fought by other agency than his own. He is not destined to combat by proxy, and to be rewarded in person; but Conscience is to animate him, Hope to sustain him, Immortality to repay him. It is in the appreciation of these truths—in the realization of the “hereafter world” that he finds it easy to render to the moral law that conformity which under other circumstances is impossible.

The belief in God and immortality is thus transformed by Kant from a matter of demonstration into a matter of moral resolution. The system of Kant, therefore, more than any other, approximates in this particular to positive religion; which, commanding us to believe even without seeing, could never allow attempts at metaphysical demonstration to supply the place of moral resolution. The system of Kant with regard to religion has also a close connection with the primitive patriarchal faith, which was characterized by personal communion with God. Kant in this particular stands almost alone; the great body of modern creeds having substituted communion with the symbols of Deity for personal intercourse with himself.

The third reform which Kant wrought was in relation to the Moral Law. The teachers of moral philosophy before him had asserted with some plausibility that much might be done in the field of morals by the principles of desire of good, pursuit of perfection, and social comfort; all of which were deduced from Experience. Kant, in endeavouring to establish morality as an ab-

stract object beyond the reach of motives drawn from Experience, announced the requisition of the law in the following terms: “Act as if you would have your conduct the standard for that of *all men*.”

Moral law must not, however, be confounded with moral instinct or moral sense, because the active power of the first is associated with moral dignity, and prohibits our inclinations from testing the value of our actions. Kant duly felt the value of distinguishing rational judgment from desire, enthusiasm, aversion and fear. He therefore properly designated his task as “a chemical process of decomposition.” By the simple process of applying our individual instinct to the state of Society at large, the alloy of that instinct is dissolved, and naught remains of it save what accords with the moral law.

In entering deeply into the spirit of Kant’s system, involving as it does a machinery extensive and complicated as it is profound and ingenious, we cannot restrain the exclamation, “Here is indeed a new Socrates!” Kant, like Socrates, gave to philosophy the value and certainty of a practical character—Kant, like Socrates, waged war against sophistry, and abolished the metaphysical illusions of his time—Kant, like Socrates, effected a perfect revolution in the field of thought, opposed the simple to the artificial, and positive realities to far-fetched speculations—Kant, like Socrates, won philosophy from the clouds to the earth, from the standard of theoretical investigation to that of practical belief—like Socrates he was hostile to Rhetoric, as calculated to allure and mislead, though he himself was a master in the art of connecting and analysing logical subtleties. There is, however, another similarity between these great men. Neither of them pretended to form a new school by a complete system of their own. Both of them, on the contrary, declared explicitly to the last, that their philosophies were progressive in point of theory, and at a great distance from perfection. On the other hand, both declared the practical certainty of the law respecting all that is good, and the connection that exists between the soul and Deity to be dogmatically true. Kant considered his Criticism on Pure Reason as a mere preliminary study to a future system of metaphysics; nor did Socrates disdain to resume investigation in every new dialogue, for the purpose of ascertaining whether another way leading to the Supreme Being might not be discovered. The lives of both Kant and Socrates were devoted to the analysis of all previous systems; Socrates examined those of Parmenides, Zeno, Heracles, and

the sophists; while Kant put to the test of criticism those of Leibnitz, Wolf, Locke, Hume, and the French philosophers of the last century, at the head of whom was Voltaire. Kant would hardly have been stimulated to the profound and spirited defence of his own system by those doctrines of Wolf which the philosopher of pure reason had once taught in his capacity of public professor.

But he was assailed by a hundred different and conflicting voices. The German, like the Greek, was destined to contend with the subtle theorists of the time. Helvetius, Condillac, La Mettrie, Maupertuis, Robinet, and Rousseau, formed the band of modern sophists whom Kant had to encounter. There is indeed so striking a similarity between the situation, plan, purpose, and doctrine of the two great men whose characters we have compared, that we are induced to elucidate a little more fully the history of philosophy.

Until Socrates the ancient philosophers were constantly engaged in attempts to separate the conception of a thing from the thing itself; to form as the result of their system an abstract mode of thought, and to elevate mankind from the kingdom of sensuous phenomena into that of unmixed idealism. This process, which appears so easy to us moderns, was found difficult of accomplishment in the time to which we refer; so much so, that it was reserved for the powerful genius of Aristotle alone to consolidate and arrange systematically the common laws essential to abstract thought, judgment and inference. Simple logical conclusions which are with us so lucid as to be in the mouths of children, wore in ancient times the appearance of enigma and paradox. Thus we at present find no contradiction in the assertion, "that although all negroes are men, yet all men are not negroes;" anciently, however, when the mathematical equations were more known than the logical, the preceding assertion was comprehended in the sense of a mathematical equation, and the result was, since $\text{Negro} = \text{Man}$, it necessarily followed $\text{Man} = \text{Negro}$.

The foregoing proposition, and others of a similar character, were considered in the time of Socrates much in the same manner as we now regard the antinomies and paralogisms contained in Kant's doctrine of pure reason at the present day. Such a theory as his, which supposes familiarity with at least the laws of abstraction, was utterly impossible in ancient times when logic was yet in its infancy. We may therefore refrain from wondering that Socrates had devised no measures for limiting the use of abstract

notions in connection with all that is divine, and that he on the contrary much recommended their free use; a line of conduct greatly deprecated by Kant. Socrates, and after him Plato, had, however, too much scientific intuition to be misled by the liberty which they allowed to others.

With regard to the practical part of their philosophy there is this difference between Socrates and Kant, that the former as a teacher of unprecedented moral doctrines was compelled to explain and illustrate them by his own actions, both public and private; while Kant had nothing to do but direct public attention to that law, for obedience to which a thousand martyrs had perished. The Greeks were a young people, principally characterized by their emulative spirit. Their Olympic games were typical of their uniform disposition. The continuance of their best citizens in the paths of sobriety, moderation and justice, was rather the result of competition than of any higher motive. Thus with their philosophical theories, gymnastic exercises were introduced in the public arena, and made the theme of public discussion. The ancient philosopher was obliged in a great measure to elucidate his creed by his life; but in our own days, in consequence of the general development of perception, mental doctrines need no sensuous interpretation; and theories which effect the greatest mutations in society may owe their parentage to men who never leave the quiet of the cell or the seclusion of the hermitage for personal intercourse with mankind.

We may anticipate that Kant's philosophy will exercise on the future development of science, an influence analogous to that exerted by Socrates at an earlier period. The fruit it has already borne during the brief interval which has elapsed since his death justifies us in this expectation. As in the days of antiquity Socrates brought forward a system entirely novel for the development of ideas, and one which nevertheless revived in some degree the preceding doctrines of Parmenides, Pythagoras, Heracles, and Democritus, so did the theory of Kant, though in itself perfectly original, re-introduce to mankind the doctrines of Spinoza, Leibnitz, Plato, and Jacob Böhme. Indeed it is the noble prerogative of genius to discern the truth that exists in all creeds, how much soever they may differ from each other. The wise architect does not reject the Doric order or the Ionic order in favour of the Corinthian, but he finds in each class an adaptation to a particular portion of the edifice. The fragmentary and diverse specimens of the various philosophic orders Kant has combined to-

gether with the judgment of a sage, and with the taste of an artist ; and has constructed for us a mental temple accordant with the simple but imposing solemnity of feelings inherent in the breasts of devout and earnest worshippers.

The theory of Leibnitz as to a supernatural intellectual world has been embodied in Kant's system, as that state of reason wherein we spiritually live, while as physical beings we belong to the realms of space and time. This theory is moreover recognized by Hegel, who asserts "that the kingdom of God is realized in the history of the world."

The spirit of Spinoza is exhibited by Kant, who laboured to found a strict metaphysical system upon pure notions ; and he may in this respect be associated with Schelling, who considered the various appearances of nature as so many different aspects of mental perception.

The attempt of Locke to bring the imagination under the control of experience is, in so far as valuable, wrought out successfully by Kant, who separated and distinguished the elements of knowledge into classes material and spiritual. This doctrine is indicated in the Psychology of Herbart and Benek, which subjects the attractive and repulsive powers of the imagination to a demonstrative ordeal.

The dialectics of Plato, which treat with wonderful ingenuity of the contradictions and labyrinths in the ideal world, are reflected in Kant's doctrine of the Antinomies and Paralogisms ; wherein he shows how blind and powerless is reason out of her proper sphere. As to this, Kant's influence may be traced in the attempt of Hegel to reconcile the difficulties contained in the Antinomies, and in the endeavour of Herbart to correct them.

The construction of nature by Des Cartes, who said "give me extension and motion, and I will create nature," is represented in Kant as a physical DYNAMIC from the attractive and repulsive powers, and is assented to in the philosophy of Oken, who proves the act of self-consciousness to be the same in the simple form of the atom, and in the organization of the thinking brain.

The doctrines of Grotius and Hobbes Kant involves in his idea of natural right, which he has developed in theories of state economy, and which men like Hegel and Krause held to be superior even to the ideal of Plato's Republic.

The theological rationalism originated by Abelard, and which transfers faith from the realm of external authority into that of man's inward conscience, Kant described as a religion within the limits of pure reason, where faith is generated by the vivid operation of

our feelings and sympathies. This doctrine has found an able and successful advocate in Schleiermacher.

The philosophy of the present day resembles a vast edifice, which as an entirety is beyond the comprehension of the beholder. Most of our modern thinkers are familiar with but one wing or section. It was for Kant to sketch the plan of the whole building. Every one after him has chosen a certain department ; one the categories, another the *à priori* views, a third the investigation of objects, and a fourth the absolute subject. Thus the general survey has been gradually lost. The knowledge of modern philosophers is profound and rich in experience, but at the same time limited and partial ; that of Kant, on the other hand, though abstract and poor in experience, was nevertheless all-embracing and ideally distinct. It is impossible at the present time to be a thorough adept in philosophy, without becoming familiar with those principles which are developed in Kant's Criticism on Pure Reason. On the other hand, no sooner have we mastered that criticism than we discern in every page the seeds of all systems now in vogue amongst mankind. We are, however, apt to prefer the harvest to the seed, and thus forgetting that they but reap what Kant sowed, the modern schools have actually sneered at the imperfect state of his speculations. Fichte is the only man who has acknowledged his system to be a branch of Kant's. It was customary in the school of Schelling to look contemptuously on the philosopher of Königsberg, while the disciples of Hegel held the Criticism on Reason to be the emanation of an inferior mind. There is, however, some excuse for their severity. The fault chiefly rests with those pedantic blockheads who, adhering to Kant's system, and calling their school very improperly the Kantian, did not advance a single step beyond their prototype, although he himself more than once declared that his system was far from being complete. Thus it happened that the thinking disciples of Kant, who advanced with wonderful rapidity in the road pointed out to them by the latter, found it better to disown his name altogether than to bear it in connection with those imbecile travellers who could not proceed a step beyond the spot to which they were led.

In analyzing the wonderful features peculiar to Kant's philosophy we are primarily struck by the elevated and ennobling feelings which it awakens. In looking to the moral law as that which is to govern our conduct, and as the source whence we are to receive all communications of *à priori* science, we become aware of the dignity of human cha-

acter, and of the glory of our ultimate destiny. The development of laws in the region of spirit becomes to us as familiar as their illustration in the world of matter. We ascend to the eminence of a moral observatory; the human soul is the firmament which we scan, and the immortal faculties are those worlds of which we calculate the position, the ascendancy, and the eclipse.

We are led, in the second place, to perceive that the universal law which reigns throughout the spiritual and material worlds is neither of a physical nor an intellectual, but of a moral character.

Thirdly, we are induced to acknowledge that the most valuable features of ancient philosophy have been retained in the system of Kant, and that he has superadded to them those higher qualities and forms of illustration wherewith Christianity has been endowed by its author.

But that which demands our most particular attention and admiration is, the universality of that mind which found something akin to itself in all former systems, how much soever at variance with each other; which having collected together the currency of previous thoughts, and upon which the stamp of greater principles was but partially visible, refined them together in the furnace of virtuous intelligence, amalgamated them into harmonious unity, and sealed their homogeneity with the indelible impression of truth.

ART. VI.—1. *On the Preparation of Opium for the Chinese Market; written March, 1835.* By D. Butler, M. D. Bengal. 1836.

2. *The Canton Register.* 1838-9.

3. *The Chinese Repository.* July, 1836; January and March, 1837.*

NATIONS in the early stages of civilisation are like children in their infancy. They have to undergo a course of instruction in order to render them in after years worthy members of society. We take it for granted that it is no more possible for a nation than for an individual to remain perfectly inde-

pendent of others, unless in a state of comparative barbarism. All advancement in knowledge and power, both in the one case and the other, is made by frequent communication and mutual assistance.

The rules of conduct which ought to regulate the intercourse of nations are by no means fixed and invariable, but should be based upon principles of equity, which are supposed to be well understood in all polished countries. Among uncultivated people, however, the case is different. They neither appreciate the advantages to be derived from a friendly intercourse with other nations, or can be made to understand the relative position in which they are placed. It becomes therefore a matter of great importance that sufficient instruction should be imparted to overcome these impediments, and establish some maxims on which a system of legislation may be founded.

In the education of our children we know that the system of excessive corporal punishment has been proved to have a most pernicious tendency, and is now almost entirely done away with. Experience teaches us that much more is effected towards the improvement of morals by practical illustration and example, than by ten thousand theories and precepts assisted by the cane and birch. In the education of nations, on the contrary, if we search the records of history, we find the melancholy truth, that in the progress of civilisation scarcely any advance has been made by just and peaceable expedients. Wherever it has been attempted to disseminate among semi-barbarous tribes the enlightened notions which distinguish the people of our part of the world, lamentable failures have ensued unless they have been backed by some means of coercion or intimidation. Are we then to conclude that a milder course would never be effectual? that man is by nature so depraved, so blind and vitiated, as to require force to compel him to attend to his own interests? Or is he in manhood more insusceptible to truth, when set forth by fair reasoning and virtuous examples, than in the period of childhood? We firmly believe not.

Let us cast the veil of charity over the motives and proceedings of our ancestors who discovered foreign parts of the globe. It is not our intention in this place to point out or dwell upon the course which they thought proper to pursue in the intercourse with the natives of those places. Opinions happily are now changed, and those measures which were formerly applauded would not at the present day be even tolerated. The views of mankind are becoming much more enlightened. A larger field of vision

* The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China; being a Development of the main Causes which exclude the Merchants of Great Britain from the Advantages of an unrestricted commercial Intercourse with that vast Empire. With Extracts from authentic Documents. By the Reverend A. S. Thelwall, M. A. Drawn up at the request of several Gentlemen connected with the East India Trade. London: Allen and Co. 1839.

is exposed, making narrow and selfish feeling give way to broad and universal principles of moral rectitude. Without being suspected of flattering the times in which we live, we may affirm, that in the present philosophical age, when all our actions and even our thoughts are referred to a standard of humanity, no political or commercial advantages should be sought at the expense of either the morality or the welfare of the human race. It is, we feel persuaded, quite practicable to reconcile our individual interests with the general good, and therefore no temptation should induce us to be allured by the one whenever it clashes with the other.

The state of our relations with China furnishes an ample field for reflection. Here we have an instance of a people, estimated at more than three hundred millions, and constituting the largest family of the human race ever known to exist, refusing all intercourse with the rest of mankind. They have long arrived at the highest state of civilisation that under such circumstances they could possibly attain. For centuries they have remained stationary, and so would they continue for centuries to come, unless they received an impetus from a more advanced people. Even were the latter only on the same level as themselves, the very contact would be serviceable, as rough pebbles become polished by rubbing against each other.

Many generations have passed away since China has been known to Europeans, and yet it is surprising what a little advance has been made towards overcoming their prejudices. We have made but little progress in our connection with them beyond our mere commercial relations; and though our majestic Indiancers are constantly passing and repassing between the shores, freighted with the richest stores of both countries; though there has long been a yearly interchange of commodities, the produce of each other's industry, yet we are virtually as much strangers to each other as ever. This cannot be altogether the fault of the Chinese.

China has ever been a bone of contention with the different powers of Europe. As if the title given to it by its inhabitants were allowed to be just, and it were really considered the *Celestial Empire*, by the more civilized people of the West, it has always been sought after with an extraordinary degree of zeal and perseverance. The extent of the dominions of the "Son of Heaven," the number of his subjects, or the riches of both nature and art, over which he has the sway, have probably scarcely ever been exaggerated. The advantages likely to re-

sult from an amicable alliance with so great a power, are not, therefore, few or unimportant, and accordingly the greatest efforts have been made to secure them. A commercial treaty more particularly has been desired, on a firm and equitable basis, in order to make the wealth of this great country available to other states. It remains to be seen to what causes we are to attribute the present ill success, and whether it may not be traced altogether to short-sighted policy and mismanagement.

On the other hand it deserves attentive consideration to determine the peculiar views and opinions of that singular people; and the readiest and most equitable method of conciliating their confidence and esteem.

No compulsory measures have been hitherto deemed advisable, and at the present day it is doubtful whether they would be expedient. For, notwithstanding the unwarlike character of the Chinese, and the easy prey they appear to present to the hand of power, they have not of late been molested, or their territories invaded by any foreign armed force. It would be absurd to attribute this forbearance to a reluctance to invade the rights of others, as the grasping system has been long adopted in regard to weaker nations; nor is it our intention to investigate, at this moment, the different reasons which might be assigned. Certain it is that there has been every inclination for such an enterprise, but strong as was the temptation, it has been over-ruled by motives of prudence. It has probably been reasoned, and we should think with propriety, that the project might not turn out so successful as had been anticipated—that the Chinese, although unwarlike, were not deficient in courage; and if properly trained and goaded on by injuries would make good soldiers. But we believe that another principal reason why an armed interference has not been resorted to of late years is, that a sufficient pretext has not been afforded. The authorities there have acted with sufficient prudence in all their dealings with foreign merchants; so that however vexatious may have been their restrictions and annoying their language to the individual parties, they have always appeared trivial and unimportant to the governments at home, and unworthy of serious notice.

It now becomes necessary to analyze in some degree the national peculiarities and prejudices of the people of whom we are speaking, as affording the readiest means of judging of the line of conduct which should be adopted. Among the different characteristics of the Chinese, the most prominent and the most difficult to be man-

aged is their national vanity. They certainly may be considered the most self-sufficient people on the face of the globe. From the time of Confucius downwards they have ranked all foreigners as barbarians, infinitely inferior to themselves. By the modern Christian legislation, the theory of the natural equality of mankind is advocated; but this is absolutely denied by the Chinese. Not only do they consider strangers as inferior to themselves, but as absolutely of another race. They look upon them as enemies, and frame laws for them accordingly. The tenour of all the Canton edicts sufficiently shows that this idea is acted upon, and that it is, therefore, deemed traitorous for any of the natives to hold more than the allowed communion with these inhabitants, as they term them, of "kwei-fang, or regions of the devil."

Much as we may be tempted to feel provoked by these absurd pretensions, feeling as we sufficiently do our acknowledged rank in the scale of nations, we ought to bear patiently with folly of this kind, when we recollect that others of still greater fame than the Chinese have entertained the same weakness. Among the enlightened Greeks and Romans the same word, 'hostis,' employed to designate a stranger, also signified an enemy; we have abundant testimony to prove that these words were synonymous. Aristotle, one of the most celebrated of Grecian philosophers, asserted, that "strangers were slaves by nature, might be considered beasts of chase, and fairly hunted down." Of all wars, he thought, with his ancestors, "that those wars were most just and necessary which were made by men against wild beasts: and next to them those which were made by the Greeks against strangers; who," adds the philosopher, "are naturally our enemies, and for whom we are perpetually laying snares."

The same author also says, "that one of the most striking laws of the Romans is that by which, instead of considering every man as a fellow creature, between whom and themselves there was an implied alliance, he was deemed a being to whom they were absolutely indifferent, and with whom there was hardly any more connection than with the beasts of the earth."* The Mussulman also is not backward in terms of opprobrium, and it signifies little by what term the inferiority is designated, whether of *Christian dog*, *Greek Barbaroi*, or *Chinese red-bristled devil*, but the same inferiority is asserted. This prejudice is doubtless founded upon ignorance, and however much we may

deplore its existence in others, we have no reason to congratulate ourselves upon our total exemption from its influence. It certainly argues no great superabundance of liberality on our part, when such terms as "snubnosed savage," "petticoated, long-nailed, tuft-bearing barbarians" appear in our leading journals applied to the emperor and people of China.

Another leading feature, and the only one which at present we deem necessary to mention, and which grows out of the prejudices before alluded to, is the domineering insolence which causes the Chinese constantly to attempt imposition. This is the more annoying as it is always accompanied with symptoms of great pusillanimity whenever a proper degree of firmness is opposed to it. This mixture of assumption and impertinency, of swagger and cowardice, is extremely contemptible, and draws largely upon the patience of those who have any dealing with them and are of a different temperament.

These two leading points of character being fairly established, the line of conduct which should be pursued in all our intercourse with the Chinese must be evident. On the one hand, we should endeavour to elevate our character as much as possible in their eyes by a course of upright, independent, and conciliatory behaviour, to gain their esteem: on the other, we should force respect by extreme firmness and a steadfast determination never to submit to the slightest indignity. By these means we should overcome rapidly their prejudices, and quickly stand on a much better footing. Has the conduct of foreigners always been in accordance with these principles? most certainly not: but when it has, the most beneficial effects have been apparent.

In the annals of the Chinese, we find the earliest accounts of foreigners recorded in the histories of pirates, or contained as useful information in the lists of tributaries to the empire. This is to be accounted for from the fact that in the earliest periods of intercourse, the right of conquest was sanctified by the church. All pagan nations were considered fair prey, and that it was not only justifiable but even meritorious to oppress and plunder them. Adventurers of all countries behaved in the most reckless manner in all parts of Eastern Asia, and being far away from any control from their governments at home, and guided alone by their own grasping and violent propensities, they insulted and ill-treated the natives at their pleasure. As the Chinese have, from their own experience, a salutary dread of pirates, they naturally ranked these strangers among the number,

* Ward, vol. ii. p. 173.

and tried by every means in their power to keep them from their shores.

When it was found that the nations were too united and the government too powerful to allow the system of depredation to be successful, attempts were made by the different states to monopolize the trade with China. For this purpose each endeavoured to degrade the character of his rivals in the eyes of the authorities; and thus in turn the Dutchman, the Portuguese, the Englishman, the Spaniard, and the Dane, was traduced, and all the enormities committed by desperadoes on the coast laid to his charge. Each nation was represented by its competitor as composed of outlaws and vagabonds, with whom no mercantile transactions could be conducted with honour or safety. Thus the earliest intercourse of foreigners with the Chinese was not of a very dignified character, or calculated to do away with the distrust previously entertained. They had their prejudices confirmed, and naturally looked upon all strangers in the same light. They could not but regard them as enemies who were attracted so far from their homes in hopes of plunder.

It was the same with those Europeans who some time back attempted to diffuse Christianity among the Chinese. The success of the Jesuits was complete. They gained the confidence of the Emperor, and obtained many proselytes to their faith, until jealousy of their progress induced the Pope to send monks of other orders to the same station. Constant misunderstanding and bickerings ensued, followed by recrimination and abuse, which ended by producing a most disadvantageous impression of the whole crew, and their expulsion from the country. It is unnecessary to trace further the causes of distrust and ill-feeling on the part of the Chinese in the earlier periods. It has been sufficiently shown that the ill opinions entertained were not altogether unfounded, and that the prejudices of a thousand years were not to be eradicated by such conduct.

At later periods considerable advancement has been made in conciliating the better feelings of the Chinese. The illusions of tradition have been in some measure dissipated, and even a portion of respect has been wrung from them. The English have enjoyed this advantage in a much greater degree than any other people, and this is entirely to be attributed to the upright and honourable manner in which all the intercourse was conducted under the management of the East India Company. We do not mean to assert that at that time the most independent and determined line of conduct was always adopted on our part, or such as was likely to impress

upon the minds of the natives an idea of a powerful nation. On the contrary there was frequently shown a great deal of vacillation of purpose, by which the Chinese habits of imposition and extortion were strengthened; and the frequent threats held out but never fulfilled, must have conveyed an unfavourable impression of our courage and resources.

For our part we confess that a perusal of the Company's transactions in China reminds us of a scene of constant occurrence in the metropolis, of a purchase made in the shop of a Jew, who is in the habit of asking for his goods a much larger sum than he will take. At first the customer is indignant at the attempted imposition, and walks away with the determination of leaving the place. He scarcely gets outside the door, however, before he is recalled by the Israelite, who offers to lower in some degree his demand. This does not please, and the bargain is refused. The Jew persists, and the customer departs; but before he reaches the street the tradesman again calls him back, and agrees to reduce the price to the proper value of the article. The purchaser now thinks that by showing unconcern, as if he were not in real want of the goods, the crafty shopkeeper will give way still further, and therefore once more quits the premises. But in this he is mistaken. He is no more solicited to return; and is therefore obliged to go back, and, looking foolish enough, make the best bargain he can; thus giving encouragement to the son of Levi to impose upon him in future. In this light we are tempted to regard the frequent orders of the supercargoes for the ships to move down the Canton river; their subsequent recall; threats of breaking off the trade altogether, and final submission to extortion.

But notwithstanding the vexations to which they were occasionally obliged to submit, the English, in the time of the East India Company, made considerable advances towards conciliating, as we have said, the good opinion of the Chinese. On this account they enjoyed certain privileges, which, although of no great importance, were not conceded to any other nation. Many disagreeable ceremonies were dispensed with, and more particularly the supercargoes of vessels under the British flag were exempted from swearing that there was no opium on board, while all other ships were forbidden to enter the river until such oath had been taken. A degree of confidence was also evinced in their mercantile dealings, and which was the more surprising when we consider the suspicious character of the natives. The manner of arranging the prices to be given for the teas deserves to be mentioned. The mus-

ters were subjected to the examination of the Company's tea-inspectors, when, upon their report of its superiority or inferiority to the standard quality agreed upon, the teas were valued at a higher or a lower price. In this business of valuation, the hong-merchants took no part, and scarcely ever objected to the decision.

These beneficial effects must be attributed entirely to the honourable and liberal manner in which all the transactions were conducted. The Chinese really entertained a great degree of respect for the members of the Select Committee, and relied implicitly on their word. Some of the principle obstacles to an open and unrestricted intercourse were thus overthrown, and it is probable the success might have been complete if the system, with some modification, had been pursued for a longer period. The Select Committee found that a steady perseverance in open and upright conduct was the only way to overcome prejudices. As the Chinese utterly deny the equality of independent nations, and even the natural equality of mankind, a few essential principles of universal equity are the only laws in which they would acquiesce, and the only ones to be appealed to by foreigners. The exact state of our political and commercial relations with China at the period of the expiration of the charter of the East India Company should be well considered, in order to judge fairly of the occurrences which have since taken place, and their probable effects on our intercourse; whether the prospect of a good understanding has been brightened or obscured.

This brings us to the opium trade, a question which now engages a considerable portion of public attention, and properly, as it is become of enormous magnitude, and has such peculiar features, and such an influence on all the affairs of the East, that the whole of its bearings are deserving of the strictest scrutiny. The politician, the merchant, the divine, the moralist, and the philanthropist, will find in its investigation an object for the gravest meditation. Its final settlement may now be speedily expected, as it has become a national affair, and is no longer confined to a few individuals in a distant part of the world. Recent events have displayed a crisis which has been long predicted by those who may be supposed most acquainted with Asiatic affairs. Many residents at Canton have foreseen these occurrences, and most of the late writers on China have attended to the subject.

Whether we regard the capital employed or the countless millions of people concerned in the traffic, it is evidently a question of the greatest importance. For our parts, our

opinion has been long made up. We do not hesitate to pronounce the opium trade on the coast of China one of the most abominable and mischievous systems now in existence, and reflecting the greatest dishonour on the British flag. Before we proceed to prove this position, it will be necessary to give an outline of the way in which the traffic is usually carried on, as it may be presumed that the particulars are not familiar to many of our readers. Attention until lately has not been called to it, so that its progress has been watched by scarcely any but those personally interested.

The opium trade, now under consideration, is that carried on between the British possessions in India and the Chinese empire. For although some portion is imported from Turkey, and the poppy is cultivated in some provinces of China itself, yet this is of very inferior importance, the opium supplied from these sources being inconsiderable in quantity. The trade has risen into importance altogether of late years, and has increased to a most surprising extent. An instance of such rapid augmentation of a single branch of commerce is hardly on record. Some years back, about the time of the embassy of Lord Macartney, scarcely any mention is made of it, as opium was then used merely as a medicine. Afterwards it was employed as a luxury, and from that time the consumption rapidly increased. "In 1816, 1817, twenty-two years back, 3,210 chests of the Indian opium were imported. In 1826-7, it had increased to 9,969; in 1832-3, to 23,670: and lastly, in the season 1836-7, no fewer than 34,000 chests were brought by the clippers."* The following statement of the Rev. W. H. Medhurst exhibits the consumption of opium during the last twenty years:—

1816, chests 3,210, value 3,657,000 dollars.	
1820 . . . 4,770 . . . 8,400,000	
1825 . . . 9,621 . . . 7,608,205	
1830 . . . 18,760 . . . 12,900,031	
1832 . . . 23,670 . . . 15,338,160	
1836 . . . 27,111 . . . 17,904,248.	

The quantity introduced during the year ending in the spring of 1837 was 34,000 chests, and the deliveries during the month of July of the same year amounted to 4,000 chests.*

In order to convey to the reader some idea of the quantity consumed yearly by the Chinese from this source, it may be mentioned, that although the weight of a chest of opium varies, the Malwa usually averages about 134lbs per chest, and the Patna 116lbs. Taking, therefore, 120lbs as the

* Fan-qui in China, vol. iii. p. 163.

† China—Its State and Prospects, p. 85.

average of the whole, the quantity contained in 34,000 chests would amount to 4,080,000 lbs.

The chief places where the poppy is cultivated in India for the manufacture of opium are at Malwa, Benares, and Behar. One half of the Indian drug is grown at Malwa, and there the cultivation of the plant and the trade in opium are free, as the management of the soil is beyond the authority of the company, although the chiefs are under British protection. Nearly the whole of this portion goes to Bombay, where it is shipped for China. At Behar and Benares, on the contrary, and indeed throughout the territories under the jurisdiction of the East India Company, the cultivation of the poppy, the preparation of the drug, and the traffic in it until it is brought to Calcutta, are under a strict monopoly.

In these districts the ryot or farmer is frequently compelled to cultivate the poppy at a fixed rate, and should it be discovered that he does this clandestinely, and without having entered into such an engagement with the government, his property would be immediately attached, or he would be obliged to give securities for the faithful delivery of the product. A system of most oppressive espionage is at the same time established for the purpose of preventing the traffic in the slightest portion of this valuable drug. At certain seasons the Company's godowns are opened at Calcutta; and the sales of opium effected. Great numbers of the residents purchase for the sake of speculation, as the price continually varies in China. Such a wakeful eye is kept over the drug that it is scarcely possible to purchase a single pound at Calcutta from any other than the agents of the government.

From Mr. Montgomery Martyn's "Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire," a notion can be obtained of the revenue derived by the Indian government from the monopoly in opium. From this it appears that "in the season

	Chests.	Sicca Rupees.
ending 1800, they sold	4,054	for 3,142,591
1810 . . .	4,561	8,070,955
1820 . . .	4,006	8,255,603
1830 . . .	8,778	11,255,767
1835 . . .	12,977	13,215,464
1837 . . .	16,916	25,395,300

Estimating the value of the sicca rupee at 2s. sterling, the opium sold in the season of 1837 would amount to £2,539,530."*

When the sales have been effected at Bombay and Calcutta, the opium is shipped on board vessels expressly fitted for the

trade, which proceed immediately to China. They are called *clippers*, are remarkably handsome, well-built ships, and possess superior sailing qualities. Arrived on the coast, they deliver their cargo into a class of vessels called *receiving ships*, which are always anchored at the station of Lintin, or the adjacent anchorages of Capsingmoon or Cumsingmoon, situated without the Bocca Tigris, at the mouth of the Canton river.

As the importation is expressly forbidden by the Chinese government, it has now to be smuggled clandestinely into the country. For this purpose native smuggling boats are employed, which are well manned and armed. Orders from Canton are given to them, with which they proceed to the receiving ships, and the opium is delivered to their charge. It is taken out of the chests, examined, and removed after being packed in convenient parcels, ready to be easily carried off in case of pursuit. Collision with the authorities rarely takes place, as fees are regularly paid for connivance to the officers of the imperial preventive squadron. Indeed, it is not unfrequent for the custom-house officers themselves to be engaged in the smuggling trade, and government boats have been observed taking in a cargo of opium in the open face of day. This is the usual way in which the importation is effected, but some portion is also taken up to Whanpan occasionally, and a certain number of chests is disposed of along the coast to the northward.

When arrived at the provincial city, the opium passes into the hands of native brokers or *melters*, who subject it to a process by which the crude article is reduced to a watery extract. The Chinese designate the varieties of Indian opium by the names of *black earth*, *white skin*, and *red skin*, which severally fetch about 800, 600 and 400 dollars a chest. The quality which they prize in these samples may be gathered from a paper by Dr. Butler, "On the Preparation of opium for the Chinese Market," published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in March, 1836. "The great object of the Bengal opium agencies is to furnish an article suitable to the peculiar tastes of the population of China, who value any sample of opium in direct proportion to the quantity of hot-drawn watery extract obtainable from it, and to the purity and strength of the flavour of that extract when dried and smoked through a pipe. The aim, therefore, of the agencies should be to prepare their opium so that it may retain as much as possible its native sensible qualities, and its solubility in hot water. Upon these points depend

* Book iv. p. 360.

the virtually higher price that Benares opium brings in the China market, and the lower prices of Behar, Malwa, and Turkey opium. Of the last of these, equal (Chinese) values contain larger quantities of the narcotic principles of opium, but are from their greater spissitude, and the less careful preparation of the Behar and Malwa, incapable of yielding extracts in equal quantity and perfection of flavour with the Benares."

From calculations made by foreign residents in China, and published in the Chinese Repository in the year 1836, it appears that if 34,000 chests of opium are imported, they would yield 33,320,000 taëls, nearly equivalent to an ounce weight of smokeable extract. By allowing one taël to each person for daily consumption, the number of smokers supplied by this quantity of the drug would be 912,000. But it is evident from statements which subsequently appeared from other parties, that a mace, nearly equal to a drachm weight of the extract, would be an ample allowance for daily consumption. When we consider also that the same portion is two or three times ignited, that the extract which in its fresh state served the luxurious mandarin one day, supplies the pipe of an inferior the next, and that even the dregs and dirt of the pipe are greedily devoured by the menial, the number of consumers is greatly increased, and may fairly be estimated at more than two millions.

Notwithstanding the opinion which now almost universally prevails in Europe as to the deleterious effects of opium, except when used medicinally, there are not wanting some few who maintain that it is a pleasing and gratifying luxury, which may be indulged in without injury to health. They say that any one who is at all acquainted with the manners and habits of the East must know that it is an indispensable stimulant to the Chinese—that it would be as absurd to deny them the drug as an Englishman his beer and spirits. As these notions may have been formed from want of knowledge of the subject, and we should hope that their promulgation arose from no interested feeling, we hasten to lay before our readers a few particulars.

It is allowed that the effects of opium are the same whether swallowed in a solid or liquid state, or smoked through a pipe. The latter plan is usually practised by the Chinese, and no doubt would be pernicious even if used with moderation. But we will venture to say that this scarcely ever occurs. The pleasure is so great or the infatuation so strong that it cannot be resisted, and the drunkard is the victim of his folly.

The words of a great poet, now no more, on this subject will be recollected. They occur in a letter written to an intimate friend, while he was still a slave to the "accursed habit" into which "he was seduced ignorantly." "For ten years," he says, "the anguish of my spirit has been indescribable. Conceive a poor miserable wretch, who for many years has been attempting to beat off pain by a constant recurrence to the vice that reproduces it. Conceive a spirit in hell employed in tracing out for others, the road to that heaven from which his crimes exclude him. In short, conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my state as it is possible for a good man to have. *In the one crime of opium*, what crime have I not made myself guilty of? After my death, I earnestly entreat that a full and unqualified narrative of my wretchedness and its guilty cause, may be made public, that at least some good may be effected by the direful example."

The following extract from a pamphlet published at Calcutta under the title of "Remarks on the Opium Trade with China," is well written, and expresses in an excellent manner the more injurious effects of opium over ardent spirits:—

"The intoxicating property or, rather properties, of opium, differ in their nature from the intoxicating property of alcohol. In some respects the effects of the intoxication are also different. They both agree, however, in this, that they both stimulate the nervous system to an unnatural degree, and are only fit for use when such a state of bodily illness already exists as to make a stimulus of this nature subservient to the restoration of other vital functions disordered. They both agree in this, that the pleasurable sense of excitement attending their indulgence is followed by a relaxation of the system, and an undue depression of both the bodily and mental powers when the excitement is over.

"They both agree in this, as a consequence, that the oftener they are indulged in for the sake of this pleasurable sense of excitement, the greater must be the quantity used, in order to keep up that same degree of excitement; so that, if once the appetite is formed, constantly increasing indulgence is necessary and almost inevitable, and not only so, but is yielded to unconsciously of this increase. The craving of the appetite is insensibly the man's standard for estimating what he can (as he supposes safely) indulge in. They both agree in this, that they disorder the digestive organs, predispose to most other diseases, and materially shorten the term of life. They both agree in this, that they stupify and derange the intellectual powers, and that habitually; for

the seasons of depression are quite as far below healthy mental vigour, as those of alternate excitement are beyond. And over the final stages of mental suffering to which they both lead, one is fain to draw the veil; fiction can paint nothing of horror half so horrible. They both agree in this, that they utterly corrupt the moral sense: give to gross appetite the reins of reason: * deprave and brutalize the heart: shut up all the avenues to conscience: and make their victim the easy prey to every temptation that presents itself.

"There is but one point of difference between the intoxication of ardent spirits and that of opium deserving of particular attention here; and that is, the TEN-FOLD force with which every argument against the former applies to the latter. There is no slavery on earth to name with the bondage into which opium casts its victim. There is scarcely one known instance of escape from its toils, when once they have fairly enveloped a man. We need not appeal to the highly-wrought narrations of personal experience on this subject, which have of late years come before the public; they rather invite distrust than otherwise, by the exaggeration of their poetical style. But the fact is far too notorious to be questioned for one moment, that there is in opium, when once indulged in, a fatal fascination, which needs almost superhuman powers of self-denial and also capacity for the endurance of pain, to overcome.

"The operation of opium is, on this account, more deadly by many degrees than its less tyrannous rival. In other respects above-mentioned there is generally a more rapid and more permanent influence exerted by opium than by ardent spirits: an influence so directly inimical to all human happiness whatever, that if the facts were not before our eyes, we might well doubt the cunning of the arch fiend himself to recommend to one son of Adam the use of such an instrument of self-destruction."

We purposely abstain from any lengthened discussion of the merits or demerits of opium as an article of justifiable luxury. So much has been said and written on the subject that the question must be now sufficiently exhausted; we therefore abstain from quoting the opinions of physicians at home or travellers through Europe, who have given their testimony on the subject. It has been asserted that it is a justifiable and necessary article of luxury in Asia. Now let us see how this assertion is borne out by the evidence of those who have witnessed its operation. The opinion of the Dutch Commissioners who sat at the Hague is thus quoted by Sir Stamford Raffles in

his "History of Java."* "The opium trade requires likewise attention. The English in Bengal have assumed an exclusive right to collect the same, and they dispose of a considerable number of chests containing that article annually at Calcutta by public auction. It is much in demand on the Malay Coast, at Sumatra, Java, and all the islands towards the east and north, and particularly in China, although the use thereof is confined to the lower classes. The effect which it produces on the constitution is different, and depends on the quantity that is taken, or on other circumstances. If used with moderation, it causes a pleasant, yet always somewhat intoxicating sensation, which absorbs all care and anxiety. If a large quantity is taken, it produces a kind of madness, of which the effects are dreadful, especially when the mind is troubled by jealousy, or inflamed with a desire of vengeance, or other violent passions. At all times it leaves a slow poison, which undermines the faculties of the soul, and the constitution of the body, and renders a person unfit for all kinds of labour and an image of the brute creation. The use of opium is so much more dangerous, because a person who is once addicted to it can never leave it off. To satisfy that inclination, he will sacrifice everything,—his own welfare, the subsistence of his wife and children, and neglect his work. Poverty is the natural consequence, and thus it becomes indifferent to him by what means he may content his insatiable desire after opium; so that at last he no longer respects either the property or life of his fellow creatures."

Mr. Hogendorp further confirms this opinion, by saying, "*Opium is a slow, though certain poison*, which the Company, in order to gain money, sells to the poor Javanese. Any one who is once enslaved by it, cannot, it is true, give it up without great difficulty; and if its use were entirely prohibited, some few persons would probably die for want of it, who would otherwise languish on a little longer; but how many would by that means be saved for the future! Most of the crimes, particularly murders, that are now committed, may be imputed to opium as the general cause." To this is added a sentiment in which we entirely concur. "The trade in opium is one of the most injurious and most shameful things which disgrace the present government of India."

Now let us approach the shores of China, and hear what is said by those who were eye-witnesses of its effects. Mr. Gutzlaff

* We recommend this whole extract to the author of a Letter to Mr. Horsley Palmer, recently published in the Times Newspaper.

made many voyages along the coast, and details in a graphic manner the horrors of the practice and its destructive effects on both life and morals. Mr. Medhurst, whose experience is of still more recent date, says, "Those who have not seen the effects of opium smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results on the health, energies and lives of those who indulge in it. The debilitating of the constitution, and the shortening of life, are sure to follow in a few years after the practice has been commenced, as soon and as certainly, if not much more so, than is seen to be the case with those unhappy persons who are addicted to the use of ardent spirits. The dealers in opium are not aware how much harm they are the instruments of doing, by carrying on this demoralizing and destructive traffic; but the difference in the increase of the Chinese people before and after the introduction of opium (!) ought to open their eyes, and lead them to ask themselves whether they are not accountable for the diseases and deaths of all those who have suffered by its introduction. And if it be true, that the Chinese increased at the rate of three per cent. per annum before the commencement of the traffic, and at the rate of one per cent. per annum since, it would be well for them to consider whether the deficiency is to be attributed in some degree to opium, and the guilt to be laid at the door of those who are instruments in introducing it."*

Since the opium trade has come under discussion in this country, a variety of arguments have been adduced by those who favour the present system, in order to do away with the impression against its continuance now made upon the public mind. These we wish to mention, that the narrow and selfish views upon which the system is upheld may be exposed. We can judge very fairly of the goodness of a cause by the kind of reasoning brought forward to support it. We have shown the fallacy of the assertion that opium is no more injurious than ardent spirits, and that it is a necessary luxury nowise detrimental to health. It is said that the Chinese government does not oppose the importation of the juice of the poppy from any conviction of its poisonous qualities, but because native silver is given in exchange. We have no means of judging of the motives of these people but from the documents which have been translated, and those certainly do not favour such an assumption.

Although originally the prohibition may

have been framed on the mistaken principle of political economy "that it was improper that the pure and sycee silver of the inner land should be exchanged for the vile dirt of foreign countries, yet since the investigation of the subject by the authorities, much more correct views have been taken. In the memorial presented to the emperor by Heu Naetse, vice-president of the Sacrificial Court, there runs the following passage:—"In the *Materia Medica* of Le Shechin opium is called afoogung. When any one is long habituated to imbibing it, it becomes necessary to resort to it at regular intervals, and the habit of using it being inveterate, is destructive to time, injurious to property, and yet dear to one even as life. Of those who use it to great excess, the breath becomes feeble, the body wasted, the face sallow, the teeth black. The individuals themselves clearly see the evil effects of it, yet cannot refrain from it. It will be found on examination that the smokers of opium are idle lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, and are unworthy of regard or even contempt; and though there are smokers to be found who have overstepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to the long life of other men."

The testimony of Choo Tsun and many other mandarins of eminence is to the same effect, and shows that they were perfectly acquainted with all the evils of opium smoking.

In addition to the evident detriment to health and loss of life among the Chinese caused by the consumption of opium, the system of smuggling it into the country produces consequences of importance. The greatest corruption of the affairs of government necessarily ensues, bands of desperadoes are fostered and encouraged, and loss of life is frequently occasioned by their collision with the authorities. The quiet natives are also frequently plundered and oppressed. In addition, the efforts made to convert the natives to Christianity are completely thwarted, as the missionaries are constantly confounded with the smugglers, and all their endeavours to disseminate religious publications met with suspicion and indignity.

These are some of the evils which accrue to the Chinese from the opium traffic. They might have been enlarged upon and treated more in detail, but we fear we have already said enough to entitle us to rank among those who are stigmatized as "ethereal dreamers, sentimental philosophers, and scrupulous moralists," from having upheld these opinions. Really we can see no grounds for such abuse. The practice is

* China, page 56.

disgraceful and calls for redress. It is not to be tolerated on grounds of humanity. The English supply the Chinese with a deadly poison with which thousands yearly put a period to their existence. In *England* the chemists are expressly ordered not to supply arsenic or laudanum if they have the slightest suspicion that their customer intends to commit suicide with it. Policemen are also stationed on the bridges of the metropolis to see that no wretched creature throws himself into the water. In *China* every facility is afforded and material supplied for wholesale self-slaughter. One maxim we see has been adopted from the Chinese—the most enlightened doubtless—that “not only are there different *conditions*, but also different *sorts* of men.”

As we do not believe that the opium trade would be abolished merely on grounds of humanity, we now proceed to show its pernicious influence on legitimate commerce and the true interests of our country. The objects to be attained are feelings of respect and good-will on the part of the Chinese by which the obstructions to our intercourse are to be overcome. The opium trade has always been a fertile source of suspicion and annoyance. Kiā-King at the commencement of his reign forbad its introduction, and shortly afterwards fines and chastisements were inflicted upon those who broke the laws in this respect. The evil still increasing, and the injurious tendency of opium smoking becoming more apparent, heavier punishments were imposed upon the delinquents. From strokes of the bamboo and the servitude of the wooden collar, the seller and smoker of opium became subject to imprisonment, exile, and entire confiscation of his property. Latterly the poor wretches have suffered capital punishment, and been publicly strangled.

At the same time the preventive police on the river was strengthened, and the strangers watched with the greatest jealousy. The Hong-merchants were also required to become security for foreign vessels, and to give a bond that they should not enter the port with any of the forbidden article on board. The supercargoes were also required to enter into the same sureties. Frequent interruptions to the tea-trade occurred from seizures made on the river, and the greatest impediments were thrown in the way of a ready communication with Macao. These difficulties led to the establishment of the station of Lintin, where vessels were constantly anchored as storehouses for the contraband articles. Notwithstanding the efforts made to dislodge them, the number of these ships has increased, and

they have become the warehouses of other goods besides opium which are forbidden by the government. Frequently an evasion of the port dues alone is attained by vessels discharging their cargoes at Lintin, to be sent up the river by other ships. Thus a great advantage is obtained over the fair traders, so much so as to render it a matter of doubt whether the whole commerce would not become contraband after a while. Another point deserves attention. The increase in the smuggling traffic has given rise to considerable alarm with some of the residents at Canton. As the transition from smuggling to piracy has often occurred in other parts of the globe, the presence of so many armed vessels on the coast of China has raised the fears of the more timid, and advice was given to commanders to be cautious in letting strangers board their ships in those seas.

These things which have been mentioned are highly detrimental to commerce, and are felt by all those who trade to Canton. But the English merchants more particularly are the sufferers by the opium trade, as the Chinese consider the whole traffic in their hands, and that they are therefore responsible for all the evils which it entails. All the chests which come from the British possessions in India have the mark of the East India Company upon them, which the natives are well acquainted with; and we have seen that the drug which in their estimation is the best, is called by their name. Many of the native documents show the light in which we are regarded as a people by the government of China on its account. They naturally look upon the English as engaged in a deliberate and systematic violation of their laws, for the purpose of profiting by the sale of a drug which poisons and ruins a large proportion of their population.

Choo Tsun, whose memorial has been already quoted, says, in the History of Formosa we find the following passage:—“Opium was first produced in Kaoutsinne, which by some is said to be the same as Kalapa (Batavia). The natives of this place were at first sprightly and active, and being good soldiers were always successful in battle. But the people called Hung-maou (Red-haired) came thither, and having manufactured opium, seduced some of the natives into the habit of smoking it. From these the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation, so that in process of time the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated. Now the English are of the race of foreigners called Hung-maou. In introducing opium into this country their purpose has been to

weaken and enfeeble the central empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves ere long on the last step towards ruin. The repeated instances within a few years of the barbarians in question having assumed an attitude of outrageous disobedience, and the stealthy entrance of their ships into the provinces of Fuhkeën, Chekeang, Keängnan, and Shantung, and even to Teëntsin—to what motives are these to be attributed? I am truly unable to answer the inquiry. But reverently perusing the sound instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor, surnamed the Benevolent (Kanghe), I find the following remark by him, dated the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign (1717):—"There is cause for apprehension lest in centuries and milleniums to come China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the West who come hither from beyond the seas." I look upwards, and admiringly contemplate the gracious consideration of that all-wise progenitor in taking thought for the concerns of barbarians beyond the empire, and giving the distant future a place in his divine and all-providing foresight. And now, within a period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger which he apprehended." We can scarcely imagine that more forcible reasoning than the following could be advanced to awaken the fears of a pusillanimous and despotic monarch.

"With admiration I contemplate my sacred sovereign's anxious care for imparting a military as well as a civil education, prompted as this anxiety is, by the desire to establish on a firm basis the foundations of the empire, and to hold in awe the barbarians on every side. But while the stream of importation of opium is not turned aside, it is impossible to attain any certainty that none within the camp do ever secretly inhale the drug. And if the camp be once contaminated with it, the baneful influence will work its way, and the habit will be contracted beyond the power of reform. When the periodical times of desire for it come round, how can the victims—their legs tottering, their hands trembling, their eyes flowing with child-like tears—be able in any way to attend to their proper exercises? or how can such men form strong and powerful legions? Under these circumstances, the military will become alike unfit to advance in the fight, or in a retreat to defend their posts. Of this there is clear proof in the instance of the campaign against the Yaou rebels, in the 12th year of our sovereign's reign (1832). In the army sent to Leénchow on that occasion, great numbers of the soldiers were opium smokers, so that although their numerical force was large,

there was hardly any strength to be found among them."

These arguments may be supposed to have considerable weight, when it is recollected that the Chinese are well aware of the progress of British arms in India, and have themselves witnessed the forcible passage of the Bogue and the successive attempts to gain possession of Macao. The fears and hatred of the natives would be still further increased by the memorial of Heu Kew, sub-censor of the military department, who reasons: "Some think this mode of proceeding too severe, and fear lest it should give rise to a contest on our frontiers. Again and again I have revolved this subject in my mind, and reconsidered how that, while in their own country no opium is smoked, the barbarians yet seek to poison therewith the people of the Central Flowery Land. I have, therefore, regarded them as undeserving that a single careful or anxious thought should be entertained on their behalf. Of late, the foreign vessels have presumed to make their way into every place, and to cruize about in the inner seas. Is it likely, that in this they have no evil design of spying out our real strength or weakness?"

One more extract from native documents we shall make in order to show that the Emperor was advised long ago to cut off the foreign trade altogether, rather than allow the opium traffic to be carried on.

"The treatment of those within having been rendered severe, we may next turn to these resident foreigners, examine and apprehend them, and keep them in arrest, then acquaint them with the established regulations, and compel them within a limited period, to cause all the receiving ships anchored at Lintin to return to their country. They should be required also to write a letter to the king of their country, telling him that opium is a poison which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people; that the celestial empire has inflicted on all the traitorous natives who sold it the severest penalties; that with regard to themselves, the resident foreigners, the government taking it into consideration that they are barbarians and aliens, forbears to pass sentence of death upon them; but that if the opium receiving ships will desist from coming to China, they shall be indulgently released, and permitted to continue their commercial intercourse as usual; whereas if they will again build receiving vessels, and bring them hither to entice the natives, the commercial intercourse granted them in teas, silk, &c., shall assuredly be altogether interdicted, and on the resident foreigners of the said nation the laws shall be executed capitally. If commands be issued of this plain and energetic character,

in language strong and sense becoming, though their nature be the most abject—that of a dog or a sheep, yet having a care for their own lives, they will not fail to seek the gain and to flee the danger.”

Recent events have proved that the threats of the Chinese are not altogether to be despised, and that they would proceed to these extremities if they found milder means ineffectual. In short, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that the opium trade had a most pernicious influence on all our dealings with these people. That it served to widen the breach which separated us from them, and stirred up all their prejudices, and reflected the greatest disgrace on those who were concerned.

Many of the resident merchants at Canton, who did not deal in opium, openly entered their protest against its continuance, and even those who were most implicated, whose interest it was to uphold its character, were evidently ashamed of their conduct, and tried to shift the blame upon other shoulders. A specimen of this species of excuse occurs in the speech of Mr. Jardine, made at a public dinner in China just before his departure for England:—“I hold the society of Canton high: it holds a high place in my opinion, even among the merchants of the East. Yet I also know that this community have often heretofore and lately been accused of being a set of smugglers; this I distinctly deny; we are not smugglers, gentlemen. It is the Chinese government, it is the Chinese officers who smuggle, and who connive at and encourage smuggling—not we. And then look at the East India Company: why the father of all smuggling and smugglers is the East India Company.” Now, we believe we have sufficiently proved that the Chinese oppose the introduction of opium on moral considerations, and their late conduct shows that they were in earnest in this opposition. The East India Company took no part whatever in the traffic. On the contrary, so well aware were the Select Committee of its injurious tendency, and the necessity of upholding the national character by courting respect and esteem, that an officer would have been immediately dismissed from the service if detected in bringing any opium up the river.

How long the opium trade would have continued, and to what extent it would have been carried if the Chinese government had not exerted itself with vigour, may well be questioned. We fear that it would have been a long time before feelings of humanity would have supplanted those of interest. The immense profits derived from this impure source, hold out too great a temptation

to be easily withstood, and the upbraidings of conscience are frequently stifled by specious arguments. Among these may be reckoned the assertion, that the opium trade is effecting the emancipation of the Chinese people, by degrading the official classes who are becoming dependent, through the habit of opium-smoking, on foreign intercourse. This, to say the least of it, is supporting the scouted dogma—that it is right to do evil that good may come.

It is said also, that if the English gave up the opium trade, some other nation would take it up, and we should be the losers for our folly. We believe that no other nation would do so—because they have neither the means nor the inclination. Before they could manufacture a sufficient quantity of the poison, and fit out ships to carry it to the market, the Chinese government would have effectually eradicated the destructive habit. Again, they know that if they traded in opium they could trade in nothing else—all their legitimate commerce would be stopped. Already have the representatives of the different European states tried to curry favour with the authorities at Canton, by showing that they were not at all connected with the smugglers, and it is highly probable that the same system of underhand calumny is carried on at the present day as formerly, for the purpose of securing a monopoly of the China trade.

One other reason we have heard assigned for the continuance of the present system, and this is the last we shall notice. It is that if the capitalists who are now engaged in it were to give it up, the traffic would fall into the hands of low common smugglers, and the coast of China be infested in time with desperadoes, little better than buccaneers. In other words, because there are always to be found blackguards and vagabonds ready for any evil purpose, therefore their office is to be undertaken by *gentlemen*, who have means to do the mischief with greater certainty, and on a much larger scale. In point of fact, it is the capital employed in this traffic which makes it successful. If the arrangements and equipments of the vessels were not so complete, the opium trade might be suppressed by the Chinese.

But enough—probably at the time we are writing, the opium trade may be over; the death-blow may have been given to it by the seizure at Canton, and it only remains to be considered whether the means adopted to effect that object were justifiable, and to consider the policy which should be pursued in consequence. We have no hesitation in asserting our conviction, from the abundant

warning that was given, that these events ought not only to have been foreseen but prevented. The peculiar position in which Captain Elliot was placed, deserves to be attentively considered, as he evidently appears to have been unacquainted with it himself, and consequently not to have known how to act in the emergency.

It is familiar to every one that before the expiration of the Charter, the Chinese considered the terms *English* and *East India Company* synonymous, and regarded the Presidents of the Select Committee as the rulers of all the people of that nation. They were on that account called *tae pans*, or head men, and to them were referred all matters in dispute. At the cessation of the monopoly, the native authorities requested that other *tae pans* might be sent out in the place of those of the Company. As the Select Committee had had the entire control over the British seamen and commerce, they were looked upon as responsible for all acts committed by them under their care, which were at variance with the laws of the country. The superintendents of British trade in China were appointed by government to replace the supercargoes of the East India Company, to have all their powers, and the entire control and regulation of the commerce. They were regarded, therefore, by the natives as placed entirely in the same position as the *tae pans*, and had to bear all the onus of their misdeeds.

It signifies little what powers were entrusted to Elliot by the ministers at home, whether he was entitled to rank as a consul, a plenipotentiary or a commissioner; and evidently he has acted as if all and each were his due; but the Chinese regarded him as a veritable *tae pan*. They know or care nothing about our titles and distinctions, but made themselves well acquainted, as they thought, with his intentions, before they allowed him to proceed up the river. His own explanation to the messengers sent down to Macao, from the Viceroy of Canton, was:

"My name is Elliot; I am an English officer of the fourth rank; in the autumn of the 14th year of Taou-kwang, I arrived here in a cruiser, which was duly reported by the pilots. During the two years, whilst residing at Macao, I have been engaged in signing the passports of the English ships bound homewards. And now the Company's factory is not re-established, and no *tae pans* arrived; but having received a dispatch from the great ministers of my king, directing me to control the merchants and seamen, and not to manage their commercial affairs, and also credentials; I am instructed thereby to proceed

to the city in an official capacity; and in case of difficulties among the merchants or seamen, to control them, &c."

The Viceroy in his report to the Emperor, after expressing some uncertainty as to the meaning of terms, comes to the following conclusion:

"Upon examination, I find that since the dissolution of the English Company's factory, no *tae pans* have arrived here; that for the last year the said barbarian Elliot has been engaged at Macao in signing the manifesto of English ships homeward bound, and quietly attending to his business; that the arrival of ships from his country being frequent, and the merchants and seamen numerous, it is necessary, without delay, to have some one to oversee and keep them in order; that the said barbarian has received credentials from his country, with instructions to control its merchants and seamen; and *that he is really the same as the tae pans*, though the name be different, it merely substituting one barbarian for another, which change, as it leads to no evil consequences, I suppose may be allowed."

Captain Elliot evidently had no other powers with the Chinese than that of *tae pan*, for they allowed no other, and therefore cannot be considered even by us as consul. Consular powers cannot be conferred by a government at home, without having previous international sanction that they will be held valid when the officer arrives at his station. The duty of Captain Elliot was thus to superintend the trade and to see that the laws of the country were respected; that everything was conducted regularly and peacefully. He was responsible in these matters, not only to his own government, but to that of the Chinese, as they had allowed him admission with that understanding. He should therefore have had nothing to do with the opium trade, which was contraband, and on that account beyond his jurisdiction. The free, legitimate commerce he came to superintend, and ought to have avoided any appearance of connection with the illicit. This had been the policy of the Select Committee of the Company, and should have been adopted by their successors. If, however, he mixed himself up with the smugglers, and afforded them any protection, the Chinese would naturally consider him as one of them, as part and parcel of the same tribe. He would, therefore, not have a claim for exemption from any measures they might think proper to adopt for their suppression.

That the Chinese had an undoubted right to endeavour to suppress the importation

and consumption of that which they considered a deadly poison, no one will attempt to deny. They formed their resolution of adopting vigorous measures, after the strictest investigation, and the necessity became urgent. These are well known. After inflicting various punishments upon the natives, without stopping the progress of the evil, they resorted to the expedient of raising public indignation against the foreigners, by strangling criminals convicted of opium-smoking in the square before the factories of Canton. One of these executions took place on the 12th of last December, when the populace became so excited, that a serious disturbance took place, and the residents were obliged to call in the aid of the native police. This created very serious alarm, and the foreigners began to consider their situation critical. This was followed by the arrival, at the provincial city in March, of "a high imperial commissioner, who, having repeatedly performed meritorious offices, was sent to settle the affairs of the outer frontier." The Commissioner, Lin, was invested with imperial authority, and carried the Great Seal, which had only two or three times been intrusted to high officers of state. His powers, therefore, were unlimited, and there is little doubt but that he stood highly pledged to exert himself to the uttermost in the suppression of the opium trade.

The course he pursued for this purpose must be allowed to have been extremely moderate, and much milder than would have been adopted by any other people. He arrested and closely examined the hong-merchants and linguists so as to ascertain from them the parties who were implicated in the forbidden traffic, and finding that the greater number of the foreign residents had been or were at that time dealers in opium, he issued a proclamation to them. In this document, after expatiating upon the favours conferred by the Emperor in allowing them to trade in tea and rhubarb, he says that the indignation of the whole nation is roused against them on account of their persisting in introducing a poison against the repeated commands of the government. He orders them, therefore, to deliver up all the opium now in their possession, that it may be destroyed, and to give a pledge that it shall not be brought by them in future. An unsatisfactory answer being returned by the Chamber of Commerce, measures were taken to enforce compliance. The passage down the river was impeded, the grand chops were refused, so that the trade was effectually stopped, and the foreigners were virtually prisoners in their factories. To what ex-

tent these coercive measures would have been carried, and how far they would have been successful, it is impossible to say. But the probability is that liberty would have been restored whenever the real smugglers were delivered up, and on them alone would punishment have been inflicted. This appears evident from the statement of the Lum-chuy, that he was well acquainted with the names of the offenders, and from the apologies he made to the innocent sufferers for keeping them in durance.

In the mean time Captain Elliot, residing at Macao, and hearing of the preparations made at Canton to carry the resolution come to by the government into effect, immediately issued an order for all the ships to assemble, and to put themselves into a warlike posture. As the greater number of these were engaged in the contraband trade, what effect would this have upon the minds of the authorities but to convince them that the superintendent had the control over not only the vessels of the free trade but those also of the opium traffic, and that he authorized and assisted them in their resistance to the laws of the land?

Again, after all this parade of power, what did he do? Why, thinking, no doubt, that the Chinese must be intimidated, and that his presence alone would be necessary to overawe the Imperial Commission and put a sudden stop to all the disturbances, he went up to Canton and tried to exercise that authority which he supposed himself to possess. That he was disappointed no one can wonder. He committed exactly the same error of judgment as did Lord Napier, and suffered equal mortification and defeat. Instead of being respected as the representative of a powerful nation, he found himself a prisoner at the mercy of the Chinese. What reason had he for going up to Canton at that particular time alone and unassisted, when the investigation of the opium trade was taking place? No plan was laid to entrap him, but he ran himself into a net prepared for others. This taking upon himself to negotiate with the mandarins upon the subject of opium made them naturally regard him as the responsible person and treat him accordingly. Truly it is a most difficult matter to deal with the Chinese, requiring the greatest tact and delicacy, but Elliot certainly in many points showed himself inferior to the task.

This appears to us to be the real state of the case, and we cannot see how, under the circumstances, he was justified in acting as he did. He exceeded his commission entirely in ordering the opium to be delivered up, on a pledge that the British government

would indemnify the owners for the sacrifice. He had no right to give such a surety and therefore his promise should pass for nothing. The opium dealers must put up with this loss in the best way they may, unless they find out some means of obliging the Chinese to make restitution. As they would have derived great profits if the speculation had turned out well, they must submit to bear the burden of its failure, instead of shifting it on the shoulders of others.

We cannot see that the Chinese have in this case acted in such a manner as to justify our proceeding to extremities with them. We have shown that the contemptuous treatment of Elliot is entirely to be attributed to his own mismanagement, and a war would scarcely be deemed advisable because a large party of smugglers have been punished. Something should be done, however, to prevent a recurrence of the insults offered to the fair traders resident at Canton, or else they will always be held responsible for the misdeeds of others with whom they have no connection, and over whom they have no control. Their liberty and lives will be in continual jeopardy, and they will be really security for the good behaviour of the whole world. An armed interference would be totally unsuccessful unless carried on upon a very extensive scale; and if once begun it must be persevered in, or else it would inevitably ruin our trade and our moral influence in the East. There are plenty of competitors in China, who are always ready to take advantage of any occurrence to further their own interests at our expense.

The plan which seems most advisable in the present posture of affairs, and which would at the same time test the sincerity of the members of the Chamber of Commerce, is to get all the foreign merchants trading to China to agree to suspend the trade altogether until apologies had been made for the treatment they had suffered, and a pledge given that it should not be repeated. The opium which has been seized may at the same time be demanded under promise of its being carried from the coast. No one at all acquainted with the Chinese believes that it has been burnt or otherwise destroyed. This plan would be successful if sufficient dependence could be placed upon the co-operation of the merchants. The only fear is that individual interests would outweigh the public good. The Chinese government would quickly be made to submit to these conditions from fear of the rebellion of those hundreds of thousands of people who have been for a long time entirely supported by the foreign trade; and probably the loss to the revenue

derived from that source would assist to turn the scale in our favour.

For the future the rule of conduct is evident. The fair and the illicit commerce cannot both be sanctioned. One must be cherished and the other discouraged; and both humanity and policy point out which should be chosen. If the East India Company were to cease to manufacture opium, and our government were to forbid its importation into China under the British flag, the smuggling trade would then be at an end, and a foul stain be wiped out from the national escutcheon.

Before giving upon a subject of so much importance in every point, some additional details, even at the risk of partial repetitions, we cannot but express surprise that everything like protection by a naval force should have been withdrawn from our merchants, and this too at a time when, by the opening of the trade and the removal of the East India Company's authorities, our ministry had incurred the double responsibility of directing the nefarious traffic through their own superintendents, and protecting the new competitors introduced by their own act. Prevention is better than cure; but our present rulers seem everywhere strangely ignorant of the moral influence of an effective physical force; and yet the slightest foresight would have observed the inevitable approach of the present crisis.

The cultivation of poppies is carried on to a great extent in various parts of the East Indies; but more particularly in Bengal, where the means of transition and the nature of the soil offer peculiar advantages to the cultivator. But in the district of Malwa it is obtained to such an extent, that it is said to amount to nearly half the whole produce of India, and the quality is reckoned greatly superior to that of Turkey and Persia, and equal to the rival districts of Benares and Patna. The cultivation here is entirely free, and the sale only encumbered with a small transit duty on the passage through Bengal. In Benares and Patna, on the contrary, the growth of opium is monopolized by the government, and any unauthorized individual attempting to establish a plantation for his own advantage would be speedily ejected, or compelled to sell the product of his labours, at the regular price, to the authorities. The usual mode of cultivation is as follows:—A certain portion of land is awarded to the ryot or peasant, and an advance of money tendered to enable him to pursue his avocation with advantage; should

he prove refractory, the money is thrown into his house, and he is compelled to return to his unprofitable business. Such being the case, he commences in the month of November by planting the seed in small squares, having a trench or path between each for the convenience of watering and tending the plants, and of gathering the juice; the former operation is rendered indispensable by the growth of the poppy taking place entirely in the dry season: the best and richest land is required, and it is said that the greatest care will not produce in India so fine a plant as will grow with little trouble in the cooler countries. In the month of February, or a little later, the operation of collecting the opium commences; previous to which, however, the agents of the government have made a valuation of the different lands, and have discerned, with considerable accuracy, the quantity of opium each ryot ought to deliver to the Gomashah. An incision is made in the head of the poppy, and the juice carefully collected from day to day, the ryot, his family, and his servants (if he have any) assisting; notwithstanding which a great loss of the juice takes place, from its running over the stem of the plant immediately on the first incision. As the opium is thus gathered, it is delivered each day to the agent, who keeps a regular account with the ryots, of the products of their various farms. The juice is required to be of a certain consistency, which is tried in the following manner: the receiver takes a portion out on his finger and turns it over, when if it still adheres it is reckoned sufficient; if, on the contrary, it drops, either it is returned to the cultivator to be further evaporated, or he is compelled to render an extra quantity to supply the deficiency. The drug is then weighed, and the ryot receives about three rupees and a half for every seer (1 lb. 13 oz). If he be suspected of embezzling any part of the product of his industry, an action in the civil courts is commenced for its recovery.

The cultivation of opium has been increasing with great rapidity of late years, and every other article has been neglected, or driven entirely from the districts where it is grown, and as only the best soil can be employed for the purpose, many harmless and valuable productions have given place to this noxious extract. Thirty-five thousand chests is reported to have been the product last year of the whole of India, each chest weighing, on an average, 125 pounds. The destination of this enormous crop is pretty clearly explained in the following extract from an article "*On the Preparation of Opium*"

um for the China Market," written by an opium examiner of the Benares agency.

"The great object of the Bengal opium agencies is to furnish an article suitable to the peculiar tastes of the population of China, who value any sample of opium in direct proportion to the quantity of hot-drawn watery extract obtainable from it, and to the purity and strength of the flavour of that extract, when dried and smoked through a pipe. The aim therefore of the agencies should be to prepare their opium so that it may retain as much as possible its native sensible qualities, and its solubility in hot water. Upon these points depend the virtually higher price that Benares opium brings in the China market, and the lower prices of Behar, Malwa, and Turkey opium. Of the last of these equal (Chinese) values contain larger quantities of the narcotic principles of opium, but are, from their greater spissitude and the less careful preparation of the Behar and Malwa, incapable of yielding extracts in equal quantity and perfection of flavour with the Benares."

From this statement it would appear, that if the East India Company have not actually engaged in the sale to China of the interdicted article, they have at all events permitted and seconded the proceedings of the merchants, a system which is strangely at variance with their promise to assist the Chinese government in suppressing the opium traffic.

After the opium has been collected in the manner described, it is forwarded across the country to Bengal, whence a small portion is transmitted to Europe, and the major part disposed of to the merchants.

The vessels used for the transport of the opium to the shores of China are for the most part small schooners or brigantines, built solely for the purpose, with low hulls, cutting the waves in such a manner as to keep the decks almost perpetually wet, a circumstance which renders them unfit for any other trade. But the speed with which they beat up against the north-east monsoons, blowing steadily from November to April, and the excellence of the general appointments, render them the admiration of every service, and class them among the finest vessels that cleave the waters of any latitude. On their arrival at Macao the opium clippers, as they are technically called, sometimes discharge their illicit cargo into an old vessel moored there for the purpose, or they pass on to Lintin, where there are seven or eight large receiving ships, in which the drug is left till it can be smuggled on shore. The manner in which this is

conducted, is among the most remarkable features of the trade.

In the first place, it is necessary that the authorities of Lintin and Macao should see nothing of the traffic; accordingly a complete system of bribery is adopted, and the custom-house officers, from the highest authorities to the common servants, are held in pay by the merchants. Even the magistrates and governors are not always inaccessible. All difficulties at the ports being thus removed, or materially lessened, the next object is to convey the opium on shore and distribute it among the dealers. This is performed by light native boats called "fast crabs," which defy pursuit, should it be attempted, and are always ready for a desperate resistance if attacked. By these the opium is conveyed to the dealers, and spread through the country like the humours of a poisoned wound, destroying health and vigour and virtue in its baneful progress.

This is the mode usually employed to land the cargo at the different sea-port towns, but if it be designed for the Canton market, a far more complete and organized system is required.

No European vessel is allowed to approach nearer than Lintin; the opium must therefore be conveyed to Canton in the boats of the country. Several English brokers have for years past resided at Canton, to whom a commission is allowed for the sale of the article, in the same manner as to the mercantile brokers of Europe; to them the native merchants apply for the drug, and having concluded the bargain, receive an order for the delivery of the opium, and pay for it on the spot in silver. The order is delivered at the receiving ships, and the chests carefully stowed and concealed in the long snake-like boats to be conveyed to Canton. The abuses which follow on this mode of conveyance may be supposed from analogy to the smuggling of other countries; they form no inconsiderable part of the danger and injury of the trade. The river is covered with government junks, solely for the purpose of preventing the traffic, and the shores are lined with custom-houses and forts; all these must be silenced by bribes; and as the system is pursued in every sea-port in China, the Emperor has not, through the whole of his extensive coasts, a single man that he can trust. The boats are manned by desperadoes of the worst character, well armed, and ready and willing for any act of violence that may offer; or if any thing should drive them from their usual employment, they turn, by an easy transition, to the kindred profession

of piracy. Occasionally also they are met and boarded by a mandarin boat, containing perhaps from thirty to forty men; the traders are fewer, but much better armed, and a sanguinary conflict ensues, which is terminated sometimes by the arrival of another mandarin, at other times by the escape of the "fast crab." Heu Naetse, the vice-president of the Sacrificial Court, in a memorial to his sovereign on the subject of opium, gives the following description of one of those encounters.

"The late Governor Loo, on one occasion, having directed the Governor Tsin Yu-chang to co-operate with Teën Poo, the district magistrate of Heängshun, they captured Leang Heënnée, with a boat containing opium to the amount of 14,000 catties. The number of men killed and taken prisoners amounted to several scores."

Such are the direct evils arising from the system of smuggling, but collateral abuses naturally follow and swell the list to a degree never before inflicted in time of peace by a civilized country.

The officers thus tempted from their duty by the wealth and influence of the British merchants, become hardened by habit and eager for bribes, and ready for violence and extortion. Nor are there wanting a class of desperadoes who prowl the seas and rivers under a fictitious authority, board the vessels of the peaceful natives under the pretext of searching for opium, and either by intimidation or violence plunder the defenceless proprietors of their well-earned property; these of course speedily change into bold and dangerous pirates, and thus is England constantly increasing the number of marauders in the Indian seas, those seas which but a few years back were almost cleared by the power of her arms.

We now come to the great and crying evil of the opium trade, its demoralizing and fatal effects on all classes of people in the Chinese dominions. We learn from Medhurst's China that in the year 1816 the importation of opium into those realms was 3210 chests, which were sold for 3,657,000 dollars, or 1139 dollars per chest; in 1836 the importation was 27,111 chests and the value 17,904,248 dollars, or 660 dollars per chest, proving that while the consumption of the article has increased more than eightfold in the last twenty years, the price has sunk to scarcely more than half the original value. To prevent this immense importation, no effort has been spared on the part of the Chinese government, remonstrances have been dispatched again and again to the

British merchants, menaces have been equally disregarded, the property of the native dealers has been seized and confiscated, and punishment inflicted sometimes even to death, and still without checking the increasing magnitude of the evil ; can it be wondered at that, wearied by useless efforts and exasperated by insolent resistance, the Emperor has at length resorted to the last expedient, and broken off an intercourse which no longer yielded profit to his country, but paid for her useful luxuries with misery, disease and death ?

From the authority above quoted is derived the following statement of the increase in the population of China since the year 1711. From that year to the year 1753, the population had advanced from twenty-eight millions and a half to one hundred and three millions, being at the rate of three per cent. per annum. This extraordinary increase may be accounted for in the following manner : according to the precepts of Confucius, " of the three degrees of unfilial conduct, to be without posterity is the first ;" in accordance with which decree, every Chinaman, be his station what it may, marries young, and rejoices above all things in a numerous family ; and this system, joined to a profound peace on the cessation of the sanguinary war with the Tatars, may easily account for the rapid increase. The population continued to multiply in the same proportion till the year 1792, since which it has gradually declined, and is now considered to advance only at the rate of one per cent. per annum. This may be partly traced to the increase of emigration, but must be in the main attributed to the introduction and rapid consumption of opium ; nor will this devastation appear wonderful when it is considered that for the last twenty years the average importation has been 1,815,458 pounds per annum, that two or three drachms consumed daily is sufficient in ten or at most fifteen years to destroy the strongest man, and that the ashes of the drug thus fatally inhaled by the rich may be resold to the poor and swallowed with equal effect. The usual dose of opium for a beginner is from ten to twenty grains, which being inhaled or swallowed produces in a short time the wild but transitory delirium for which they are willing to sacrifice fortune, health, and even life. While under the effects of the drug the whole frame is violently agitated, the pulse accelerated, and the general heat of the body increased, the breath quick and sudden, the eyes bright and restless, and in short every vital function excited to the highest degree ; a corresponding effect takes place upon the mind ; a delirium of pleasure

is produced, accompanied by the wildest flights of fancy ; and the dread of punishment, the misery of the past, and the darkness of the future, are all forgotten in the mad enjoyment of the moment : even after the short gleam of happiness is past, and the sad reality of misery before them, so dear is its memory, that no extent of fear or punishment will induce them to betray the residence of the dealer. This state of excitement is shortly succeeded by a corresponding depression, the pulse becomes slow and feeble, accompanied by a pitiable languor and exhaustion of spirits ; in this state they eagerly return to the cause of their suffering, and strive to drown the extent of their pain by increasing their daily quantum of the fatal drug. The rapid growth of the habit compels them to augment their dose to one or two or sometimes four drachms a day ; an opium eater to such extent may be distinguished at the first glance from all others of his fellow men. He no longer seeks his paregoric as the means of pleasure but as a refuge from misery ; the primary excitement is now little less terrible than the reaction ; his fancy is clothed with frightful visions, spectres and phantoms accompany him in every movement, and knowing himself an object of scorn and loathing, he yet dreads to be alone ; a frightful pallidness is spread over his face ; every fibre of his frame trembles with irrecoverable palsy ; he is devoured by hunger, which he has no means to satisfy, and by thirst which he dares not quench, for water would produce a spasm too violent for life ; in this state the wretched victims of intemperance crowd around the doors of the merciless dealers, imploring the means of oblivion, and seeming like lost spirits sent back to warn their fellows from destruction. At length when hunger, thirst, and pain have done their worst, they sink into the grave, and enter a world where, if it were true that mere earthly suffering alone can atone for earthly sin, a state of unmixed happiness would be their lot.

For a connected statement of the facts as they occurred we refer our readers to the *Oriental Herald* for September, 1839.

ART. VII.—1. *Tausend und eine Nacht. Arabische Erzählungen, zum Erstenmale aus den arabischen Urtext treu übersezt, von Dr. Gustav. Weil. Herausgegeben und mit einer Vorhalle, August Lewald, mit 2000 Bildern und Vignetten, von*

- F. Gross. Erster Band. Stuttgart. Pforzheim. 1838.
2. *Kitab alif leelah wa leelahat*. Edited by W.H. Macnaghten, Esq. Calcutta. 1839.
 3. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, from the Arabic of the Egyptian MS.*, as edited by Wm. H. Macnaghten, Esq., B.C.S., done into English by Henry Torrens, B. C. S. B. A., and of the Inner Temple. Vol. 1. Calcutta and London. 1838.*
 4. *Essai sur Les Fables Indiennes et sur leur Introduction en Europe*, par A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps. Paris. 1838.

THE singular fate of the interesting collection of tales which we now offer to the reader's consideration may afford an instance as well as a warning of the dangerous results likely to spring from too hasty and immediate a judgment upon novelties, formed, if we may so say, *à priori*, and upon the strange ground that they do not perfectly square with our received impressions and favourite prepossessions upon points more or less unknown. Invest as we will the arguments used by the learned of the most recent times and of our own, with all the pomp and circumstance of great names and widely varied acquisitions, still, in as much as our knowledge at the present day is so confessedly limited upon many portions of the past, the arguments we allude to come at best to no more than this, that because our ignorance precludes certainty it necessitates doubt, and that what we thus doubt we ought to deny, and what we deny we ought to discard.

This chain of reasoning, apparently so close, might and would be perfectly correct if only the basis were established:—if it was formed on our positive knowledge, and not on our confessedly imperfect information; but based, as it is, on the last alone, every step of the argument leads us but farther from the truth; for the truth, or the knowledge of truth, has yet to be discovered: and the proposition, therefore, is in all such cases only a string of utterly groundless assumptions.

Acting upon it then, as the learned have of late been too much accustomed to do, it is not to be wondered at that they have remained for so long a time comparatively stationary in their researches after the hidden things of

antiquity; that they are as far as ever, in spite of their hieroglyphical labours, from lifting the veil of the Egyptian Isis in the West, or taking from the Parsee of the East that mystic covering which conceals or disguises the real utterance of his religious language. The mysteries of both systems, as of many others, doubtless involve a vast mass of fanciful and monstrous absurdity, but we are strongly tempted to believe that they also include and preserve enough of religious faith and historical fact to repay amply the labour of bringing the whole to light.

The scepticism, which on a bolder, more erudite and elaborate, as well as a more recondite scale, has thrown aside the once vaunted and still really important discovery of volumes like the Zendavesta, the Dabistan, the Deshotoor, &c. and founded its objections upon names as referring, like the Akteristan, to stars and not to earth;—to languages as approximating to but not identical with any one with which we are at present acquainted;—to sacred or prophetic personages unrecognizable by ourselves to this hour; has certainly been ably sustained; and with a power of ingenuity and a range of learning in their champions that serves as a fair, though the only, excuse for admitting their validity. There are men whose mental powers and general attainments are of so gigantic a character and possess so preponderating an influence, that they have a right not only to be heard, but to be heard with an absolute prepossession in their favour. The world at large has neither the time, the information, the inclination, nor the ability to undertake a revision of their arguments or to dissent from their conclusions, and must be satisfied to walk with submissive faith in the creed of the more enlightened; to observe the path, and not trample on the flowers and fruits that have rewarded the care, labour, and science, of philosophical cultivators in so ungrateful a field.

But with all this due and indispensable reverence for authority, a time must come when it will be called in question, and by those even who were the foremost to bow before its dicta. When it is discovered that science, so far advanced, cannot proceed; that inquiry, however general, recoils upon itself; that the cup of knowledge, however inspiring, contains but dregs at the bottom, we are apt to feel a doubt whether purer matter does not still remain overlooked in the goblet; whether recoil is not produced by the insufficiency of the instrument; whether the further door of science is not barred by her own accumulations. Perhaps a few magic sounds, a simple though strange incantation, or even the more vulgar labours of the

* The Thousand and One Nights, commonly called, in England, the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. A new translation from the Arabic, with copious notes. By Edward William Lane, author of "The Modern Egyptians." Illustrated by many hundred engravings on wood, from original designs by William Harvey: in three volumes. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight and Co., Ludgate-street. 1839.

spade, may clear away the rubbish that conceals the entrance of the mystic grot; and the Aladdeens and even the one-eyed Fakereers of Philology may penetrate to the scenes and sense of rites of abomination, or load themselves with the boundless treasure of historic gems and pearls,—fitter offering for Princesses of China than the lethargic opiates of John Company and his crew.

If the scepticisms we refer to are more bold and more recondite, those of the case actually before us, as more general in their nature and affecting a point of popular feeling, are more likely to lead, and in fact have led, to the recoil which is just beginning to be felt by the public mind. When the "Thousand and One tales" were introduced to Europe by Galland they were at once pronounced ridiculous, improbable, unnatural; not mere exaggerations, but absolute dreams of the distempered fancy of the East, presenting, like other dreams, shapes of glory indeed, but, from monstrous combinations and impossible changes, mocking all powers of analysis, and leaving only their vague and confused impressions on the pulse of manhood and in the light of day. Europe, still ignorant of the East to this hour, professed at that time to know it better than it was known to its own children. Two centuries have scarcely dissipated the illusion then so rife, when the ingenious translator who had even adapted, in salutary dread, his labours to the taste of his native country and the Western world, was at once set down as an able impostor, ridiculed for his presumed ignorance, and persecuted with jesting malice. The truth of the scenes, however, and the nature and simplicity displayed in the characters, won their gradual way into the bosom of the multitude; and the child who had been lulled with visions of imaginary gorgeousness and facilities of unbounded power during sleep, remembered in his waking, and even his matured moments, the sympathies that had won his spirit and the facts that had interested his reason. A taste had been created, a feeling infused in his infancy, which grew with his growth and strengthened with the strength of subsequent gradual information; and though the world and its sterner realities called him away from these idle indulgences, mocked at its gentler phantasies, and precluded all relapse, still so closely were they associated with the hours and enjoyments of boyhood, that the father heard them referred to by his children with scarcely suppressed pleasure, and felt that, like the buried grain, their banishment to the nursery had given them root and produce a hundred fold.

In proportion to the increase of our Orien-

tal intercourse the interest of the tales increased. They were found to convey a more perfect picture of manners than the works of any traveller however accomplished and indefatigable, and to comprise in themselves a store of Eastern information, so illustrative of feelings and customs, and so well acclimated in general to the places they assumed to depict, that it was by no means easy to improve them in these respects. The internal evidence was too strong for scepticism, and even before the discovery of any MS. of the Thousand and One, the enlightened of every country had admitted their genuineness.

But now a new question arose; the very MSS. that established their authenticity as Eastern, awakened doubts by their discrepancies as to what country of the East could have originated them. Their manufacture, their immediate manufacture, was obviously that of the spot whence they were brought; but though the web had been woven in Arabia or Egypt, the threads were found also inwrought with the tissues of Hindostan, and the richest hues were undoubtedly Persian. Amongst a crowd of minor conjectures two parties were speedily formed, and the lists were graced by the two mightiest Champions of learned Europe, the *Dii Majores* of Historical language and Traditions. The acute ingenuity, profound research, enlarged learning, and scholastic accuracy of Silvester de Sacy, traced, even to the minutest shades of correspondence and corroboration, the mode and manner of the Tales to their proper Arabian sources. The array of his facts, their causes, and coincidences, it was idle and impossible to deny; but it was possible to doubt the general conclusion, and the shield of this scepticism was in the hands of Von Hammer. With less of minuteness in details, or less perfect familiarity perhaps with language, less accuracy of general thought, and certainly less intimacy with Arabia than his justly-renowned and thus far unrivalled antagonist, the Orientalist of Vienna possessed an even wider range of languages, a freer survey of tradition, and, singly worth all other qualifications, a bolder spirit of thought. Bound by the ties of assumed descent for his nation from the tribes of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, Von Hammer has ever loved with filial reverence to trace the seats, the rites, the destinies, and the claims of his Indo-German ancestors. If such investigations have, as asserted, sometimes led him into errors, these were venial and trifling; more trifling we venture to affirm than most of those embraced by the general opponents of his lucubrations, and, so far as we ourselves have been able to ex-

amine, much of his apparently wilder speculations have been strengthened, if not absolutely established, by the arguments of his adversaries; amongst such we would particularly specify Simkowsky. We may be pardoned for digressing so far as to observe that Von Hammer himself has not always been aware of his advantages; but in various instances where he himself has frankly abandoned the field to his antagonist, the very reasoning that procured a slight triumph to the latter would have overthrown him altogether.

To return: respecting the specific origin of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, which Galland loosely says were written by some unknown Arabian author, Von Hammer considers that they originated, like the fables of Pilpay, from India by way of Persia. He founds his theory partly on internal evidence; such as the intervention of Genies of Indian character; traces of Indian customs and manners, and the Indian or Persian origin of some of the names; but chiefly from a passage of Masoudi, an Arabian writer of high authority, who wrote A. D. 942, and who, referring to certain fables or romances, likens them to some which he says have recently been translated into Arabic from the Persian, Indian, and Greek languages, amongst which he mentions "Sindbad," and the work entitled One Thousand Tales, commonly called One Thousand Nights, containing the history of the King, the Vizier, and the Vizier's daughter, and her nurse; the names of the two latter being Shirzadeh and Dinarzadeh." M. Von Hammer observes, in confirmation of his theory, that, under the Caliph Haroun Alraschid and his sons, Ameen and Maimoun (towards the close of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century,) Arabian literature was enriched by the translation of a vast number of Greek, Persian, and Indian works. He supposes that the collection in question underwent many changes and sophistications, in passing through the hands of so many Arabian writers.

The theory of the learned Baron de Sacy affirms that the tales exhibit a complete picture of the customs, laws, and manners of the courts of Bagdad and Cairo; that the original work is written in the vulgar dialect of Arabic, in a style which discovers all the traces of decay, and betrays a modern publication, of which Egypt was the country; that the Genii are the bad spirits of the Mohammedan creed; and with respect to the passage in Masoudi, who lived some years before Cairo was built, if it be genuine, which he doubts, all that can be inferred from it is, that there existed, under the title

of the Thousand Tales, a work with which we are now unacquainted, originally Persian or Indian, which was translated into Arabic, and from which the author of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments borrowed, perhaps, the names of his principal characters. He is of opinion that the work under consideration was originally written in Syria, in the vulgar dialect; that it was left incomplete by the author, and perfected and augmented by later writers; that the more recent tales were added at different periods, and perhaps in different countries, but chiefly in Egypt; and that the only fact that can be affirmed respecting the age of this collection is that it is not very old, as its language proves; but still that, when edited, the use of tobacco and coffee was unknown, since there is no allusion to either in the work.

A summary of some notices previously made may not be wholly unacceptable to the reader, or misplaced here.

The Voyages of Sindbad are the subject of a very erudite dissertation by Hole, who has not unaptly entitled this portion of the Thousand and One Nights, the Arabian Odyssey, as it seems, "if small things may be compared with great," to bear the same resemblance to that performance as an Oriental mosque to a Grecian temple. For his very ingenious arguments and deductions the reader is referred to Hole's work, but a singular poem which has escaped his notice, contains some highly curious coincidences with these voyages and with some other portions of the Arabian Nights. They tend at the same time to prove the antiquity of these particular stories, as it is improbable that the eastern story-tellers should have been indebted to the writer of a German metrical romance of the twelfth century. The romance alluded to is Duke Ernest of Bavaria. It was composed in German Rhyme by Henry of Veldeck, who flourished about 1160; and a Latin poem on the same subject, by one Odo, appeared about the same time. A prose version of the outlines of the story is still popular in Germany. In this singular romance we find the æronautic excursion in the second voyage of Sindbad, with no material variation; the pigmies and cranes as well as the adventure borrowed from the Odyssey in the third voyage, and the subterraneous voyage in the sixth. We have likewise the magnetic mountain, occurring in the story of the Third Calender, which has also been transplanted into the miraculous legend of the Irish Saint, Brandanus.

The striking identity in the story of Camaralzaman with one in the popular romance of Peter of Provence and the fair Maguelone, has been pointed out by the French trans-

lator, and affords another proof how much the *trouveurs* of France were indebted to the Arabian novelists. The tale of the Sleeper Awakened is evidently the foundation of those European anecdotes which suggested to Shakspeare the induction to the *Taming of the Shrew*. One of the most self-evident coincidences is the Enchanted Horse, which was evidently the original of the Brazen Horse of Chaucer; of that by means of which Pierre carried off the fair Maguelone; and, finally, of the Clavileno of Cervantes. Hole also pointed out the similitude "of the mirror which discovers secret machinations and future events, and of the ring which reveals the language of birds," in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, with the ivory perspective glass, which occurs in the story of the *Peri Banou*, and the merchant gifted with the speech of birds in the fable of the Ass, the Ox, and the Labourer. Similar magic mirrors and rings occur in several Asiatic and European romances; and the acquirement of the language of birds in particular, which perhaps originated in this science being attributed to Solomon in the Koran, was a favourite fiction in the middle ages. In the same manner the travelling carpet in the story of the *Peri Banou*, which is likewise founded on the wonders attributed to Solomon by the Mahomedans, was introduced into the French romance of *Richard sans peur*, as has been remarked by a former editor of the *Arabian Nights*. It also immediately brings to our mind the wishing-cap of *Fortunatus*, a romance which bears strong marks of an Oriental origin. A wishing-rod of rather a different nature occurs in the ancient German romance of the *Nibelungen*, and is also mentioned in a Teutonic glossary of the ninth or tenth century.

Hole also pointed out the origin of two stories; that of *Bedreddin*, founded on a very ancient story in *Nella-Rajah*, inserted in *Kindersley's Specimens of Indian Literature*; and that of *Alnaschar*, evidently founded on a fable in the *Hitopadeesa*.

We have already expressed our own conviction that the celebrity of *Ferdousi* in the ninth century introduced much of the chivalry of the East into Europe at the Crusades, and accounts for much that is found in the kindred genius and themes of *Ariosto* himself. But it is, we conceive, equally unquestionable that, as we observed in the article just alluded to, (*F. Q. R. No. 45, German Literature*), the tribes of the East when migrating to Europe introduced with their arms their traditions also, the same which had afforded a basis to the work of the great Persian poet and to his predecessors. The songs, in fact, of the Tatars are everywhere

paralleled in antiquity wherever its traces appear; and thus the sole difficulty of this opinion vanishes, since we find that the Arabs conserved to a late period and with singular care as to fidelity of tradition, not admitting the change of even a single letter of the narrative, the succession of oral historians or reciters, by them called *Rouwah*, (see *F. Q. R. No. 39*), and who, like the minstrels of Europe, and the *Usi*, *Kavi*, *Aoidoi*, *Nabathi*, &c. of other lands, were especially devoted to historical narration.

Thus in the story of *Sindbad*, many of the incidents which are attributed to the Greeks were undoubtedly borrowed by them from Persia; and the fabulous deduction assuredly sprung from an historical fact. Thus, as noted on a former occasion, the Old Man of the Sea, simply signifies the chief (*sar*) of the sea or lake, (*yangi*), i. e., of the coast;—and there is no greater perversion in the translation than in that of *sheikh*, used sometimes as chief, sometimes as old man, or elder, (so too our *eoldermann*) as in patriarchal countries. The same compound word, *sar-yangi*, is obviously the name preserved by *Arrian*, and *Quintus Curtius*, as *Zarangæ*, a *Scytho-Persic* tribe. This singular identity is established by the fact that the *Avari*, or *shepherds*, of our Indian frontier, *Scyths* also, are in a vulgar tradition represented as riding upon the conquered inhabitants; while the *buskin*, mentioned (if we remember rightly, by *Herodotus*) as the appendage of the *Scythian* tribes, at once explains the phantasy of the leather legs of these man-bestriding Ancients.

Various similar affinities, explainable only by the older Persian language, and but partially so by the Sanscrit, go far to prove, we submit, that the origin of the tales and traditions that have for so many centuries astonished and amused Europe may be sought for in Persia alone; and that the *deevs* or magicians, the instructors of these last, were not *Brahmins*, we have repeatedly intimated as our opinion; however they may have become possessed of the *primæval* abodes, if such they were, (and it is scarcely a question but that they were not,) together with the language of their predecessors. Our suspicions, and those of others, borne out by the remarkable absence of all historical documents amongst the *Brahmins*, are even more strongly confirmed by the recent fact stated in *Col. Tod's* volume lately published, and which is too extraordinary to be passed over here.

We insisted, in the article referred to, (*Tamil MSS. No. 37, April, 1837*), on the peculiarity that the *Brahmins* had no history, and that they were careful to destroy all

such records of others as came in their way. We noticed, at the same time, the singular contrast afforded by the Jains, who carefully preserved every paper that fell in their way: a course imitated by the Mahomedans also; for many of the Arabian customs are traceable to Persia and Hindostan. This struggle between the Conservatives and Destructives of Indian literature, is accounted for by the Jains, with every appearance of probability, by the statement that the Brahmins who superseded them endeavoured to destroy the evidences of their prior possession and antiquity. Colonel Tod develops a fact which, even in its outline, supports their assertion; for he discovered at Anhulwarra an immense library preserved by the Jains with the greatest secrecy in subterranean chambers. In quoting the passage we shall merely remark that the discovery seems to have been scarce fairly appreciated by the concluding observation.

"It is contained in subterranean apartments in that quarter of the new town which has appropriately received the name of Anhulwarra. Its position screened it from the lynx-eyed scrutiny of Alla, when he destroyed all that was destructible in this ancient abode. The collection is the property of the Khartra sect, of which the celebrated Amra and Hema were the *Sripooj*, or primates. This sect, called *Khartra*, or 'the orthodox' (a title conferred by Sidraj, after long theological disputations,) is the most numerous of all the Jain votaries, enumerating at one time no less than eleven hundred disciples, extending from the Indus to Cape Comorin. Though every one, lay or clerical, bearing the name of Khartra, has a property in the library, it is in strict charge of the *Nagar-Seth* and the *Panch*, or chief magistrate and council, of the city, while its immediate superintendence is confided to some Yutis spiritually descended from Hemacharya, the senior of whom has some pretensions to learning. Years before my visit, I had known of its existence from my own Guru, who was equally anxious with myself to place the fact beyond doubt, and on the very day of our arrival, he hastened to 'worship the Bindar.' Although his venerable appearance was quite enough to make the padlocks fly open, nothing could be done without the *fiat* of the *Nagar-Seth*. The council was convened, before whom my Yuti produced his *patravali*, or spiritual pedigree, tracing his descent from Hemacharya himself, which acted like a spell, and he was invited to descend and worship the treasures of ages. The catalogue forms a large volume, and I should fear to hazard my own veracity, or that of my Guru, by giving his estimate, from its contents, of the number of books which filled these chambers. They are carefully packed in cases, filled up with the dust of the *Mugd*, or Caggar-wood, an infallible preservative against insects.

"Until we have some insight into the contents of the subterranean 'bindar,' of Anhulwarra, and a more extended knowledge of the Oswals of Jussulmér, with access to its library, which is equally numerous and probably more select than that of Puttun; above all, until we have formed some acquaintance with the dignitaries of the Jain sect and their learned librarians, we are not in a condition to appreciate the intellectual riches of the Jains, and can only pity the overweening vanity which has prompted the assertion, that the Hindus possess no historical records, and which seeks to quench the spirit of inquiry, by proclaiming such research a vain labour."

The fair inference, however, is that the Jains concealed these treasures in order to save them, as they allege, from their persecutors. It is not therefore just to charge the opponents of Brahminical antiquity with denying the existence of historical records in Hindostan; for no one at all acquainted with the subject could doubt the propensity of the Jains, even before this discovery; but it tells with double force against the Brahmins; for if they, the temporal and spiritual masters of the country, possessed from immemorial time the seats of learning, how comes it they can show nothing to establish their extraordinary claims? Because, and thus alone can we account for the now scarcely questionable fact—because if Hindostan possesses records, these tell against the pretensions of the Brahmins.

If then these claims are inadmissible, the theory which gives the origin of the Thousand and One to the Brahmins is, with Schlegel, erroneous, and confirms in part the suspicions of Von Hammer, that they were Perso-Indian. The whole tendency of our own argument has been that they are properly Persian, or Perso-Deev, carried to India by the Deevs, in Darius's expedition, and there reappearing in the form of the Pancha-Tantra, as recognized by Professor Wilson. Fire worship was introduced into Persia in the reign of Gustasp, or Darius Hystaspes, at latest, and had made but slow progress in his dominions, and none in Tartary and to the East. In Persia it was in truth actively abhorred; and in the reign of Homai, and even of Darius her son, it was clearly any thing but general. How then can there be any objection in the hatred professed for the Fire-worshippers throughout the Thousand and One? The reign of Homai, the Parysatis (Peri-Zadeh) of the Greeks, was distinguished for its illumination; that Princess herself was highly accomplished and a lover of letters, which she herself cultivated; and that the country itself was in a high state of literary civilisation is apparent from the tra-

dition that when her son, or grandson, Darius, was vanquished by the Greeks, and the confused reigns of the Ashkanians ensued, —after 217 years Ardisheer Babegan, the restorer of the ancient line, sought out carefully all the monuments of the national learning and belief, and re-established with due honours the Magi, the preservers of literature.

We are, therefore, fully inclined to admit the probability now insisted on by Baron Von Hammer Purgstall, that early Persia and Homai were the original framers of the 'Thousand and One'; and when we recollect how careful the Arabs of later days must necessarily have been to modify the manners of other countries, otherwise unintelligible to their own excessive nationality, we shall readily comprehend the truth of any arguments for the conversion of foreign scenes and manners into those of Arabia and Egypt.

Nevertheless we must declare our entire and positive conviction that those conversions were not needed to the utmost extent that has been imagined. We are decidedly of opinion that the Arabs, somewhat like the Brahmins, adopted much from others, or else preserved much that had descended to them, in common with the rest of the world, from the most ancient nations. This argument applies to some remarks of Mr. Lane's, to whom we have been less anxious to introduce the reader, from the deserved popularity of his admirable translation and expositions, and which of course have introduced the work into every library. In Mr. Lane's translation we find the King of the Black Islands, and these are four in number, making this statement of his wife's enchantments:—

"The inhabitants of our city were of four classes; Muslims, and Christians and Jews, and Magians; and she transformed them into fish; the white are the Muslims; the red, the Magians; the blue, the Christians; and the yellow, the Jews. She transformed, also, the four islands into four mountains, and placed them around the lake."—*Lane*, part ii. p. 110.

Hereupon Mr. Lane acutely observes:—

"This passage deserves particular notice, as being one of those which assist us to form some opinion respecting the period when the present work was composed or compiled. It is the same in all the copies of the original work that I have seen, and bears strong evidence of having been written subsequently to the commencement of the eighth century of the Flight, or fourteenth of our era, at which period, it appears, the Christians and Jews were first compelled to distinguish themselves by wearing, respectively, blue and yellow turbans, in accordance with an

order issued by the Sultán of Egypt, Mohammad Ibn Kala-oon.* Thus the white turban became peculiar to the Muslims.—An eminent German critic has been unfortunate in selecting the incident of the four fish as affording an argument in favour of his opinion that the Tales of a Thousand and One Nights are of Indian origin, on the mere ground that the same word (*varna*) is used in Sanscrit to signify both 'colour' and 'caste.' —Part iii. p. 135.

Again:—

"The tale here presents another remarkable anachronism. The title of 'Sultán' was first borne by Mahmood Ibn Sabuktekeen, in the year of the Flight 393, just two hundred years after the death of Hároon Er-Rasheed; and there was no Sultán of Egypt until the year of the Flight 567; the first being the famous Saláh ed-Deen, or Saladdin. It appears, then, that there must have been a long series of Sultáns in Egypt before the period of the composition of this work; for otherwise the author could not have supposed that there was one contemporary with Er-Rasheed.

"I have now given several data upon which to found a reasonable opinion as to the age when these tales were composed. First, in Note 55 to Chapter ii., I have shown that a fiction in one of the tales is framed in accordance with the distinction of Muslims, Christians, and Jews, by the colours of their turbans, which mode of distinction originated in the beginning of the eighth century of the Flight. Secondly, in the present note, I have given a strong reason for concluding that there must have been a long series of Sultáns in Egypt before the age of the author. In the third place, I must remark, that all the events described in this work are said to have happened in ages which, with respect to that of the author, were *ancient*, being related to an ancient king; from which I think we may infer the author's age to have been at least two centuries posterior to the period mentioned in the first of these data. Fourthly, in Note 22 to Chapter iii., I have shown that the state of manners and morals described in many of these tales agrees, in a most important point of view, with the manners and morals of the Arabs at the commencement of the tenth century of the Flight. This I regard as an argument of great weight, and especially satisfactory as agreeing with the inference just before drawn. Fifthly, from what I have stated in the note immediately preceding, I incline to the opinion that few copies of this work, if any, were written until after the conquest of Egypt by the Turks: in other words, that the work was perhaps composed shortly before the year 1517 of our era; but more probably, within ten or twenty years *after*. This opinion, it should be remarked, respects especially the *early* portion of the work, which

* El Makreezee and El-Is-hákee.

is the least likely to have been interpolated, as later parts evidently have been. At the last mentioned period, a native of Cairo (and such I believe to have been the author of the principal portion of the work, if not of the whole) might, if about forty years of age, retain a sufficient recollection of the later Memlook Sultáns and of their ministers to describe his kings and courts without the necessity of consulting the writings of historians, which, probably, he was unable to do; for from his ignorance of chronology, it appears that his knowledge of former times was not derived from the perusal of any regular record, but only from traditions or from works like the present. As I proceed with my translation I shall frequently have occasion to revert to this subject, and may perhaps be enabled to form a more precise opinion than the one which I have here expressed. I should have delayed the insertion of the foregoing remarks, had I not considered it a point of some importance to suggest to the reader, as early as possible, that the manners and customs, and in general even the dresses and dwellings, described in most of the present tales, are those of a very late period. The lax state of morals which appears to have prevailed among the Arabs in the time of our author, probably continued at least until the period when coffee became a common beverage, about the middle of the tenth century of the Flight (or near the middle of the sixteenth century of our era,) and perhaps considerably later, until some years after the introduction of tobacco into the East."—Part v. pp. 307, 308.

However disposed to praise the ingenuity of Mr. Lane, we are far from making so light as he does of Schlegel's suggestion, and are equally convinced of its felicity and probability. The word *varna*, or *pharna*, (varnish?) is however not peculiar to the Sanscrit, and is to be found in the common dialects also. But the division into four castes was not confined to Hindostan: it prevailed equally in Persia, in the reign of Giamshid, *i. e.* the Noachidæ, and in Chaldæa, and amongst the Sabæans and Nabathæans also. White, as purity, was worn by the priesthood in Persia, as among the Moslems of the present day: the red is evidently of the warrior class; it was the distinguishing colour of the conqueror Tahmaras or Mars, as among the Spartans and English. The reader will recall the remark of Pandarus in the Iliad as to the unpainted blood he had drawn from the Spartan Menelaus. *Gour*, or yellow, signifies also a husbandman, and, as applied to the Jews, an outcast. Inquiry might elucidate the several appropriations. In Hindostan it is remarkable that the four colours specified are those chiefly worn, and it cannot be supposed an Egyptian Caliph's commands would be transferred to the remote

East, and adopted by an unchanging race. It is far more probable that the Arabs adopted a prevailing custom of classification, *mutatis mutandis*, as we know they borrowed the sacred green, Mohammedan, from the Nabathæans.

We shall further observe, that among the old Eastern tribes, as in Tataria to this hour, a tendency to the different primitive colours marks the difference of races: and we need hardly recall, in illustration, to the reader the scene in Ferdousi's Shah Nameh, where the tents of the Persian leaders are distinguished by their particular colours, black, yellow, green ("the colour of the Pure,") and red: the well-known distinctions of the black and the white banners of the caliphs originated in Persia, from their families; and districts; as the Kara-bagh, still bear the denominations of colour.

If the four colours were, as we imagine, symbolic of the four classes, or castes, into which society was divided in Persia, they could not have been more appropriately arranged than in the tale, in an order corresponding with the relative estimation of those castes: and it is remarkable that they always throughout the story, though frequently repeated, appear in the same succession precisely. The chance of four colours ranging thus coincidently once is sufficiently small, but the regular adherence to this arrangement seems to mark, as well as their exact number, something far more than casualty, and indeed to render this in the highest degree improbable, and incredulity more extravagant than belief.

The origin of the four castes in India is confessedly unknown; in Persia it is distinctly traced to the Noachidal dynasty, who in inventions, improvements, arts, civilisation, time, and duration of sovereignty, exactly coincide with that period of Persian history personified by the poetry of Ferdousi, as already observed, under the name of Giamshid. This singular coincidence between the only extant narrative of the East, and the historians and writers of the West, can never be too strongly insisted upon. Disguised as facts must be when preserved only through the medium of tradition, we could scarcely hope a more distinct reference through these tales to so remote and unknown an institution in a foreign and ancient land: only the most imperfect and broken hints could by possibility remain; and these warped by the accidents to which we refer. That traditionary history has a decided tendency to turn to the marvellous is obvious from the northern traditions of Thor, and a hundred others, transformed into mere nursery tales even among the

direct descendants of our Scandinavian ancestors, till Jack the Giant Killer, and other infant narratives, are but miniature editions of the Edda: and, since the coincidences in these leave not a doubt of their common origin, why should we reject those of the more obscure East?

It is remarkable too that the tale in question is particularly specified as of *an ancient King* and a physician of *Roum*. Why this should be confined to two or three hundred years, unless to square with another portion of Mr. Lane's hypothesis, we cannot imagine. His version expressly states that "there was in former times, in the country of the Persians, a monarch who was called King Yoonan."

The country then is decidedly established, and the name of Yoonan recalls the ancient race, subsequently known as the polished Ionians of Asia Minor, and bearing still in India that ancient denomination. No scholar can doubt the existence of the Scythian, i. e. Persian or Tatar, race of the Yoni in remote antiquity; no reader, that the names of a tribe and its monarch were continually the same. In the land of Persia, in the time of the Yoni, or their descendants, while the appellation was still given to their king, we there find a regular division of the inhabitants into four colours, and that they were oppressed by a magician. These circumstances strike us forcibly, we must confess, as an incidental confirmation of the formation of the four castes in the early period and place alluded to, i. e. of the Noachidal Giamshid, and Persia. We have seen that in India their origin is unknown.

Mr. Lane's hypothesis would account but for two of the colours; for as to the assumption of white by the Moslems, it is not singular: white is the symbol of the priestly race every where,—but in China. In ancient Persia we learn the distinct historical origination of the custom from Ferdousi.

We know too that the Deev, or Magician race, modified if they did not overturn for a time the ancient system of Persia. In story, such acts are wrought by a single being. The king of the Four Islands (castes?) marries his cousin, a lady of great beauty; such were the Peeris, inhabitants of Ginnistan, near the Caucasian range, the enlightened race with whom Tahmarus and Gustasp successfully contracted alliance. The interest of the story of course requires a lady; the historical fact runs naturally into fanciful distortion after a time. If a king was to be aided against his enemies, he becomes a beautiful princess, a Peri Marjan, to be rescued from hideous Gins.

The Deevs or Sages, ancient, enlightened, were called Peer, as well as the lovely fairies, or Peeri. The figurativeness of an oriental language produced this confusion. We have little doubt that the tale is but disguised history, of the intrusion of the Deev race into Persia, requiring the intervention of another sovereign to restore the original state of things.

We are greatly confirmed in this opinion by the story of Habib in the Arabian Tales, where a legend is distinctly preserved, a Persian origin and Persian locality confessed. The Gins settle and intermarry in the dominions of Schal Goase. Is this the Arabic form, Shah al Gawah?—the celebrated Persian blacksmith leader, Gao, or Gawah, at once recurs to the mind. The scene is laid near Caucasus; the monarch is sovereign of the Black Island, like the unhappy half-marble king of the former story, and the Black Island (Kara-bagh, Karakoum, &c. ?) is the chief seat of his power. We find the allurements of women used to impede the hero, near Caucasus, like those of the enchantress Susen, in Ferdousi. We find the favourite Persian number, seven, recur in every thing, seas, roads, &c.: of the roads the hero takes the Fourth. The six islands in the seven seas remind us of the Saca Dwipa, &c. of Indian antiquity, and its climates; tales of Mount Meru confessedly brought down from remotest ages, and of the seat of the ancient Deevs. These six islands too are distinguished by their different colours, black, white, green, yellow, red, and blue, and which had been successively seized, especially the Black Island, by the rebel Abarikaf, the Abari of Kaf, or Scythians of Caucasus. Like the Deevs these monsters are represented as highly civilized; for they refuse to combat with Habib because he is not fully armed. We deem this evidence of coincidences, taken with the preceding, perfectly conclusive as to Persian origination of at least the two tales in question, and their historical development. Were not these Deev conquerors, the Kaianides?

We do not, however, feel the slightest doubt but that the expedition of Habib to rescue the besieged princess, Dorathil-Goase, is merely the partial adaptation to Arabia of a Persian or Tatar exploit in favour of a captive king. Habib is an old Tatar name.

An extract from Mr. Lane will assist our opinion as to colours and origination, and our theory of changes—in Persia, places are designated by different colours, as the Yellow mountain, Black mountain, &c. :—

"One of the two stories which I have extracted from it, that of Táj el-Mulook and

the Lady Dunya, bears apparent indications of a Persian origin; but in their present state, the manners and customs &c. which both exhibit are Arab. The scenes of the events narrated in the story of Táj el-Mulook are in Persia and, probably, in India; but imaginary names appear to be given to the several kingdoms mentioned in it: the kingdom of El-Ard El-Khadra (the Green Country) and El-'Amodeyn (which signifies the Two Columns) is said to include the mountains of Ispahan, and its locality is thereby sufficiently indicated: that of El-Ard El-Beyda (the White Country) I suppose to be in Persia or India: and as to the Islands of Camphor, I fancy we must be content to consider them vaguely as appertaining to India: the country in which 'Azeez and Azeezeh' resided is said to have been near to the Islands of Camphor; but their story is perfectly Arab."

As to the title of Sultan, it would surely suffice to have prevailed in Egypt, for an author so ignorant as to place Sultans there in El Rashid's time. It seems strange, too, to tie down an ancient king to about two centuries; why not ten? The manners and morals of the Arabs at a particular time Mr. Lane, from his experience, can doubtless determine far better than most men, but can he point out that they were not borrowed from other nations, and merely preserved, not bestowed by the graphic writer on his tale? All his arguments, we submit, can only bear out the collation and editing, so to say, of the tales; assuredly not, to the best of our judgment, their origin.

We have more than once on this as on former occasions supported our opinions by the testimony of the Arabian historian, Masoudi, and whom in all that relates to Persian antiquity we look upon as utterly unrivalled amongst his countrymen; since, in total ignorance necessarily of much of the traditionary times—if such they really were, which we greatly question—of Persian history, his testimony is ever borne out by the facts, which come one by one, and at long intervals, regarding that primæval country. We are therefore happy to find, in a most able article in the *Athenæum* (No. 572), the extract of a passage from that valuable writer which is not usually met with in his works; which, though regarded by some as an interpolation in one copy, could yet hardly have been extended, and without any object, to a second; which confirms the impression of Von Hammer as to the Persian origin of the Thousand and One; and which finally is itself confirmed by the recent discovery of that learned German. We quote the passage.

"These, and other particulars, may be

read in the work of Ubeyd Ibn Shooyah, which is in everybody's hands, and has acquired great celebrity; although, it is true, that persons versed in these matters all agree in opinion that these accounts are taken from books of tales and fables composed by men, who by learning them by heart, and reciting them in the presence of their sovereigns, tried to insinuate themselves in their favour, and rise in honour and command. In one word, that they are similar to those books imported among us, and translated into Arabic from the Persian, Hindostanee and Greek languages, and the composition of which has the same origin as we have already shown. As, for instance, the book entitled 'Hezar Efsaneh,' which means in Arabic the book of the thousand tales, for *efsaneh* in Persian has the same meaning as our word *kharafah* in Arabic,—that is to say, a tale, a pleasant and amusing story. This book (the 'Hezar Efsaneh') is commonly called among us the book of 'The One Thousand and One Nights,' and it contains the adventures of a king and his vizier,* as well as those of his daughter (the vizier's) and her nurse; the names of these two being Shir-ázád and Duniázád. Another book of this kind, is that of *Wiredah†* and *Shimás*, in which the adventures of certain kings of India with their viziers, are related; the book of Sindabád, and many others of the same kind."—*Athenæum*, Oct. 13, 1838, p. 738.

Masoudi wrote about the 330th Hegira, A. D. 942; but of course it is not to be imagined that the Hezar Efsaneh, even if the undoubted labour or compilation of Queen Homai, and therefore subsisting for above 1200 years, could possibly be the same as any present MS. of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Yet the introductory tale as noticed, in Masoudi, differs little from that in our present version. And the story of Sindabad is found in the Calcutta edition exhibited at the head of this article, and also in Torrens's translation. Still, generally speaking, not only most names, but also scenes and customs, have undergone very considerable change in the transfer, and according to the fancies of reciters for the people, who were certainly not so faithful as the historical Rouwah, or Oral historians; and in forgetting, rejecting, embellishing, or adding to the various narratives, without any transcript to verify the original stories, thus abandoned to the license of hundreds and thousands of those reciters, they must have inevitably assumed a totally different aspect from what they were before reduced to writ-

* Another copy of Masoudi, omitting the vizier, would seem to make Sheherzade this king's daughter.

† In some copies of Masoudi this name is Jilkund.

ing. This art, it is true, existed long before Mahommed in Arabia, but only among the learned; insomuch that the very historical traditions we have alluded to were only committed to paper in the reign of the celebrated Haroun. The "Thousand and One" then would of course assume a far later date and only after the major points of costume and manners were hopelessly altered to Arabic; though the introductory narrative, retaining the original Persian names, as given by Masoudi, indicates, we think, beyond a question and unsuspectingly, the native country of the collection. That such tales existed in Persia long before Arabia, is proved by the dread expressed by Mahommed of their influence over his Arabs: but even supposing that in the times of Mansour, Rashid, or Maimoun, a direct translation had been made by the sovereign's command of the fascinating Persian abomination, the paucity and antiquity of such copies, together with the ravages of the Caliphs' libraries, would leave not a hope of obtaining these undiluted translations. On the other hand foreign scenes and manners, that would not be readily understood by the unlettered, idle and impatient audiences of Arabian coffee-houses, would compel the Maddah to stop every instant to explain their bearing, and destroy their interest and his own with the public. Thus too the novels of Scott, one at least of which we are told by a recent traveller he heard recited in that land as an *Arabian Nights'* Entertainment, must undergo complete alteration in the process, and soon become unrecognizable at home.

These objections, we submit, are quite as probable as the general theories of De Sacy and Lane: and if any doubt exist, we refer directly to the story-tellers of Hindostan, the costumes and circumstances of whose narratives differ perpetually from those of Arabia, even when the ground-work is the same, and from the same obvious necessity of rendering the tale intelligible to the immediate hearers. We have noticed too at times that the same tale, in the mouth of the same speaker, has more than once lost its principal attributes, and assumed others totally foreign, while no efforts sufficed to recall the lapsed passages to the treacherous memory of the speaker; neither dread of anger nor hope of reward.

Tales among early and ignorant nations would be of native not foreign growth; of native traditions or histories, and native names of course. They who borrowed the tales, as the Arabians certainly did, would yet adapt the costumes to their own habits in order to become intelligible at home, which would not be the case with the names. We

submit, therefore, in direct converse of De Sacy, that the names have been preserved, not borrowed,—which would be unnecessary—and the locality and manners gradually and necessarily changed.

The German edition at the head of our article is taken from a MS. of evidently doubtful authenticity, if we may so apply the term; for it contains on the thirteenth, fourteenth, and subsequent nights, the story of The Forty Viziers, Sheikh Chehab-edeem, &c., usually included in the Turkish tales. The verses throughout are closely and carefully given, but in these also the original is defective. A slight preface, of little pretension to acumen or novel information, gives an outline of Galland's biography. The extreme beauty and spirit of the numerous wood-cuts is the chief merit of this work, and they are such, as even alone, to render it a desideratum; the typography is also of a high order.

Mr. Lane's edition is universally known; its illustrations are so exquisite, and so wildly fanciful, appearing absolutely as the very dreams of the reader's own imagination spontaneously wrought into shape, and fantastically weaving them adown the margin as he reads the tale, that it is difficult to imagine a more pleasing or more perfect delusion than the graceful forms into which the pencil is running, constantly giving to unformed and embryo conception, the force and finish of reality. But of the notes that follow and illustrate every chapter, and which constitute the real value of the book, it is impossible to speak too highly. The learned editor's intimate knowledge of Arabian manners, feelings, and prejudices; his thorough acquaintance with the language and character of the natives; the facilities of communication he possessed with the latter, during his long sojourn in Egypt: and the just confidence he has won by his Description of its Modern State, all combine to render him the fittest perhaps of any man living for the task he has so ably executed: it would seem as if the work and the translator were made expressly for each other; and henceforth only those who would be ignorant of the *Arabian Nights*, can be ignorant of Mr. Lane's annotations.

The felicity with which the oriental style has been preserved throughout this translation is another of its singular merits; it is always imaginative yet always simple, so as to impress the reader with the character of the original, but never to fatigue his patience nor outrage his better taste; for it has no affectation. We become in the perusal half orientalized, and therefore more capable of understanding and enjoying the niceties of

oriental feeling in these oriental tales. The poetry with which they are interspersed throughout, is often exquisitely beautiful; and its delicate turns of thought, and the full, warm glow of Arabian imagination and expression, are given with a happiness and fidelity that leave us only to regret that Mr. Lane should have at all curtailed the original.

The MS. of the Thousand and One, used for this edition, is undoubtedly, from all that has appeared, one of the best extant; and this is obvious in spite of the careful elision of every passage that in Galland's, the usual translation, offends and pains by its oriental grossness. Divested of every indelicacy, these delightful tales now contain nothing that can deter the purest or the most fastidious from perusal: the edition is a public service, not national only because universal, from the universality of the tales. And when it is considered how influential they have been, as we have already pointed out, in and from the very nursery, the effect of this purity upon every class of readers will be easily imagined.

The work of Mr. Torrens is a very close translation of the Calcutta edition, published from, in our opinion, the best MS. of the Thousand and One that is yet known, for the MSS. of this work in the British Museum do not seem to have attracted the attention they deserve. They are far superior to the Breslau. From its extreme fidelity, therefore, as well as from the value of the original, this work is an acquisition to the libraries of the curious. Almost every word is preserved, but the offensive portions are sufficiently modified to be divested of their indecency. The reader is consequently let into some curious particulars, one or two of which we shall notice as we proceed. The poetry is preserved entire, but, unlike Mr. Lane's, is unfortunately rendered into verse, and this by no means of the best order, generally speaking; its style, in fact, is so utterly European and English, to say nothing of namby-pamby, as not only to obscure the original verse continually, but also to break up all the Eastern associations of the really literal prose with a singularly disagreeable effect. It is entirely out of place, out of taste, and out of character; and we trust in the next edition to see it restored to prose like Mr. Lane's. We say like Mr. Lane's, for in general Mr. Torrens' prose is antiquated and quaint, not to say uncouth. With all these faults, and they are easily corrected, the work is valuable; and for the Arabian Nights as they are really written the curious and scientific must recur to Mr. Torrens' translation.

While on this subject we must again notice that the names of Shuhurzad and Dunyazad, as given by Masoudi, are preserved in this version (the Calcutta MS.) and that the story of King Sindabad is also contained in it, though it does not appear in Mr. Lane's edition: this coincidence may go some way to connect the existing collections with the old Persian *Hezar Efsaneh*, or Thousand and One. To return to an idea we threw out near the beginning of this article, it will be singular if the influence of these popular but fanciful tales should lead learned curiosity to examine the authenticity of more serious and recondite works with greater closeness than heretofore.

We cannot quit this point of antiquity without observing that much very curious matter regarding Oriental antiquity may be anticipated from the book of *Fahrest*, the most ancient History of Arabian Literature, dated about A. D. 980, and of which the great oriental biographer, *Hadgi-Chalfo*, knew only the table of contents.

Regarding this work we particularly observe that one of the sections at least turns almost entirely upon the now unknown doctrines of the Nabathæans, the undoubted authors of the famed works on Hermetic philosophy, so long lost to the world; and the recovery of which would probably supply the grand data of Egyptian and other antiquity. In the section alluded to we notice among other, though less interesting, matter, a portion referring to "the Calling of the Jews." It would be curious to learn how profane antiquity regarded that important and mysterious event.

The two last books of the *Fahrest* contain also an account of the different sects and religions, particularly the Manichæans and the Nabathæans, their festivals, chiefs, and literature.

As a pendant to the foregoing we may observe, that among the notices of books in the possession of the late Jonathan Duncan, Esq., of Bombay, appears one of "Four Books of the Sabæans." We trust efforts will be made to recover this MS. in spite of the general scepticism that exists as to the value and antiquity of similar remains. Till such are fairly examined, and in a less dogmatic tone than prevailed upon former occasions, it will surely be impossible to determine to what discoveries and elucidations their contents may lead.

We have noticed the wide difference of the German edition from the others. In the versions of Lane and Torrens (and little more than the first volume of either of the three is yet published) the stories are nearly the same. Out of the twenty-four

given in the latter gentleman's volume, there are but three, viz. The Bullock and the Ass, King Sundubad, and Oomr Bin Namen and his two Sons, which differ from Mr. Lane's, who gives in their stead, the Husband and the Parrot, Tajel-Mulook and the Lady Dunya, and Azeez and Azezeh. His collection also contains the story of Ala-ed-deen Abu-sh-shá-mat, not in Torrens', but found in Weber's collection, (Vol. ii.) in the Appendix.

Our extracts will be chiefly from two stories; The Three Ladies of Bagdad and the Porter, and Nourreddin and the fair Persian.

Of Mr. Torrens' exactitude we shall give some specimens, and commence appropriately with one of the highest importance to our earliest tastes; a passage fit in every sense for collation by our nursery critics.

"So he lifted the hamper and followed her until she stopped at the shop of a sweetmeat-seller, and she bought an earthen dish, and laid on it of all that was in his shop, either cross barred, or cake sweetmeats, scented with musk, and soapcakes, (!) and lemon drops, and ladies' kisses, and Zee-nab's combs, and ladies' fingers, and of the large sweetmeats called the kazees' mouthfuls, and took of all sorts of sweetmeats, on the dish."—p. 75.

The next passage affords a picture for the lover.

"Then looked the porter for her who opened the gate to the damsel, and lo! she was in stature just five cubits, of prominent and fleshy figure, a very queen of beauty and of elegance, of fairness, and of perfection, and she had hit the very mean of beauty: her forehead glossy, and her face of ruddy hue, and her eyes like to those of the wild cow and the ghuzul, and her eyebrows like the bow of the first day's moon of the month Shuban, and her cheeks like anemones, and her mouth small as the ring of Sooleiman, and her lips red as coral, and her teeth like stringed pearls and the white camomile, and her throat like the antelope's, and her bosom sloping as a penthouse, and her breast like two unripe pomegranates, and her body decked in damask silk; as the poet has said of her:

"Behold the sun, and full orb'd moon
That lighten all this place!
How delicate her chiselled brow,
How cheery bright her face!
Your eyes have never yet beheld
Jet black contrast with white,
As when her forehead and her hair,
In mingled charms unite.
A name peculiar must be found
For loveliness so rare;
Alas for me! ye roseate cheeks!
I have no portion there!

She walked; and still from side to side
She swayed her gracefully;
I laughing watched those jutting hips,
So strangely fair to see!
But gazing on her slender waist
I wept in very fear
To think so delicate a thing
Should such a burthen bear."—pp. 76, 77.

The third lady is thus described.

"And there appeared at their entry a damsel of beaming countenance, and gentle cheerful beauty, and tutored manners, with moon-formed shape, and eyes fraught as with Babylonian witchcraft, and the bows of the eye-brows like the bend of a river, and her stature straight as the letter Alif, and the odour of her breathing as ambergris, and her lips cornelian coloured, sugar sweet, and her face fit to shame the light of the bright sun, and she was even as one of the constellations from on high, or a dome worked with gold, or a bride dressed for her bridegroom, or an Arab maiden not twenty years of age, as the poet sung of her when he said:—

"Or well strung pearls, or frost-white hail,
or blossoms of the camomile
Are what, for so indeed they seem, she
shows us in her smile;
The tressed ringlets of her hair hang down
her shoulders dark as night,
And the glad radiance of her charms might
shame the morning light."—p. 77.

Having given these two specimens of sufficiently indifferent verse to bear out our criticisms, we shall make the reader amends by an extract of extreme simplicity and beauty.

"My soul's whole object center'd lies
In thee, beloved one:
To meet with thee is Paradise;
But oh! eternal agonies
Are mine when thou art gone.
The madness of my love shall last
Till all the days of time be past;
Ne'er will I shame to say,
How love the curtain rent apart
That o'er my maiden face was cast,
How, when affection warmed my heart
He tore my veil away.

"When wilder still my longing grew,
And passion fill'd my breast,
Care round my form her mantle threw,
And then I pined, and then I knew
The reason stood confess'd.
When down my cheeks stream'd many a tear,
My love was told, my secret clear
By evidence of these;
Oh! heal the pangs that I endure!
In thee the bane, and bliss appease,
For whoso trusts to thee for cure
Can never hope for ease.

"Those bright-lash'd eyes have caused my
pain,
And I must yield my breath,

By the cold edge of absence slain :
 How many a prince, like simple swain,
 That blade has done to death !
 Yet ne'er will I my love forego ;
 Love is the only law I know,
 My hope ! my comfort still !
 Ah ! prosperous day, when on thee first
 These eyes their glances chanced to throw :
 Henceforth my heart in love immersed
 Was bondsworn to his will."—pp. 91, 92.

Our worthy friend, the Porter of Bagdad, certainly got into pleasant company, as we knew from the older versions ; but we never suspected that the gaiety was carried so far as we find it now.

"Then the damsel took the cup, and drank it off, and sat down with her sisters, and they ceased not drinking, and the porter in the midst of them ; and they kept on with dance and laugh, and songs and verses, and jingling anagrams ; and the porter was going on with them, with quips, and kisses, and cranks, and tricks, and pinches, and girls' play, and romping ; this one giving him a dainty mouthful, and that one thumping him, and that one slapping his cheeks, and this serving perfumes to him ; and he was with them in the height of joy, even as if he were sitting in the seventh Heaven among the houris of Paradise ; and they stayed not doing after this manner, until the wines played in their heads and in their senses. Now when the wine got the better of them, the portress stood up, and took off some of her upper clothes, and she was unveiled, and she let flow a tress about her, as it were a garment, and she threw herself into the tank, and played with the water, and dived, and jumped up, and took the water in her mouth, and spirted it at the porter."—p. 82.

This is rather an odd amusement for porters in Paradise, and does not square so entirely with the gravity of Oriental manners as we were tempted to imagine : the continuation is still worse.

"So she bathed, and washed herself, and then came out of the water, and sat by the side of the porter, and said, 'Now, my master, now my fine fellow ;' and she asked him a riddle. So the porter said this, and that, and answered impudently, and she said, 'Hallo ! are you not ashamed ?' And she seized him by the neck, and beat him heartily. So he said again in like manner, and she struck him another slap on the back of his neck, and cried, 'How, how, you wretch ! are you not ashamed ?' So he said it again, and she cried, 'Oh you ! have you no shame in your talking ?' So she thumped him with her hand, and beat him. But the porter made a still worse answer, and she set upon him with still greater beating, and said, 'No !' and he said, 'Tis so !' and the porter went on calling what he thought the answer of the riddle, and they beat him the more, and he was in

no other plight than with his neck swelled with blows ; and they laughed more and more among themselves, until he said, 'And what is the answer to the riddle among you women ?'—pp. 82, 83.

The riddle, though omitted by the translator, is evidently none of the most delicate : before it is solved,

"The (second) damsel took off her upper clothes, and cast herself into the tank, and dived and sported about, and bathed : then looked the porter upon her unveiled, as if she were a fragment of the moon, her face like the moon when at the full, and like the dawn when at the brightest ; and he looked on her fair stature, and her shape, and that massive figure that quivered as she went ; and she was unveiled, even as when her mother bore her, and he began to address her extemporaneously :—

'If I thy beauteous form, my fair,
 Should to the date-tree bough compare,
 Sure envious spite 'gainst charms so rare
 Would o'er my heart prevail ;
 The date-tree bough is fairest seen,
 Enveloped in its leafy screen,
 But thou art fairest far, I ween,
 When seen without a veil.'

"Now when the damsel heard his verse, she came up from the tank, and went and sat by his side, and said, 'Now, my master.' And she asked him again the same riddle."—p. 84.

The close of the scene is perfectly in, or rather, out of character.

"Then the cup passed round among them a full hour, until the porter stood up, and went down into the tank ; and they looked at him, swimming in the water, and he bathed in like manner as they did. Then he came up and threw himself among them, and said, 'Now, my mistresses ;' and asked them a riddle : and they all laughed at his riddle, till their heads fell on their shoulders ; and one said, This, and the other, That, and he said 'No,' and took forfeits from each one of them for their foolish answers."—pp. 84, 85.

All this, we imagine, must be quite new to the English reader. Mr. Lane gives us little room to suspect these excesses.

We give an instance of detail from the Calcutta translation, as contrasted with Mr. Lane's, showing the value of the former, as an index of peculiarities.

"Not long after this, the 'Efreet said to the Jinneeyeh, Arise, and place thyself beneath the youth, and let us convey him back, lest the morning overtake us ; for the time is near. So she advanced towards him, and, placing herself beneath his skirt, as he lay asleep, took him up, and flew away with him, in the state in which she found him, clad only in his

shirt, and pursued her flight with the 'Efreet by her side. But God gave permission to some angels to cast at the 'Efreet a shooting star of fire, and he was burnt. The Jinnee-yeh, however, escaped unhurt, and deposited Bedr ed-Deen in the place over which the shooting star had burnt the 'Efreet. She would not pass beyond it, fearing for his safety; and as destiny had appointed, this place was Damascus: so she placed him by one of the gates of this city, and flew away."—*Lane*, p. 280.

"But for what befel in the matter of the Ufreet, surely he said to the female Ufreet, 'Arise, and get in under the youth, and let us take him back to his place, for that the dawn may avise us of its coming, and sure the time is near.' Upon that the female Ufreet came forward, and crept in under his garment skirt, and he sleeping; so she took him, and flew with him, and even as he was, in his under garment, and without upper clothes; and the female Ufreet gave not over flying with him, and the Ufreet vying with her in speed, and the dawn advised them that it was come in the middle of the day, and the Moouzzins called aloud the summons to the Asylum of Good. Then* the Almighty commanded his angels to cast at the Ufreet a meteor of fire; so he was consumed, but the female Ufreet was preserved; and she descended with Budur ood Deen at the place where the meteor smote the Ufreet, and did not go back with him to Bussorah, fearing for his sake. And it so was by the order of God's decree that they arrived at Damascus of Syria, and the female Ufreet laid him down at a gate of the city portals, and flew away."—*Torrens*, pp. 223, 224.

In the story of Noor-ed-deen, Mr. Lane's version omits an amusing incongruity. The chamberlain, who recommends him to fly for his life, observes—"Oh! my master, this is not a time for salutation nor for talking:" which was scarcely doubtful: but in Mr. Torrens' volume this anxious official adds to his previous remark a singular illustration of his own opinion as to the value of time at that moment.

"Oh! my master, this is not the time for greeting, nor for words: listen to what the poet saith;—

"Fly, fly with thy life, if by ill overtaken!
Let thy house speak thy death by its builder
forsaken!
For a land else than this land thou may'st
reach, my brother,
But thy life lost, thou'lt ne'er find in this
world another.
How! who'd live with the roof of his wretch-
edness o'er him,
And the great earth of God broad outspread-
ing before him?"

* These Ufreets, like our own, ought clearly, from this, to have gone home earlier in the morning, and before prayer-time.

When the theme's life and death, to no agent
confide it.

For life cares for itself, as none else does be-
side it.

Ne'er could prowl the grown lion with mane
roughly sweeping,
Did he trust in his need save himself for safe
keeping."—p. 379.

We take a couplet from Mr. Lane to show the superiority of his system of literal and tasteful prose over this crude poetry of his competitor: the thought we conceive exquisitely beautiful in itself, and Mr. Lane's words do it the fullest justice.

"She bade me farewell on the day of separa-
tion, saying, while she wept, from the pain
that it occasioned,
What wilt thou do after my departure?—Say
this, I replied, unto him who will survive
it."—p. 470.

The graceful pathos of this shrouded in-
timation is poorly compensated by the ob-
scurity of the Calcutta translator's rhyme.

"She bade farewell upon our parting day,
And in love's anguish shed full many a tear;
'What wilt thou do?' she cried, 'when I am
away?'
'Ask them,' I said, 'could live, and thou not
here.'"—p. 398.

The whole of the following is, if possible,
in even worse taste.

"Oh, men! will not one true friend 'mongst
you all,
Wail o'er my state, and answer to my call?
The sweets of life, I've e'en in hope foregone,
And Death is near me, with her rattling
groan;
Oh! Thou who didst create the chosen He,
The Guide, chief Intercessor, Mighty Sea
Of Love, the charged with the glad ministry,
Oh! free me, I beseech my fault forego,
And drive far hence, mine evil, and my
woe!"—p. 404.

We shall in justice to Mr. Lane give two
specimens from his notes as evincing his
power of Eastern illustration; the first is
on armour.

"The prophet David is said to have been
the first person who manufactured coats of
mail; and the cause of his applying himself
to the art was this.—'He used to go forth in
disguise; and when he found any people
who knew him not, he approached them
and asked them respecting the conduct of
Dáood (or David), and they praised him
and prayed for him; but one day as he
was asking questions respecting himself
as usual, God sent to him an angel in the
form of a human being, who said, 'An ex-
cellent man were Dáood if he did not take
from the public treasury:'—whereupon the

heart of Dáood was contracted, and he begged of God to render him independent: so He made iron soft to him, and it became in his hands as thread; and he used to sell a coat of mail for four thousand [pieces of money—whether gold or silver is not said], and with part of this he obtained food for himself, and part he gave in alms, and with part he fed his family.—Hence an excellent coat of mail is often called by the Arabs 'Dáoodee,' *i. e.* 'Davidean.' This kind of armour is worn by some Arabs of the Desert in the present day; but the best specimens, I believe, are mostly found in India. Burckhardt mentions one tribe of Arabs who have about twenty-five; another, two hundred; and two others, between thirty and forty. 'The dora [properly *dirā* or *darā*] is,' he remarks, 'of two sorts, one covering the whole body like a long gown from the elbow, over the shoulders, down to the knees: this is the *sirgh*: the other, called *kembáz*, covers the body only to the waist; the arms from the elbows downwards being covered with two pieces of steel, fitting into each other, with iron fingers. Thus clad, the Arab completes his armour by putting on his head an iron cap (*tás*), which is but rarely adorned with feathers. The price of a coat of mail fluctuates from two hundred to fifteen hundred piastres. . . . Those of the best quality are capable of resisting a ball: the coat of mail is sometimes worn within the ordinary outer tunic.'

The second is on a more delicate subject.

"One simple mode of secret conversation or correspondence is by substituting certain letters for other letters.

"Many of the women are said to be adepts in this art, or science, and to convey messages, declarations of love, &c., by means of fruits, flowers, and other emblems. The inability of numbers of females in families to write or read, as well as the difficulty or impossibility frequently existing of conveying written letters, may have given rise to such modes of communication. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in one of her charming letters from the East, has gratified our curiosity by a Turkish love-letter of this kind. A specimen of one from an Arab, with its answer, may be here added.—An Arab lover sent to his mistress a fan, a bunch of flowers, a silk tassel, some sugar-candy, and a piece of a chord of a musical instrument; and she returned for answer, a piece of an aloe-plant, three black cumin-seeds, and a piece of a plant used in washing. His communication is thus interpreted. The fan, being called '*mirwahah*,' a word derived from a root which has among its meanings that of 'going to any place in the evening' signified his wish to pay her an evening visit: the flowers that the interview should be in her garden: the tassel being called '*shurrábeh*,' that they should *sharáb* (or wine):

the sugar-candy, being termed '*sukkar nebát*,' and *nebát*, also signifying 'we will pass the night,' denoted his desire to remain in her company until the morning: and the piece of a chord, that they should be entertained by music. The interpretation of her answer is as follows. The piece of an aloe-plant, which is called '*sabbárah*' (from '*sabr*,' which signifies 'patience'—because it will live for many months together without water), implied that he must wait: the three black cumin-seeds explained to him that the period of delay should be three nights: and the plant used in washing informed him that she should then have gone to the bath, and would meet him.—I have omitted one symbol in the lady's answer, as it conveys an allusion not so consistent with European as with Arab notions of female delicacy.

"The language of flowers employed by the Turks does not exactly agree with the system illustrated in the story of '*Azeez and Azezeh*;' for the former consists of a collection of words and phrases or sentences which rhyme with the names of the objects used as the signs. This system is also employed by the Arabs; but I believe not so commonly as the other.

"A remarkable faculty is displayed by some Arabs in catching the meaning of secret signs employed in written communications to them; such signs being often used in political and other intrigues. The following is a curious instance.—The celebrated poet El-Mutaneabee, having written some verses in praise of Káfoor El-Ikhsbee-dee, the independent Governor of Egypt, was obliged to flee, and hide himself in a distant town. Káfoor was informed of his retreat, and desired his secretary to write to him a letter promising him pardon, and commanding him to return; but told the writer at the same time, that when the poet came he would punish him. The secretary was a friend of the poet, and, being obliged to read the letter to the Prince when he had written it, was perplexed how to convey to El-Mutaneabee some indication of the danger that awaited him: he could only venture to do so in the exterior address; and having written this in the usual form, commencing '*In sháa-lláh*' (if it be the will of God) 'this shall arrive,' &c., he put a small mark of reduplication over the '*n*' in the first word, which he thus converted into '*Inna*;' the final vowel being understood. The poet read the letter, and was rejoiced to see a promise of pardon; but on looking a second time at the address, was surprised to observe the mark of reduplication over the '*n*.' Knowing the writer to be his friend, he immediately suspected a secret meaning, and rightly conceived that the sign conveyed an allusion to a passage in the *Cur-án* commencing with the word '*Inna*,' and this he divined to be the following:—'Verily the magistrates are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death.' Accordingly, he fled to another town.—Some authors add,

that he wrote a reply, conveying, by a similar sign, to his friend, an allusion to another passage in the Kur-án:—‘We will never enter the country while they remain therein.’—It is probable that signs thus employed were used by many persons to convey allusions to certain words; and such may have been the case in the above-mentioned instance: if not, the poet was indeed a wonderful guesser.”

We regret that we have no space for a detailed examination of the *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*, such as its own merits, and the deserved celebrity of its author require at our hands. It is, however, a volume of extreme labour, pains, and research, combining all that has been said on the subject with the utmost clearness and accuracy. It is divided into two portions—*Bidpai* and *Sendabad*. This last is not the short tale before noticed as appearing in the *Calcutta* version of the *Arabian Nights*, but the renowned *History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome* (Roum?) in its original form; and far more likely than that insignificant tale to have been the one noticed, as we have seen, in the *Hezar Efsaneh*, or *Old Persian Thousand and One*.

The fables of *Pilpay* or *Bidpai* have been satisfactorily traced to the Sanscrit *Hetopadesa*, or to its prototype in the same language, the *Pancha Tantra* (Five Chapters,) an Indian work of some antiquity. The *Kalila* and *Dimna*, or the two Jackals; the *Anvari Sohaili*, or *Emanations of the Star Canopus*; the *Ayiari Danush*, or touchstone of Knowledge, are only modern modifications of the fables of *Pilpay*. All these works consist of stories strung together and connected by some leading feature, in the manner of the *Arabian Nights*. The account which the Persians give of *Pilpay's* fables is, that they were invented by King Houshing, the second of the Pishadian dynasty of their monarchs; that a king of India, named *Dabeshelim*, got possession of King Houshing's Will, as it was termed, and had it translated into Sanscrit by a Brahmin named *Bidpai*; that in A. D. 560, *Noushirvan the First*, of the same dynasty, obtained a copy of the work from India, and caused it to be rendered into Pehlivi by the physician *Buzurgomir*; and that on the overthrow of his dynasty and the establishment of the Caliphate at Bagdad, the Pehlivi work was translated into Arabic, whence the modern Persian versions were made. These tales have been discovered in the Hebrew, the Syriac, Greek, and Latin tongues; a Latin translation of the *Kalila* and *Dimna* is extant in print, made by a converted Jew, named *John of Capua*, as he states, from the Hebrew, between the years 1262 and 1278. In his prologue he states

that these tales were originally Indian, that they were translated into Persian, thence into Arabic, thence into Hebrew. It is probable that this Latin *Pilpay* is the source from whence many of the oriental tales met with in Western literature were derived, and even of some tales which have become naturalized in the West and clothed in an European dress. The incidents of *Shylock* and his bond are eventually traced to a Persian tale, the *Cazi of Emessa*; there is also a version of it in *Gladwin's Persian Moonshée*. Professor H. H. Wilson, in his *Analysis of the Pancha Tantra*, observes, that the oriental origin of most of the tales which first roused the inventive faculties of our ancestors is universally admitted.

The notes of M. Deslongchamp's volume are no less interesting than the text, and the whole is a complete library of reference on the subject.

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- ART. VIII.—i. *La Pucelle de Belleville*, par Ch. Paul de Kock. 4 tomes. Paris, 1834.
 2. *Zizine*, par Ch. Paul de Kock. 4 tomes. Paris, 1836.
 3. *Un Tourlourou*, par Ch. Paul de Kock. 4 tomes. Paris, 1837.
 4. *Mœurs Parisiennes Nouvelles*, par Ch. Paul de Kock. 4 tomes. Paris, 1837.
 5. *Moustache*, par Ch. Paul de Kock. 4 tomes. Paris, 1838.
 6. *Le Barbier de Paris*. 4 tomes.

WE have already, and upon more than one occasion, noticed the peculiar characteristics of M. Paul de Kock's novels; and as his genius, gaiety, exactitude and closeness of observation, together with their natural concomitant, diversity of powers, are sufficiently obvious in themselves from the extracts already furnished, (see F. Q. R. Nos. 10 and 20,) we need dilate but little on these topics to the readers of our journal. But there are other considerations, and scarcely less germane to the general question before us, to which we shall request their serious attention for a while.

Life, the great principle of our existence, as few thinking persons require to be informed, is bestowed upon us for the double purpose of thought and action; and since the former is but a continuous preparation for the latter, and itself requires to be fed by a constant supply of subject-matter; and further, as the material on which it feeds ought to assimilate as nearly as possible to

the object of such sustentation, it follows, by synthesis, that novel-reading ought to be the great aim of our thoughts.

Life, indeed, was clearly given to man for two especial purposes—first, to read novels; and secondly, to act them. If, however, there should by possibility be found in this world any one sufficiently hardy to deny, or even sufficiently sceptical to doubt in his secret soul the truth of our axiom,—and the wildest extravagances of imagination do at times enter the human brain:—if then, and we can only admit the case hypothetically, it were possible that such unbeliever could be found, before seeking to enamel him with the unfading hues of truth by the simple operation of the pile and the faggot, after the most approved authorities, and even previous to stamping in persuasion by the arm of flesh, as practised in China, Turkey, England, and all other enlightened countries, we would first point out to his erring judgment that theory and practice are both opposed to his heretical unbelief. In the first place: just as we eat food for the sake of prolonging existence, so we read novels for the sake of enlarging philosophy. We take these, as we take all cudgellings, cuffs and kicks, because they are given us unstintedly, and without our asking for them; and if we judge of the former *à priori* and of the last *à posteriori*, the same principle applies in both cases; for to what purpose are they bestowed, if not for our especial use, benefit, and delectation?

Disposing thus satisfactorily of the theory in favour of novels, we come to the question of their practice: and this in its consequences, we do not hesitate to affirm, indisputably establishes that Lying is the great law of nature and the bond of all civilized society: that therefore it is the first of the social virtues. A little consideration will develop this important truism.

It is unquestionable that, in the case of the soul, the universality of belief in its existence is an unanswerable argument; and this is found with the vulgar and the enlightened of all countries and ages, from the New Hollander, the most degraded, to the Frenchman, the most sublime, of mankind; from the Tatar savage to the German sage, his genuine lineal descendant. Is falsehood less universal?

Let us just glance at its philosophy as the best evidence of theories.

The idealisms of Plato, and the Greek philosophy, prove that those mighty ancients were far from satisfied with the forms of actuality and its real influences. The Brahmin, whose wisdom all the world admits, since he reserves to himself all the

good things in it, affirms in his invaluable Vedanta philosophy, that nature is *MAYA*; according to Vans Kennedy, a delusion; according to Colebrook and Haughton, an illusion; that is to say, either an impression, which does not exist, of realities, which do exist; or else an impression which does exist, of realities that do not exist. This system is well worth preserving for its conclusiveness. The Buddhist insists that all existence is absorption; and his staunchest advocates are the friends of the bottle. Antiquity affirmed all and doubted all, till at length Berkeley in England demonstrated that the world without was the world within, and that this was nothing; in contradistinction to the ancient theory, that external nature was everything, and no part of it anything. The German philosophers, fortunately, have set the question fairly at rest. Kant proves that though nature exists, we know that we do not know it: however that may be:—and this was a great improvement upon the idealism that had previously affirmed, that we know nature does not exist because we have impressions that it does. These theories have one great advantage, *viz.* that they all differ; which clearly is the proof of their mutual corroboration: and Matter, in spite of Leucippus, does not exist, because it occupies space; and Space does not exist, because it is extension; and Extension does not exist, because it is an idea in motion; now an idea cannot have motion, for the former is immaterial, this material; but an idea may have an idea of motion, which therefore stands still, and is not motion; and this is refining as far as we can go, and therefore when we think we exist, we do not exist, and we do not think; whatever we think to the contrary.

The great principle of falsehood, thus established in Nature, is illustrated by the practice of social life; we see it in every act of our own, our friends, our kindred, country, and the human race. The child steals a cake, tells a falsehood to hide it, gets another cake for good conduct, and the parents are happy. A friend belies you in your absence, reports it as praise to your face, and you love him for his worth, which you depreciate when his back is turned. Your own dissipation abroad you represent at home as martyrdom, and your wife, who never goes out, always believes you to the letter; for women rarely distrust you and never deceive. The statesman and the general soften unpleasant facts and exaggerate successes; each man deceives himself and every body else; thus all are satisfied with delusion, and the bond of society is falsehood. Display but the truth, and all

go by the ears : the cat begins to kill the rat ; the rat begins to gnaw the rope ; and so on ad infinitum, till social order is dislocated at once. In practice as in theory then we trust we have proved that lying is the great principle of Nature, and the bond of social life. If Truth be valuable, how much more valuable is lying : for LYING IS THE ECONOMY OF TRUTH ; and therefore the FIRST OF THE SOCIAL VIRTUES.

Once conscious of this great bond of union we directly perceive the value of novels to mankind, and discover the striking fact that the nations who earliest possessed these became the most civilized in consequence. The mind, intent on truth, starts off from it with an hypothesis, or fiction, and thus fiction is the key of fact, the calculus of all its problems, the assumed term in mental Progression, itself the arithmetical " rule of false," or wilful assumption of a known error to aid the most matter-of-fact-sciences.

We have seen, first, that Philosophy or the love of Truth leads man to deny the undeniable truth ; and now find Fiction, or the love of Falsehood, operating to banish Falsehood altogether.

Thus, then, we apply novel-reading to life ; and by imagining what never happened prepare ourselves for what may really happen ; and, since this prevision is the business of life, the business of life is, first to read novels ; and secondly, to act them on the real stage.—Q. E. D.

We have devoted an ample space to so new and important a proposition. We now return, like true philosophers, to the spot whence we started, namely, to M. Paul de Kock.

The excessive facility wherewith this gifted writer produces these light and pleasing efforts of imagination, appears, somewhat as in the case of Sir Walter Scott, Cooper, and others, to have misled the world as to the means by which such sustained labours are effected. It is not merely, nor even principally, from external observation, we suspect, that these pictures of truth and reality are drawn ; let us examine as we may those who surround, or those who are thrown near us in the perpetual changes of life, and we shall ever find them, however possessed of what is generally termed character, deficient in the multitude and variety of characteristics that are indispensable to fill effectively a prominent part upon the novelist stage. The changes of chance and circumstance that affect such persons are by no means always, or often, of a strength to develope in any great extent the peculiarities of temperament. Let truth be ever so much more romantic than

fiction, still its incidents, generally speaking, are so wide apart from each other ;—so thinly scattered over the whole scene of life ; and with so much to interpose, modify, and correct the impressions and passions roused by one event before another presents itself, that the character of yesterday, which might be justly anticipated as to its action to-day, and calculated on with some certainty for to-morrow even, grows often in the course of months and years entirely out of knowledge, since we cannot follow in all his steps ; consequently when we predicate of his conduct in certain circumstances of real life exactly as we would of a similar character in a novel, we are almost invariably deceived ; and however true to nature the tale may be in itself, it continually disappoints us when we run the parallel into reality. The novelist then does not seek altogether in life the originals of his sketches ; he does not confine himself to the mere practical before him ; if he does, his characters are cold and flat, his incidents wire-drawn and few, and his readers fewer. It is perfectly like life we confess, and therefore feel it has much of its insipidity ; for the common haunts of men are level grounds.

Another class of writers run into the opposite extreme, and make their story one tempest of violent excitements from all the points and all the winds of the compass at once or in close succession ; just as in the Italian proverb, " one devil drives out another." But in any thing above the very lowest class of readers, such efforts produce speedily a degree of lassitude the more difficult to shake off, inasmuch as the same mind that induced has to dispel it, and by similar means, thus becoming its own rival. Now as the powers of every mind, however gifted, have their limit ; and as those which particularly affect the more violent emotions and deeper springs of the soul, are, from the very nature of their studies and pursuits, concentrated and condensed in that severer sphere, they can the less easily hope to vary their range, and give the jaded reader a totally novel impulse ; such as would be done at once by any other mind than their own, for each has its proper bias. The result is that they go on, generally, in the same course, adding stimulant to stimulant to force excitement out of languor, till they insensibly lose all relish for the simple, and nature with them is one tornado, drowning all the milder breathings of humanity : the sky is darkened with clouds, the earth deluged with torrents ; and the gentler feelings of mankind, when brought out reluctant from their hiding-places, are exhibited in furious rapture or agonies of repose, or else, like

the peasants of the Landes, tread the long intervals of humanity upon stilts if they would seek to preserve a proportionate existence. Rage and horrors of every kind, possible and impossible, thus succeed each other till the charms of fiction become a Newgate Calendar, and the hero, and the author, deservedly finish their biography at the gallows.

Writers of this class are generally in themselves men of great amiability as well as ardent imaginations, that seek provocatives to give themselves strength, and sustain these formidable flights. Unaccustomed practically to the worst passions, they never dream of their real intensity, never consider how easily these are excited and with what difficulty appeased, till formidable or fatal consequences have ensued. If Schiller's "Robbers" did not produce any amateurs of crime in England; if the Esmeraldas and Turpins have not brought forth tangible fruit, they still and, the first instance especially, exhibit the tendency to demoralize the community; more or less it may be, but still, to demoralize; for does not the excitement of every passion confirm it into a habit? Coleridge, who once defended his writing a virulent philippic against Pitt, upon the principle that the indulgence of imagination deadened actual feeling, forgot that this excuse could apply only to the writer, but that the denunciations strengthened the worst feelings of his readers: he was pained too to find the artificial virulence of his poem produce also a real virulence in some breasts against the writer:—he thought such emotion unjust, for he was then too young to weigh the necessary counteraction of one excess by another; but it showed that nature will vindicate her insulted rights, and her pulse is the voice of Reason, echoed by every heart despite the shallow subtleties of such a defence.

We would quit this painful subject by asking such writers, and one of the ablest of them, our own countryman, is also one of the mildest and most amiable of living men, whether the tendency to such excessive displays of force does not show a want of due confidence in, if not an absolute defect of, genius? The highest powers of mind can surely seize and wield, better than the wild pitch-fork that tosses about these burning straws of mental incendiarism, those finer shades of character and emotion that are elicited by circumstances more congenial to our feelings and fancies, and of more value even as experiences. Is it less triumph to exhibit these, the finer traits that escape the vulgar artist, and bring them to light, and before the public eye, that never

fails to recognize the master by his touch, the masterpiece by its truth? Is not, even, the triumph more noble and more universal that speaks to all bosoms, than that which addresses itself only to the coarser class of readers? Even the genius and kindly spirit of Dickens himself could not save the beautiful creation of *Oliver Twist* from the loathing that followed the ill-judged protraction of scenes of vice and depravity; when that exquisite picture, the most simple, the most beautiful which the English language can boast, of the helpless, hopeless, broken and dying infant, clinging amidst all his desolation to the one equally wretched and hopeless friend and partner of his early afflictions, was succeeded by a long and elaborate development of courses that ought to have been unknown, at least to all but the miserable actors in such scenes, what pure mind did not shrink,—what parent did not loathe and dread the fatal exhibition for his children's sake and his own. But genius, ever docile, saw its error and retracted at once: Mr. Dickens felt just confidence in his own powers; and in calmer scenes and less revolting situations he has subsequently won a higher meed; one as far above all vulgar competition as it is free from a stain, or a reproach. This, certainly, is not the place to discuss the merits of such a writer, who deserves an article to himself, and from the ablest hands: our inquiry therefore returns to the previous subject.

Were we, however, to proceed with the school of Victor Hugo and his great rival Ainsworth much further, according to their merits, we should infallibly be conducted towards Tyburn, or La Grève: but objecting upon principle to the process of decapitation at the latter; and feeling reluctant to appear as a pendant at the former, even by way of a note of admiration to one of Mr. Bentley's puffs,—notwithstanding the elevated authority of the respectable "Jack Sheppard," who came on that stage, perchance not wholly uninvited,

"All hanged for to be,"

as the poetic chronicle of that great and good man with classic pathos assures us was his particular object at the time;—we turn to a different class of novels, introduced by a writer at first evidently tinctured with a strong propensity for the Court of Assizes.

The really great powers of the head of this school, the Apostle of sensualized philosophism, were from the first apparent, and not less so the injury they had suffered in their infancy by being overlaid by the incubus of French and German extravaganza.

But it was then hoped that his genius, struggling under this disadvantage, would be able to force itself into light and proportion through the chaos by which it was obviously enveloped. We know not, however, by what unfortunate process its footsteps were led into that limbo of vanity, from which, despite its better nature, it has never emerged, but on the contrary seems disposed to rest there as its appropriate place and home. If, running from the one extreme, that of the purely horrible, the author had by good fortune been unsuccessful in his first attempt at its opposite excess; or had the popularity of this been less extensive than it deserved, less than universal too among the more amiable sex; confident of his own powers, the writer in question would have risen renovated by the repulse—and steeled his intellect to grapple with the practical and effective. Unhappily for his true fame the result was far otherwise, and stimulated him to advance in a field, not worth, assuredly, a second triumph. Still he had, and must have, readers; and these, too, numerous, not owing to his own intrinsic merits alone, but to the peculiarity of his theme also. The class of intellectual triflers, the gay, the idle, the superficial;—the fair sex too, that portion at least which, anxious for mental superiority, holds philosophy ever bound in morocco, and loves it in gilded letters;—all these were his votaries and readers. The libraries were crowded, their shelves were emptied of his works; these were invaluable to indolent aspiration; the very elixir of life to those dying of literary inanition. Profundity was rife on satin paper; reason embossed the edges of her scrolls; the duties of life were small and fragrant in perfume, and energetic virtue lisped magnanimity from the sofa. Analysis devoted its patient labours to a down-bed, and was fed with half-masticated metaphysics from the pap-spoon. Who could be ungrateful for this? The gods, victory, and Cato were all on one side, with satin stocks, rosewood tables, and ottomans. For these “the soft trium-vir” of manners, morals, and metaphysics, abandoned sterner contest, lost the empire of the world, and was contented to lose it.

And what has become of that once glorious promise? The question is one of sorrow no less than anger. The strength that might have peopled the world with a fresh creation of genius now beardless and emasculate for the slothful slaves of the harem. The honey of Hacho was not more enervating; and let the silken idler blush for such perversion of talents and learning. For all that might and ought to have done honour

to his country we are presented with a Plato in pink, and an ethical system of sugar-plums. The writer has “thought away” his energy as well as his “enthusiasm.” Nature in his hands is a first-rate varnish; woman, a starched flounce, with a purity of isinglass, smooth, but flexible:—simplicity pirouettes, history rants: a heroism of silver paper, a poetry of carmine, a philosophy of eau-de-Cologne: even his good breeding savours of brandy-punch, mixed with tea; and the very graces with him are redolent of the best Schiedam. All is elaboration, exaggeration, bad habits, continual efforts to be fine, with constant failure: no calm consciousness of strength; no dignity; no repose; his despair would like to die, could it but know what was thought of it; and his passion would throw itself from the Monument, only that his cab cannot be seen in the city. The very morals of this modern Chesterfield resemble his predecessor’s, at least as described by the satire of Johnson.

The author in question is perhaps the only man who need not yet despair; if he will but strive to reach the eminence he might by this have gained, he can scarcely fail, we think, of success; but he must be satisfied to renounce fictitious triumph, and trample upon the silken bonds of his present indolence. He must undo much that he has done if he would attain the first rank in serious literature; he must dissipate his fastidious dreams, sweep away the cobwebs of phantasy, and strive to think soundly instead of finely; when he has done this he will have half attained his end, for, he will not need to print his apophthegms in CAPITALS AS AT PRESENT.

We have dwelt the longer upon the Coryphæus of this school, because it seemed extending to the Continent; but in France it appears to have already sunk, despite the native taste for the ridiculous, and in Germany its disciples will be as little understood as their great prototype is in England or France. He has vanished into smoke before Dickens and De Kock.

Of this latter, our more immediate theme, we have little to add to the remarks offered in a former notice of his works; and that little we proceed to state here. We have already intimated in the previous pages of this article that it is not alone to the external manifestations of life and character that the novelist, the only moralist of the present day, should turn for subjects. He must, in truth, look rather to the development of the world within, and watch his own motives, tendencies, and passions, long, close, and continually, before he can attempt to

scrutinize the feelings of others as developed in their conduct. It is not, as generally supposed, by intuition of other minds, nor even a searching observation of others' conduct down to the very minutiae of their existence, that he can obtain this faculty; his spirit might be a glass reflecting each form perfectly and to the life, yet it would, like that, lose every trace as soon as the original had vanished, it, like that also, it possessed nothing beyond a surface. It is only in the power of sympathy, residing, indeed, more or less in every breast, but cultivated alone by the man of genius, to go far beyond the outward forms and shapes of passing objects. It is by frequent solitude, by constant self-observation, and by ceaseless comparison of the acts of other men with the feelings of his own bosom, that he can hope to attain that facility of searching the human heart and laying bare its workings which has formed the renown in our day of Scott, Dickens, and De Kock; for Cooper, whose genius for the description of nature at least equals the first of these, has nothing of the power even of the last to scan the workings of the secret spirit—and Sue, and Heine, &c. exaggerate them even to mockery.

It is in truth the remarkable characteristic of Paul De Kock that with all his relish for individuality, with all his care to mark the idiosyncracies of his personages, and his unsurpassable felicity in observing and adhering to them throughout the whole conduct of his very numerous tales, often as he wakes by a touch the very sources of the loftiest emotions, he seems never able, or willing, to dwell upon them. Whether this great writer fears that concentration of his powers would operate materially to diminish their variety;—whether he has been, by temperament and love of society, little disposed to meditate severely and long upon his own sensations;—or whether, as Barante observed of Voltaire, what he sees is at a glance, and the faculty of deep careful thought seems denied him,—we cannot assume to decide: but it is certain that whenever roused to a scene of deep and solemn tone, such as could scarcely fail to be effective in any hands, and least of all in those of the contriver, he is content to strike it off with a single stroke of his pencil, disappointing the reader, and depreciating his own powers. His works consequently are not finished pictures but moving panoramas; but as such pregnant with nature and truth.

We take, as an illustration, his *Barbier de Paris*, which, as a romance, would seem not only to afford, but absolutely to call for,

those bolder markings and darker and deeper traits of colour and feeling with which we are wont, and with evident justice, to invest the ages of feudal rule and tyranny; ages of Gothic gloom, barbaric splendour, and furious passions, over which the imperfect light of history, less domestic than political, has thrown a shade congenial to the deeds it witnessed and described; and which afford to Scott, and to writers far his inferior, hues whose bold effectiveness atones for many errors of design and execution; and we select this work in preference, not only as it is the author's chief specimen of the Romantic, but also as having been omitted by oversight in our former article on this subject. (For. Quart. Rev. No. 10.)

The following is true, though slightly touched—

“Who could withstand the smile of Blanche! Age is all the more sensible to such allurements, from so seldom experiencing them; and this is, perhaps, the reason why an old man sometimes loses his senses when a pretty girl gives him a tender glance, seeing that he has been so long unaccustomed to so flattering a token.”

An excellent picture follows of Chaudoreille the marplot, a gasconader, boaster, fool, and coward, and entertaining of himself an opinion commensurate with the lawful possessor of these eminent qualifications for success in war and love; to which last, though not to the former, he was attached with a devotion worthy of a better fate.

“The person who now entered Maitre Touquet's house was a man of four-and-thirty, but who seemed at least five-and-forty—so wizen was his face, and so hollow his cheeks: his sallow complexion was only relieved by two small scarlet circles upon his cheek-bones, the brilliancy of which betrayed their origin. His eyes were small but rather lively, and Monsieur Chaudoreille kept them constantly rolling about, never fixing them on the person he addressed: his short pug-nose formed a striking contrast with the immensity of his mouth, which was surmounted by an outrageous moustache, red like his hair, while beneath his under lip flourished an imperial, terminating in a point on his chin.

“The Chevalier's stature was barely five feet, and the meagreness of his body was the more apparent from the threadbare close coat which enclosed it. The buttons of his doublet had disappeared in several places, and a variety of botched darns and mendings seemed on the point of breaking out into holes again. On the other hand, his breeches, far too wide, gave an immense size to the upper part of the leg, which made the shrunk shanks, which issued from them a little above the knee, appear still more slender

than they really were, for the funnel boots which he wore, falling as they did on the ankle, did not hide the absence of a calf. These boots, of a deep yellow colour, had heels two inches high, and were always provided with spurs; the doublet and breeches were of faded pink, and were accompanied by a little cloak of the same hue, which barely descended to his waist: add to these a very high ruff, a little hat surmounted by an old red feather, and cocked on one side; an old green silk belt; a sword much longer than was usually worn, whose hilt in fact rose to his chest, and you will have a faithful portrait of the individual who styled himself the *Chevalier de Chaudoreille*, whose slight Gascon accent denoted his origin. He walked with his head in the air, his nose stuck up, his hand on his hip, his leg stretched out, as if about to put himself on his guard, and apparently disposed to defy all who passed by him.

"On entering the shop, Chaudoreille threw himself on a bench, as if overwhelmed with fatigue, and placed his hat beside him, exclaiming,

"Let me rest myself a moment. *Sandis!* I well deserve it!—Ouf!—what a night! Gad, what a night!"

"And what the devil hast been doing to-night, to tire thee so much?"

"Ah! nothing very extraordinary for me, 'tis true; beaten three or four great fellows, who wanted to stop a countess's sedan; wounded two pages who were insulting a girl; gave a few inches of my sword to a student who was about to enter the window of a house; delivered over to the watch four thieves who were about to rifle a poor gentleman;—that is about what I did last night."

"Peste!" said Touquet, as a sneering smile escaped him, 'dost thou know, Chaudoreille, thou alone art worth at least three patrols of the watch? It seems to me that the king, or monsieur the cardinal, ought to compensate such fine conduct, by naming thee to some high post in the police of this town, instead of leaving such a brave and useful personage to run about all day from one gambling house to another, trying to borrow a crown.'

"Yes," said Chaudoreille, affecting not to have heard the latter portion of what the barber had said, 'I admit that I am very brave, and that my sword has often been of service to the state; that is to say—to the oppressed; but I have ever acted disinterestedly; I yield to the impulses of my heart: 'tis in the blood. *Cadidus!* Honour above all things!—and in these times we are not given to trifling!—I am what they call at court 'the very punctilio of honour.' A disrespectful glance—a cold look—a cloak brushing against mine—*presto!*—the sword's in my hand; that's my only argument; I would fight with a child of five years old if he were disrespectful!"

"I know we live in times when people measure swords about nothing; but I never heard that thy duels had made much noise."

"I dare say not, my dear Touquet! dead men don't speak, and those who have to do with me never get out of the scrape. Thou hast heard of the renowned Balagni, surnamed the brave, who was killed in a duel fifteen years ago. Well, my friend, I am his pupil and successor."

"It is unfortunate for thee that thou wast not brought into the world two centuries earlier. Tournaments are getting out of fashion, and the knights who redressed wrongs, and split giants in two, are no longer seen—except in picture galleries."

"It is certain that, if I had lived in the time of the Crusades, I should have brought back from Palestine two thousand Saracen ears; but, my dear Rolanda was there. This redoubted sword, which I inherit from an ancestor who had it direct from Orlando Furioso—hath sent a devilish lot of people to the other world."

"I'm always afraid of its throwing thee down, it seems too long for thee."

"And yet it's worn an inch shorter since I had it; if I go on in this way, it will become a mere stiletto."

We have a sketch of domestic felicity in a few words—

"I may say, with pride, few families are so united as our own; during the four years of my being married to my second husband, Monsieur Legras, we have fought but five times, and then always for mere trifles."

The gallant cavalier is out with the unwonted sum of ten crowns in his purse, on an errand of discovery and love.

Chaudoreille again looked round him, placed his fingers on his lips, examined all the persons in the shop, pushed away the footstool on which the cat was lying, then bending towards Julia with the air of a conspirator, whispered in her ear:

"A great lord sent me to you—a man tremendously rich—a personage in favour—a gallant, who—"

"It is!—it is the Marquis de Villebelle," said Julia, out of patience; 'I know it! What would he with me? what did he bid you say to me? Come, sir, come!'

"I must be peculiarly skilful," thought Chaudoreille; 'people guess at once, even without my saying so, what I have to say to them. Since you know his name,' resumed he, again approximating his face to the ear of Julia, who roughly pushed him away, 'I need not tell you that this nobleman adores you.'

"He did not charge you with the expression of his sentiments?"

"No; but he charged me to ask for an interview; if you deny him this favour, he will set the four corners of the street on fire, that he may have the pleasure of saving you. For mercy's sake, fair Julia,—for so I think they call you, which makes me presume you are not French—am I right?"

"Were you charged to ask me that?" said Julia, looking disdainfully at Chaudoreille. The latter bit his lip, put his left hand on his hip, and whispered—

"What shall I say to the noble Marquis de Villebelle, whose confidant I am, and whom I now represent?"

"That he should select his envoys better," said Julia, drily.

"I was sure of it," said Chaudoreille to himself, stepping back a pace or two; "she has fallen in love with me; my person is playing off its old tricks. It's very disagreeable; I ought to have disguised myself a little, or at least to have kept my eyes from inflicting new wounds. There is money to be made here,—I must not forget that." And Chaudoreille repeated to Julia,—to whom he now, very prudently, only presented his face in profile—"What shall I tell the marquis? Where will you be walking to-morrow evening?"

"Julia was silent for some moments, and appeared in deep reflection; meantime Chaudoreille felt his purse, in great anxiety as to her answer.

"At all events," thought he, "I won't return the ten crowns."

"To-morrow evening, at eight o'clock, upon the Pont de la Tournelle," at length replied the young Italian, for Julia was indeed not a French woman.

"Enough," said Chaudoreille, still only showing his profile, "I ask no more, and I shall now hasten away, lest the continuing to see me should induce you to change your resolution."

"He had already reached the door, and was about to make his exit, when Julia called him back.

"You have forgot to pay for the riband, sir."

"Gad, that's true!—Devil take me!—It's always my way; I'm so giddy, so absent."

"So saying, Chaudoreille took out his purse, and counted backwards and forwards the ten crowns it contained into his hand.

"I'm afraid I've no change with me," said he; "in general I carry only gold; 'tis lighter. How much do you want, fair one?"

"Thirty sous, sir."

"Thirty sous!—for a rosette?" cried Chaudoreille, with a very long face, and returning the crowns into his purse; "that's horribly dear: you must perceive that the riband is very narrow."

"For a man who carries only gold," said Julia, smiling, "I'm really surprised you should want to make a bargain about such a trifle."

"I don't want to bargain, but still I think that some reduction might be made; four-and-twenty sous ought to be enough for a superb rosette. No matter, I yield: give me the change."

"With a deep sigh he then handed over one of the crowns, and while the Italian was counting out the difference, he attached the riband to the handle of Rolanda: the effect of the riband somewhat alleviated his regret

for the thirty sous. He took up his change, and recollecting that there was another claim which might be made upon him, he hastened to the door, skipped out into the street, and departed with the speed of lightning.

"And the glass!" said the old woman; "has he paid for that?"

"Ah, Lord, no, madame," said Julia.

"I was sure he wouldn't; run, girls, run;—a rascally puppy, that wants to come the dandy, with his old thread-bare cloak and his feather, that I would not dust my shelves with. He puts everything topsy-turvy, nearly pokes out my cat's eyes, says impertinent things to me, is bargaining two hours for a rosette, and then runs away without paying for the glass he broke. It's some pick-pocket, some cut-purse!"

"The two girls opened the door, and looked up and down the street, but Monsieur le Chevalier was nowhere to be seen.

"It's my fault, madame," said Julia, "I ought to have asked him for it; but I will pay for it."

"Yes, mademoiselle; that will teach you another time not to listen to these gentlemen, who give a great deal of trouble without having a penny in their pockets."

"The young Italian made no reply. It is probable that at this moment neither the pane of glass nor the chevalier occupied her thoughts."

Blanche, the daughter of Touquet, the Barber of Paris, has a lover, Urban, who attempts to see her in disguise. The scene is spirited and characteristic, and we extract it altogether.

"The bachelor, in his petticoat and cap, felt very little at ease in the streets of Paris. Although it was night, and there were but few lanterns, no sooner did any one approach him than Urban fancied himself recognized, and expected to be taken up by the police, who might inquire the cause of his disguise, and require something handsome by way of ransom, if he continued to walk about dressed up as a woman; for at Paris, as elsewhere, it is only by scattering money about that you can pass for what you are not; and as Urban had not a single crown about him—for one cannot think of every thing on such occasions—the young lover felt the necessity of getting out of the way of the officers of justice. As for thieves he had no fear of them, which was saying much in those times. It is saying something indeed even now.

"By degrees Urban acquired more confidence; he began to get accustomed to his costume; and various tender phrases which had already been addressed to him as he passed along convinced him that his sex was not at all suspected. Urban made no answers to the unceremonious compliments addressed to him; he hastened on with increased speed, covering his petticoats with dirt in his progress, for he did not know how to hold them up, and they were sadly in his way when he

wanted to jump over the kennels. At length he reached the Rue des Bourdonnais; and it then for the first time occurred to him that it was rather late to attempt to introduce himself into the barber's house. There was not the slightest probability of Margaret's coming out now; his disguise would be of no use till next day; it was absurd and useless to have assumed it so soon; but lovers do not make these reflections. Besides, as Urban wished to get used to his feminine costume, he did not regret that he had put it on. While making these reflections he walked up and down in front of the barber's house, looking up at Blanche's windows, sending her a thousand sighs, which she did not hear, for she was asleep; and which very likely she would as little have heard even had she been awake.

"Absorbed in the delight of sighing underneath the windows of his fair one, Urban did not consider that, though it may be natural to see a young man waiting and sighing at night in the streets, a woman alone at so late an hour gives rise to many conjectures. All at once the young lover was roused from his ecstasy by some one pinching his knee, and saying to him in a terribly hoarse voice—

"It seems, my little love, that he thou expectest is behindhand; if thou wilt take my arm, we will go and taste the white wine of the merchant down yonder; I am a customer of his, and there are—"

"Urban turned round, and saw a great fellow in a chairman's dress. Not at all amused with this adventure, the young bachelor set off running, leaving the gallant behind; but two hundred yards further on he was again stopped by two pages, who insisted on a kiss; he got away from them, and resumed his flight. Next he was accosted by some students, then by some lacqueys, then by some soldiers; some of his admirers pursued him, and Urban to escape from them redoubled his speed, and to facilitate his flight gathered up his clothes to his knees, a proceeding which appeared to increase the ardour of his pursuers.

"*Morbleu!*" said Urban to himself, as he dashed on, 'I did not dress myself as a woman to be pinched by every page and lacquey in the town—the devil's in them! Curse these petticoats. But never mind! Tomorrow I will introduce myself to Blanche. Courage! perhaps these fellows will give up.'

"Urban leaped over the kennels, wound along the streets, perspiring, half suffocated under his stays and the padding with which the servant had furnished his chest: taking any turning that presented itself to him to elude his admirers, he knew not where he was.

"At length, hearing no person behind him, Urban paused to take breath; he then recognized where he was. He had passed the bridges, and had reached the great Pré-aux-Clercs, in which they had begun to build houses and open streets, as they had done in the little Pré-aux-Clercs, which towards the end of the reign of Henry IV. was quite covered with houses and gardens.

"'Good!' said Urban, 'this is the new street, the Rue de Verneuil; there's the *Chemin-aux-vaches*, where they are building the *Rue Saint Dominique*; I know where I am; but let me rest a moment—I am too far from home to start again directly—I am overcome—I must take breath. This is a lonely place, though—the night is advanced, I only hope I shall make no more conquests.'

"Urban gathered up his petticoats and sat down on a stone. At the end of half an hour, feeling no longer his fatigue, he rose and proceeded homewards: he was walking slowly, congratulating himself upon meeting no person, when on a sudden coming to the Rue de Bourbon he met four men, who, on seeing him, stopped short and barred his way.

"'Oh! oh! what's this?—so late too!—the game is still afoot!'

"'On my honour a most delightful rencontre!—it is a little farmer's wife!'

"'So much the better—I like these country girls vastly—'

"'The devil, Marquis! What! a country girl promenading Paris in the middle of the night! The little innocent must be immensely courageous!'

"'Come, come, chevalier, thou hast always got some wicked thought in thy head. I will lay a wager that the poor child is only come to town to sell her eggs.'

"'Let her be come for what she may she shall not return till my mustachios have been pressed against her pretty mouth.'

"Urban saw from the language and manners of these gentlemen that he had to do with highflyers. As he could not run away from them, for they encircled him completely, he endeavoured to get rid of them by saying in a feigned voice—

"'Gentlemen, for heaven's sake, let me go; I am not what you take me for.'

"But his prayers were unheeded; they pressed round him and caught hold of him; Urban, impatient of their proceedings, saw no other means of getting away than by making himself known, and he accordingly exclaimed in his natural voice—

"'Leave me, gentlemen; I repeat you are mistaken in me.'

"These words, pronounced by the bachelor in a way that left no doubt of his sex, produced upon the four young lords the effect of Medusa's head; they were struck motionless; but soon they all burst into a roar of laughter.

"'It is a man! A most unique adventure!'

"'Yes, gentlemen, it is a man,' replied Urban; 'I hope you will now allow me to pursue my way.'

"'For my part I have no objection,' said one of the party.

"'Come, come, Villebelle,' cried another, 'let the lad go—thou seest it is not a girl!—'faith, I believe he has drank so much wine that he does not yet perceive his mistake. Eh, Chevalier.'

"Villebelle, however, whose head was heated by wine, persisted in detaining Urban.

"'An instant, my lad,' said he. 'We know thou art not a girl; so far so good; but by all

the devils, dressed up in this way, thou must have had some pleasant adventures ; relate them, they will divert us, and then thou shalt be at liberty.'

" 'Yes, yes,' repeated the others, 'he must tell us why he's dressed up as a woman.'

" 'I shall regale the private levee of the cardinal to-morrow with this adventure.'

" 'And I shall tell it Marion de Lorme.'

" 'I shall get Bois-Robert to put it into verse for the court.'

" 'Colletet shall make a comedy of it ; come, tell us.'

" 'Once more, gentlemen, allow me to go,' said the bachelor impatiently. 'What right have you to question me ? I have nothing to tell you, and will go !'

" 'So saying, he again pushed back the Marquis, but the latter stopt his way, and drew his sword, exclaiming—

" 'On my honour the little fellow is quite in a passion ! This is too ridiculous ! Thou shalt speak, or we will make thee leap our swords like a water spaniel.'

" 'Insolent !' cried Urban furiously ; 'if I had a weapon you would not dare to use this language, or, at least, I should make you repent it !'

" 'Indeed !—Parbleu ! I'll see how thou canst use a sword ! Chevalier, lend him thine.'

" 'What, Villebelle ! wouldst thou—'

" 'Certainly, a duel with a country girl !—it will be amusing ; come, gentlemen, a ring !'

" 'With these words the Marquis took the sword of one of his companions and presented it to Urban.

" 'Here,' said he, 'is wherewith to defend thyself. Now, on your guard, boy-girl ! and let us see if thou art brave as thou art obstinate.'

" 'Urban eagerly seized the sword, and at once attacked the Marquis ; though embarrassed with his petticoats and his stays, he rushed with impetuosity on his adversary, who, parrying his thrusts, cried every instant—

" 'Good !—very good, upon my honour !—Look, gentlemen—there's a parry !—a capital thrust !—Peste ! I need all my address to—'

" 'The passing of Urban's sword through the Marquis's fore-arm cut short the sentence ; his sword fell from his hand ; his friends surrounded and held him up ; Urban himself approached to assist him.

" 'It is nothing, it is nothing,' said the Marquis.—'Adieu, my friend, thou art a brave fellow, I am glad to have made thine acquaintance, though I know not with whom I have been engaged.'

There is sound truth in the concluding remarks of the following :—Urban, still dressed as a girl, succeeds in persuading Blanche's attendant that he has a magic story to tell ; and as the latter and her fair charge are closely immured by the Barber, the curiosity of the old dame, and her love of the marvelous and of secrets, overcome her scruples.

" 'Margaret hastened to Blanche ; since the evening of the serenade, the poor girl had indeed been more pensive than before ; she never sang any thing but the burden of her favourite romance ; and the *villanellés*, the *vi-relais*, the old *tençons*, no longer amused her. Margaret went up to her, and whispered in a mysterious tone,

" 'We shall have a visitor to-night !'

" 'A visitor !' said Blanche ; 'Ah ! Monsieur Chaudoreille, no doubt.'

" 'No ; a young country girl, very pretty ; you don't know her. A poor girl who has a treasure,—and wants a cook's place,—who wishes to remain virtuous,—and has come to Paris,—who fears the devil,—and fears nothing—'

" 'I don't understand you.'

" 'Hush ! hush ! be silent ! She will come this evening and relate her history to us ;—it is about a very curious mystery ; but silence ! not a word ! Monsieur Touquet must not have a notion of such a thing, for he would forbid poor Ursula to come and chat with us, and that would vex me very much,—on your account, my child, for it will amuse you.'

" 'Oh ! be easy ; I shall say nothing about it,' cried Blanche, jumping for joy about the room ; for the promised visit was to her an extraordinary event, and the slightest novelty is delightful to those who pass their lives in a monotonous way. Thus, a storm, however furious, serves to amuse and occupy the poor prisoner ; a bottle of wine is a regale to one who is accustomed to get nothing but water to drink ; the sounds of a Barbary organ appear delicious to peasants : a ticket for the play will crown the wishes of the poor work-girl at ten sous a-day ; a muslin gown will make the *grisette* happy ; and Sunday is impatiently looked forward to by those who toil all the week ; while to many people, plays, banquets, music, dress, have no longer any power of rejoicing their hearts. According to this, it would seem, that the poor are happier than the rich."

It is but just, before passing on, to give the reader a lively sketch from a work recently published, of the popularity and estimation of Paul de Kock.

" We now come to an author who has enjoyed, and still enjoys, more celebrity than any living writer ; that is to say, if the extent of a man's reputation be judged by the number of his readers. From the highest lady in her luxurious *boudoir*, to the poorest *grisette* in her miserable attic,—from the lordly paladin in his spacious library, to the obsequious porter in his narrow lodge,—from the statesman who mounts the tribune in the Chamber of Deputies, to the copying clerk in the attorney's office,—from the Colonel of the regiment, to the private sentinel in the ranks,—all have perused the novels of this distinguished writer—all classes have pored over those pages which teem with gaiety

and mirth, relieved by the finest touches of pathos and feeling—all have felt the magic charm of this great enchanter! A new novel by Paul de Kock creates a more powerful sensation than the speech of the King himself; and on the day of publication, not a diligence, not a mail, not a public conveyance leaves the French metropolis without bearing to the country librarians of all parts a package of the anxiously-awaited volumes. There is not a circulating library throughout France that does not possess one or more complete sets of his works: there is not a news-room where, amongst the few dozens of standard books which grace the little shelf in the corner, the novels of Paul de Kock are not to be found. His popularity extends to the meanest and most distant cottage in the empire: there exists not a labourer who tills the land in the remotest province, that has not heard of Paul de Kock, and laughed at some village pedant's recital of the best episode in his last work.

"Mount the *imperial* of the diligence, and the *Conducteur* will talk to you of Paul de Kock. Converse with the *fille du comptoir* in a Café, and she will ask you to lend her his lately published novel. Hire a *cabriolet de place*, and the driver will tell you that he has just perused Paul de Kock's new work. Chatter with your porter's wife, when she brings you your newspaper in the morning, and she will call your attention to the critique of Paul de Kock's book in the *Feuilleton*. Speak to your cook relative to your dinner having been late the day before, and she will throw the blame upon Paul de Kock. Ask your friend why he broke his appointment, and the reply will be the same. In fine, M. Charles Paul de Kock engrosses public attention as much as the prices of the funds, the measures of the ministers, or the war in Spain. He is a *Monsieur Tonson* whose existence is interminable.

"Nor is his popularity alone confined to France: it extends to every corner of Europe where books are read. In religious—in strict—in domestic communities, are his works devoured with as much enthusiasm as they are by the indolent and luxurious Parisians.

"But let it not be supposed that Paul de Kock can write nothing save humorous tales. His sentiment will frequently wring tears from the eyes. No one can peruse passages of *Sœur Anne*, *Frère Jacques*, or *La Laitière de Montfermeil*, without experiencing the most tender emotions; but no lasting impression is made upon the mind by the scenes which M. de Kock thus envelopes in pathos and melancholy, because the almost immediate occurrence of something exces-

sively ludicrous effaces the reminiscence of the sentimental episode.

"The wonderful imagination of Paul de Kock, and his astonishing powers of invention, are not the least portions of his genius."*

We quote the following amusing passage, not less humorous and original, nor less illustrative of rumour, than the "Three Black Crows."

"The fact was, that the neighbourhood, alarmed by the cries of Durand in the street, and hearing him hallooing after '*la garde*!' fancied he was summoning military assistance instead of a nurse; and up to the period when the history takes leave of her, the servant continually declared that Monsieur Durand had expressly called in a regiment of soldiers to see his wife brought to bed."—p. 243.

He who has never travelled in a long-stage with six dowagers and a child or two in a July night, overcoming us like a summer's dream, he is a man loved by the gods, and ought to die young and in blissful innocence. The fair one who has never entered an omnibus after a long hurried walk with the thermometer at 118 degrees, to save the glories of furbelow and flounce, can alone be indifferent to the following:—

"Towards the end of the month of November last year, one of those Dames-blanches which come down from La Villette to traverse a part of Paris, was scarcely more than one-third of its way, when, at a sign to the coachman, it stopped, and a lady of forty appeared on the steps. A general cry rose in the carriage; which was nearly full, at the appearance of the new traveller. The person who presented herself was, it is true, extremely corpulent; she could well have filled three places, and there was but one vacant on the left bench. The travellers on the right side had some difficulty in repressing the inclination to laugh which the sight of this lady produced; those on the left made many grimaces of dissatisfaction at the new comer, whom they were to be compelled to receive on their bench, but no one moved to make room for her.

"'Sit closer on the left,' said the conductor, making the fat lady mount, whose person hermetically closed the door, and who, not knowing where to place herself, held in one hand the leathern loop, and leant the other against the first knee she met with. 'Sit a little closer,' said, in a jocular tone, a man in a blouze and otter-skin cap—who was seated on the unlucky left side. 'That is good of the conductor; we must have a famous place for this little madam. Ah! well, she is one who enjoys good health.'

* Reynolds's Modern Literature of France, 2 vols. London.

"'For my part I cannot move,' said an old woman near the door; 'I am already horribly crowded by the lady who carries on her lap a child that ought to pay for a whole place, and is never still; and puts his feet on my dress—it's most agreeable.'

"These reproaches were addressed to a respectable nurse who held on her knees a little boy of four or five years old, that had never ceased to eat apples and gingerbread since he entered the carriage. The nurse cast a glance on her ancient neighbour and shrugged her shoulders, muttering, 'Take care not to stain the lady's dress—so clean and fresh as it is.'

"Nevertheless the fat lady is still at the entrance, looking round to where she shall seat herself; and the conductor repeats from without, 'To the left, ma'am; go in; I tell you there is room on the left.'

"The traveller resolves to try, she relinquishes the loop, preferring to depend on the knees to the right and left. The conductor then pulls his string that the coach may go on; but the movement causes the lady to lose her equilibrium. She falls on a basket belonging to a country-woman, who utters terrible cries, saying, 'You will break all my eggs, take care there: Ah my God, and my measure of apples! well, is this the way to tumble on people!' Driven off by the peasant, who was a vigorous person, the lady fell between a grocer and a mechanic. The grocer, who was thin and small, disappeared in a moment behind the voluminous form of the lady, but he was heard to cry in a stifled voice, 'Madame, get off, I entreat you; I shall be suffocated; I will not carry you—get off—ouf—or I will run a pin into your arm.'

"'But, Sir, since the conductor insists that there is room'—

"'But, Madame, that is nothing to me. I have paid for my own seat; place yourself on a stool'—

"'Surely—the men are very gallant at Paris; and I should never have thought that a lady would be received in a coach as an annoyance.'

"The mechanic, rather more courteous, pressed himself against a nurse who was at his left, and said to the enormous lady, 'See if you can place yourself here.' 'I am very willing to try; we shall not be cold.' The lady hastens to let herself sink into the place prepared for her; the two neighbours, the grocer and mechanic, are half hidden by her, but she is seated, and seems to defy the world to remove her from the place she had had so much trouble to obtain.

"Notwithstanding—all the left side of the dame-blanche complain and look vexed. The grocer, of whom the conductor has just demanded his fare, replies angrily, 'Search in my pockets: if you can, you will be lucky! I cannot move an arm—if we remain long in this state, this lady, who is almost upon me, must have the civility to use my handkerchief for me; that will be pleasanter still.' "

The following is one of the few instances in which De Kock puts forth his powers. It tells its own tale—*Tourlourou* signifies a recruit.

"'No, no, Pierre, I wish that you should know all,' answered the young girl, endeavouring to restrain her sobs, 'I will keep my promise, Pierre; you loved me in the village—your love was sincere, I see it plainly; I ought to have been proud of your preference, for you were more highly esteemed than any lad in the town. But I was a coquet—I wished to see Paris—I knew not what ideas tormented me. Soon it was much worse, I was told that I was the daughter of a duchess, that I should some day be very rich. Oh, it was then in my reveries that I fancied myself a great lady! Well, Pierre, all this was false. Madame de Stainville was mistaken, the Duchess of Valousky has never had a child. It was a manuscript that she had left at the *Tourne-bride*. This manuscript was put in Gaspard's care, therefore he knew well that I was not a duchess, and he allowed me to think so only to punish me for having slighted your love.'

"'Can it be?' said Pierre—'what, you are not a great lady—you have not a large fortune. Ah, what happiness! But pardon me, Marie, I rejoice in that which gives you pain. Ah! that is very wrong in me—it is because I could not master—but, my God! can it be from grief at not being a duchess that you wished to die? Oh, no, this is not possible; at your age we do not die of grief for the loss of fortune.'

"'No, Pierre, you are right; it is not this which reduced me to despair. Although I have been humiliated, driven away from the lady, who made me quit the house where I had been brought up,—I could have borne all this—but another motive—ah, now indeed you will despise me.'

"'I despise you! never, never; but speak, Marie, go on.'

"'Pierre, twice you have saved me when fallen into snares—when about to become the victim of my confidence: but, alas! you were not always there—and then that time it was not a snare that was laid for me—it was accident—my weakness—Pierre, I can never return to the village, for I bear with me the pledge of my fault; and he who has made me a mother can never be my husband.'

"'Mother,' murmured Pierre, turning pale; the head of the soldier bent towards the earth, and he appeared for some instants overwhelmed by the avowal Marie had made, while the young girl wept and still covered her face with her hands. But soon the features of Pierre became animated, his eyes flashed fire, and he cried—

"'Who is he, the wretch, who has degraded you? his name—speak! speak! Marie, he shall marry you, or I will have his life.'

"'I will not tell his name, because I cannot be his wife; and I will not have you shed his blood. No, I ought not to be avenged,

because in this case there were neither snares nor seductions. I thought I was beloved—because I loved I sought out him who thought not of me. Ask me no more for his name, Pierre, for I repeat I will never tell it you.’

“‘You loved him!’ said Pierre, heaving a sigh; ‘you loved him, and yet you were not beloved! while I’—and two large tears fell from the eyes of the soldier.

“‘You now see, Pierre, that I had cause to wish to die, and that I can never again return to the village.’ The soldier paused some time without answering; his head sunk upon his breast, and he appeared absorbed in profound reflection. Suddenly he raised his head, his brow cleared, and he extended his hand to Marie, saying,

“‘Dear Marie, you have told me that henceforth I should be the arbiter of your fate; do you still consent to it?’

“‘Yes, Pierre, because if I had always followed your counsels, I should now have nothing to reproach myself with.’

“‘Well, Marie, all your misfortunes may yet be repaired; become my wife, I will be a father to your child; and never, I swear to you, never will I again name to you the fault that you have committed.’

“‘Pierre! what do you say! I your wife? and would you still have the poor Marie?’

“‘Listen,’ said Pierre, ‘if I have supported life, was it not in the hope of consecrating it entirely to you? It required courage even in me not to yield to despair when you rejected my love; and now would you render this courage unavailing, and would you again refuse me when I can restore you to honour—to repose—when I can save you from a crime?’ Pierre had thrown himself at the feet of Marie, and he pressed to his heart and lips the hands of the young girl, who, touched by such noble devotion, so true a love, felt that she might yet be happy; and, giving her hand to Pierre, said,

“‘Dispose of me as you will, my existence is yours.’”

But our favourite tale is the touching story of Zizine—the most graceful form of infancy—a child, poor, timid, quiet and fond—the pencil that sketched her was dipped in the brightest light heaven sheds upon earth and its earthly inhabitants. We shall extract largely from this portion.

M. Guerreville is a widower, who has lost his daughter also; and to relieve his melancholy he one day takes to hunting out lodgings;—in a house in a very humble street,

“A little girl of six was mounting to the fourth story just as M. Guerreville put his foot on the first step to descend. The child was poorly and thinly dressed for the season; a cap of brown cloth covered her head; a gown patched in many parts; an old black apron, composed all her dress; and her tiny feet were already inclosed in wooden shoes.

She carried under her arm a round 4 lb. loaf, a burden that must have been heavy for her; yet she appeared proud of carrying it, and looked at it with great triumph. Arrived at the landing, she held down her head on seeing strangers, and directed her steps towards another little dark staircase, much like the ladder of a mill, and in a corner of the roof. Fourré (the porter) stopped the child, saying—‘Ah, young one, tell your father the landlord wants his money. What the devil! Jerome laughs at us!—Because he is ill he thinks we shall forget the rent he owes; but his goods will be sold if he does not pay—tell him that from me.’ The child looked at the porter with a small countenance of mingled fear and shame; then quickly climbed the ladder and disappeared. M. Guerreville, who at first paid no attention to the child, turned as the porter spoke to her; he examined that little face, so pale, so thin; the features so small and delicate, surrounded by curls of bright chestnut hair; and he was surprised at the thoughtful expression of that very young countenance.

“This little girl had neither regular features nor rosy cheeks; it was not one of those fat, puffy cherubs, of whom it is customary to say ‘what a fine child!’ nor one of those perfect heads which painters love to put in their pictures; it was a slight, pale, delicate, serious girl, whom many persons would not have remarked, and others would have thought plain; but who possessed a charm for those who could read the expression of her countenance.”

A parent’s love had consecrated one spot—

“M. Guerreville had followed the porter and penetrated into a miserable room, whose wretched appearance wrung his heart. There was no paper to hide the walls and the beams which formed the ceiling; no curtains to the sloping window that admitted the light; a poor stump bedstead, a table, a few chairs, a little buffet of white wood which had been slightly varnished,—this was all the furniture of the room; but in a corner, a few boards had been fixed up to make a separation, which formed a sort of closet. There was placed a little child’s bed; this bed was of walnut-tree, very clean and bright, surmounted by a rod in form of an arrow, and on it were thrown curtains of green, which could surround the bed of the little girl, and screen her from the light which fell perpendicularly into this gloomy retreat.

* * * * *

“Having opened the door, the little girl went back and seated herself close to the sick man’s bed, whose hand she took within her own; trying to read in his eyes the impression made upon him by this unexpected visit.

“‘Ah, yes—this is money well employed!’ said the porter, taking a pinch of snuff with great importance. ‘To buy dolls and little furniture for this little brat; how can any one be so silly? besides they are not cheap

playthings you buy, but handsome dolls, two francs a-piece.'

"Ah,—but listen to me, Monsieur Fourré; it is because I think nothing too good for my Zinzinette—my little girl—my little angel—and now my little nurse. Ah! I should have liked to buy much handsomer things for her.'

* * * * *

"Without appearing even to hear what the porter was saying, M. Guerreville put his hand on the cheek of the little girl, and while caressing her, said to the Auvergnat, 'Is it your only child?' 'Yes, Sir.' 'And you love her much, do you not?' 'Do I love her!—Oh, she is my little treasure. Poor child! since I have been ill she has taken care of me, relieved my thirst, gone out to fetch bread and every thing I bid her. She is very young—only six and a half, but yet there is in that little head more thought and sense than in many older ones.' M. Guerreville made him no answer, he was again lost in thought, his head sunk upon his breast, and deep grief painted on all his features.

"Is it possible to stint oneself thus for a child?" cried M. Fourré, putting out his head from behind the boards. 'Here are three good mattresses on the bed of this little one, and yet her father lies upon a hard palliasso.'

"If that pleases me, Mr. Porter," said Jerome, impatiently, 'I think I have a right to sleep as I like; and for me, who am neither delicate nor difficult, it does very well; but this little pet, Oh! she *must* be treated tenderly, you see, she is so delicate, so fragile; the least thing would hurt her.'

"Would not one think she was the child of a prince! I love my children, but certainly I could not deprive myself of comforts for them—Ah, well, Sir, you have had time to look at this room, I must go down—if it suits you for 50 francs, you shall have it, and I'll take the beans elsewhere.'

* * * * *

"On concluding these words the Auvergnat drew the little girl to his bed, and embraced her tenderly; 'And I am blamed,' he added, 'for buying her fine dolls.—Oh, but I let the world talk and do as I like, don't I, Zinzinette?'

"The child smiled and said, 'Oh, I take great care of my dolly; she sleeps with me, and I'll make her a frock, for a lady in the house has promised me some very handsome pieces.'

"Yes, yes; you are a good contriver, and everybody in the house loves you, except the porter, who never speaks to you but to say something harsh; but he sha'n't abuse you neither, for I will break my pails over his back.'

M. Guerreville takes his leave of the house, giving all the money he had about him to the child, and goes down stairs, where the porter waited his descent.

"And the hand of the porter was still held out before M. Guerreville, but he, after try-

ing his pockets, where he found nothing, put aside the arm which barred his passage, and quitted the house, saying,—'Ah, I am sorry, but I have nothing about me.' M. Fourré remained an instant stupified with anger; at length he struck his cap with his hand, crying, 'I am robbed, as in a wood; was ever heard such meanness! a well-dressed man dare tell me he has no money.—Fie, it is disgraceful!—Now that man,—after all, I believe he is an informer—a spy.'

M. Guerreville recognizes a former mistress, and the contrast of past memoirs in the two sexes is happily managed—the coldness of man, the ever-active fondness of woman.

"Pardon me, Madam, indeed I feel that I am far from amiable—I respond but ill to your friendship—but you know well I was always rather quick, impetuous. And since you saw me, grief has so embittered my temper, that often for a word, for the least thing, I suffer myself to give way to emotions of anger, of impatience, for which I blush. Ah, my society is no longer agreeable. I am no longer that Edward whom you knew formerly, and time has altered my character even more than my features.' 'Oh! you will always be to me the only man for whom my heart has ever throbbed. I do not think you changed. If you would smile again you would be still the same. You have had troubles,—poor dear friend!—but you did not confide them to me. The last time I met you, four years ago, you may recollect that I perceived a secret grief agitated you; and I then entreated you to confide your sorrows to me, but you rejected my consolation.' 'It is because there are pains which no consolation can soften, and these—I think we ought to keep at the bottom of our heart.'

"But, my God! what has happened to you then that is so cruel? is it reverse of fortune? Oh no, I know you well enough to be certain that such events would be supported by you with philosophy. You are a widower—and the death of your wife must have grieved you deeply, for I know that you loved her much, although you were guilty of numerous infidelities,—but men are privileged to unite love to inconstancy; it is a right they have arrogated to themselves, and which they use largely. In short, you loved your wife tenderly, but I think it is more than ten years since she died, and I have seen you since sad, but not desponding. You had a daughter, a daughter you adored, of whom you spoke to me incessantly. Can anything have happened to your dear Pauline?" At the name of Pauline, the countenance of M. Guerreville changed, a dark cloud covered his brow, his looks sunk to the earth, and he murmured in an agitated voice, 'No, no, nothing has happened to my daughter, but she has not been with me for a long time—she is married.'

"What, your daughter married, and you have consented to part from her?" 'It was necessary, it was for her happiness.'

"Where does she reside now?" "Very far off, in Dauphiné." "And you?" "I am in Paris."

"Have you no longer your fine estate near Orleans?" "Yes, but since my wife died and—my daughter married, I wearied of it; this is the reason why I have travelled for some time—and now I am determined to remain a little while in Paris."

"Oh, how glad I am to hear it. I hope you will come and see us; you will not live like a hermit, you will not fly from society; and your god-daughter, your little Agathe, do you not wish to see, to embrace her? For my part I have often spoken to her of her godfather, poor little thing; it is nearly twelve years since she has seen you. Oh yes, it is quite as long as that since you came to our house. Perhaps she would not know you, but I intend she shall come to-morrow and pay her respects to her godfather. My maid shall bring her to you, for my daughter never goes out alone. Do you permit it, sir?"

"Certainly—and yet—your husband." "Oh, my husband—you well know it is not he who rules the house—except his dinner. Besides, Monsieur Grillon is much attached to you; he will be delighted to see you again. He has often asked me if I had heard from you, and I shall please him much by telling him you are in Paris. Ah, give me your address, for it is still possible you may not come to see us; but at least I will send you my Agathe, I wish you to see how pretty she is; how much she is like her—But, my God! what does this signify to you? Ah, these men, these men! they do not long continue amiable."

"M. Guerreville drew from his pocket a card, on which was his name and address: he presented it to Madame Grillon, who put it into her bag, and pressed his hand, saying, 'Agathe shall go and embrace her godfather. Then, sir, in friendship to this dear child, you will perhaps condescend to come and see us sometimes.'"

"They parted, the lady smiling; M. Guerreville compelling himself to return her smile."

* * * * *

A second scene, somewhat similar, awaits him, as he goes into a shop to buy gloves.

"He enters; a female is sitting alone at the counter. M. Guerreville scarcely looks at the dealer; he asks for gloves, and while they are sought for he sits before the counter."

"The boxes were opened and examined; the dealer appeared quite agitated; she mixed men's with women's gloves, and confused the colours, because she never ceased looking at M. Guerreville, who paid no attention, and had already relapsed into meditation."

"These will perhaps suit you, sir," was at last said in a trembling voice. M. Guerreville put out his hand, but felt it gently

pressed, without any attempt at trying on the gloves; he raised his eyes towards the dealer. Their eyes met.

"Marie!" cried M. Guerreville. "Yes, sir, yes, Marie. You came in then without knowing that this shop belonged to me."

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"But have you no other consolation?" Marie raised her head and gazed at M. Guerreville; an expression of joy animated her features, and she cried, "Ah, you have not then forgotten him. I wished to see if you would speak of him—if you still thought of him—that poor child—my idol—my treasure—my son! the — Oh, but my God! tell me at least that you have some affection for him; that you wish to see him—to embrace him—tell me so, sir, that I may know the sweetest pleasure of a mother—that my heart may again leap with joy! Oh yes! yes, you wish to see him: do you not?"

"You may be assured I shall give the preference to this house. Here is my address; say to—to your son, that I am always at home till noon." "Oh, I shall not forget it."

"Adieu Madame"—"Adieu, Monsieur."

"M. Guerreville exchanged another glance with the fair perfumer; he then quitted the shop, and returned home, saying, 'Singular day—these are meetings which I did not expect.—Poor woman!—all this had passed away from my memory.'"

The fair Agatha, his *God-child*, (a denomination adopted, we presume, to show the parent's pious reverence for this gift of heaven) is an accomplished specimen of what we should have been tempted to send, with Cuvier, to its proper class, the boarding-school; but in these times of "Seminaries and Societies" such establishments are but fossil remains. The young lady's biography is given by herself with a clearness of detail that itself speaks volumes for its accuracy. The happy father asks—

"Your parents have doubtless attended to your education?" "Oh! yes, godpapa, certainly I have been well taken care of, but I was removed from the first boarding-school where they put me, because we had hash every day for dinner—I complained to mama, who mentioned to the under-governess that hash made me sick—this lady told the mistress, who said that she should not alter the plans of the house for me—mama thought this answer very impolite, and removed me to another school, where I was much better satisfied—they had on week-days lentils and potatoes with beef—now I do not much like potatoes, but delight in lentils, especially with oil—but if you knew, godpapa, how little oil they put in their salads at boarding-schools—I really think they often put none at all—and that is very bad for the stomach—one of my friends —" "Is it long since you were removed

from school?' 'Oh yes, eighteen months, godpapa, papa and mama thought I knew quite enough—that I need not learn any more'—'What do you know then?' 'Oh, godpapa, I know how to sing a little, I can play on the piano a little, and draw a little.'—'It seems that you know little of every thing.' 'Yes, godpapa, and besides—I dance very well—Oh, I dearly love dancing, mama likewise loves dancing, at the ball we are partners, and mama says we are always taken for sisters,——' "

This lucid narrative, whether satisfactory or not to the father, will be more than satisfactory to our readers. We return to Zizine, who had been taken into a rich family, consisting of a young lady of sixteen and her grandmother, as a sort of living pet-doll for the former, who was attached to her with girlish fondness. Stephanie, however, goes to a ball for the first time and there falls in love; she returns late and goes to bed to dream of her lover:—

"The next day the little Zizine watched till her young protectress waked; the child during their absence had dressed her doll exactly as Stephanie was dressed for the ball; she thought to cause an agreeable surprise to her kind friend, and, seated near the bed, holding her beautiful doll in her lap, she waited in silence till Stephanie should open her eyes. The happy moment at length arrived, the young girl murmured something; Zizine ran to embrace her, then showed her the doll, saying—'Look, see how gay and fine you were yesterday.' Stephanie smiled, but she did not laugh, as she usually did when playing with her little pet: she seemed even to look at the doll with indifference. Stephanie, while dressing, told Zizine all that had happened the night before at the ball; and during the whole day she could talk of nothing else; but when Zizine proposed to play with the doll, Stephanie refused, acknowledging that it would not amuse her; and little Zizine in astonishment exclaimed, but—it amused you so much yesterday! Yes—yesterday—murmured Stephanie, in a meditative tone. For the child, yesterday was but the distance of one day: for the young lady, it was no longer any thing but the vague memory of a former life."

A common sensation is happily, though slightly sketched—

"One day, without any precise cause, M. Guerreville felt himself more low-spirited and melancholy than usual: not feeling courage to go out, his heart oppressed and almost bursting with tears, he remained at home sitting near a table, his head resting on his hand, he questioned himself whence could arise this increased weight of vexation and sorrow. And yet on this day the sky was clear and bright; the sun was not concealed by a single cloud."

The feelings of a mother's long and hidden tenderness, is beautiful, though slight, and given but with a single touch:—

"In pronouncing these words a bitter smile crossed the lips of the fair perfumer, who added, with a sigh—'And doubtless it likewise was a myrtle that this young person offered to M. Guerreville?'

"'Yes, mother, we had each the same shrub; M. Guerreville gave his god-daughter a little pocketbook, and to me these tablets, which are very elegant—see, here they are, dear mother—I have not yet opened them.'

"Marie took the tablets, drew out the pencil which fastened them, and a bank-note fell out and fluttered on the counter. 'A thousand francs,' exclaimed Julius, examining the note; and a bright look of pleasure passed over his features—though he turned directly after to his mother, saying, 'But may I accept so considerable a gift?' 'Yes, my son,' answered Marie, casting down her eyes. 'Yes, for in refusing, you might displease M. Guerreville, and you must be careful to preserve his friendship.'

"Julius then took the bank-note and enclosed it in his tablets, which he seemed never weary of admiring; in a few moments his mother said, in a faltering voice, 'And did M. Guerreville embrace you?' 'No, mother; and I did not dare to embrace him, although I longed to do so.'

"'Not a single caress!' said Marie to herself, turning away to conceal her tears. 'Ah! that would have been more precious than all his money.' "

* * * * *

There is much truth and propriety in the following:—

"'How is it that the offspring of unhallowed love, of intrigue, and mystery, are viewed by us with indifference, while we cherish the children of our marriage, although love has frequently little connection with their birth? Is it that the first remind us of a fault or weakness which we would gladly forget?'

"'No, my dear Guerreville; but it is, I think, because the heart expands only to those who give us the sweet NAME of Father. Yes, my friend, this name which demands from us both love and protection, awakes in our soul the most tender sentiments of nature.' "

The lover of Stephanie, meditating designs against her unsuspecting innocence, contrives to send Zizine out of the house in his cabriolet with his servant. She accidentally returns just in time to her benefactress, and the disappointed young man vents his rage on his servant.

"He is seated in his cabriolet, and his servant, trembling at his side, tries in vain to justify himself:—

"'You are a fool, an idiot,' said Emile; 'I had given you my instructions; you ought

to have detained the little brat by any means whatever, any contrivances. You ought not to have brought her back to Madame Dolbert's for two hours at least—and after just twenty minutes the whelp reappears!’—

“‘Surely, sir, it is not my fault that we met the father of —’

“‘You should not have stopped.’

“‘I must then have crushed this man, who hung at my horse's heels.’

“‘You should have obeyed me before every thing.’

“‘But, sir —’

“‘That's enough; I dismiss you; you are no longer in my service.’

“When he reached home, Emile retired to the most remote apartment, and there abandoned himself again to his passion. He broke and destroyed every thing that fell under his hands. Valuable furniture, splendid vases, a crowd of pretty trifles which are invented to adorn the apartments of the rich, are ground and trampled under the feet of this impetuous man, who had never met with resistance to his inclinations, and who, for the first time, was unable to indulge these. Like a spoiled child, who quarrels with and destroys his playthings when he meets with opposition to his will, Emile avenges himself on every thing round him; for men are but children of a larger growth, especially when they have been spoiled by fortune.

“‘But for the return of this little imp, Stephanie would have been mine,’ said Emile, throwing himself quite exhausted on a sofa; ‘she was mine, this lovely, innocent, and loving girl! how beautiful in her supplication!—And a child has destroyed all my hopes, has placed an obstacle to my happiness—a child—the daughter of a water-bearer—has placed herself in my way!—I, Emile Delaberge;—I, who have wealth to gratify my passions:—I, who since I have been of an age to feel them, have met no resistance in scattering with profusion this gold upon some, and lavishing oaths to others. It is a child that stops me, prevents me from being happy; for what can I do now? Stephanie sees her danger; she will henceforth be on her guard. Cursed Zizine—I hated her already.—Ah! I hate her now still more—if it's possible! Why can I not break her like this glass?’ And the hand of Emile struck forcibly a glass placed on a table near him. The glass broke, but the hand that struck it received a large cut; the blood flowed; Emile paused, blushing for his conduct:—he wrapped the wound in his handkerchief, and looking round him said, ‘How absurd I am! What a mess! Shall I never know how to command myself! I am more than thirty years old, and for these twelve years past how much folly! how many faults! Is it not time to pause.’ Emile remained long absorbed in his reflections; they were not cheerful, for his brow darkened, his eyes became fixed and gloomy, his respiration short and oppressed. Who could have recognized him as the brilliant and splendid,

the admiration of drawing-rooms, and the envy of his associates.”

M. Guerreville of course is the grandfather of Zizine; her mother being the lost Pauline, her father, Emile De la Berge. Driven to despair of Stephanie by other means, he proposes marriage; and M. Guerreville calling to see his grandchild, recognizes the seducer of his daughter just as the parties are going to church. He strikes Emile, fights, and is dangerously wounded; the marriage is broken off. And hence occurs a catastrophe possible only in France. The water-carrier, furious at his patron's disaster, waylays Emile in his daring scheme to steal into the chamber of Stephanie. He offers two cudgels to his antagonist, who, however, is armed; they fight with his pistols, and Emile is killed by Jean.

This mode of vicarious duelling, which in England has of late justly excited so much ridicule and disgust at the attempts made to introduce or restore it, is far from being unusual in France; and as every man there is a gentleman, and has in consequence a right to some other man's life whenever he chooses to take it, and whenever he is desirous of adding to his proper stock of satisfaction, and this without the slightest regard to difference of station, it is not wonderful that the extreme of amenity in common intercourse, is kept up on the one hand by the extreme of strictness on the other. We have known English officers of some standing in the army receive a cartel from a Frenchman in the ranks; and were ourselves once favoured with an offer of being run through the body incontinent by a gentleman in *blouse*, who drove a cart; but, like inglorious Argives, we declined this eminent satisfaction in favour of a prior engagement, to dinner with another friend, resisting the temptation of the second invitation from sincere regard for our readers.

It may be a fair question whether this facility of redress has not been influential on the tone of French society in every class; and whether the rough Englishman, with his promptitude of fist, would not, if admitted to an equal advantage with the Gaul, feel the moral influence of the small sword and the bullet as principles in ethics, without requiring their physical development and operation to set at rest any bilious irregularity of his intestinal functions. A mathematical demonstration of the peculiar properties of these instruments of science would create a lively interest with our popular Institutes, and greatly edify the members by their practical application to any given point in Me-

chanics; the triangle of the one, and the circle of the other, satisfactorily attesting the curious felicity of their selection by our ancestors as the emblems of eternity.

Yet the case is better for them as it is, since evidently, from recent instances, none but a man of a certain rank has a title to "benefit of clergy;" which in such predicaments is exerted, not to save its object's life, but to reproach his safety when the danger is over. Late illustrations of this active care for the spirit in preference over the flesh of the delinquents, whilst they evince that our pastors conscientiously confine themselves to the "cure of souls," in their special vocation, yet have created certain uneasy suspicions in our minds, whether it would not be better for one of the privileged class to take at once his quietus from the evils of this mortal life, than, by persisting in retaining it, subject himself to stand as a quaintain, exposed to the united assaults of those spiritual champions immediately afterwards. "Massa," objected the negro, "if you preachee, preachee; if you floggee, floggee; but no preachee and floggee too." It is hard for a gentleman accustomed to good hours, and who has to rise at six in the morning to fight, if he is to sit up all night to study theology. We are by no means sure that this was the express meaning of the clause admitting to "benefit of clergy," but if so there can be no difficulty in understanding why reading, and writing too, were indispensable for its attainment.

But as it would be better to prevent a crime than to punish it, might not the legislature organize a spiritual "Preventive Service" to this especial end—and divide it into two classes? At present, as a noble marquess insists, a man refusing to fight may be horsewhipped; but he might boldly refuse the first if provided with a proxy for the second, and allowed to name an obliging spiritual friend and pastor, to whom it could do no possible injury. The regular parish clergy have enough to do as it is, but numbers would come forward spontaneously no doubt, for we hear of thirty-six volunteers in one case.

The ordination of the second class should be for the purpose of preventing the sin before it is committed; instead of after, as at present. In this case the charge of *having committed* a crime to-morrow, would be novel and effective. Or if a member of the House of Peers has actually gone out, since he is beyond recall, why not lecture the others instead? We grieve to find that the Commons are not likely to benefit in any shape. Inferior parties, and challengers,

have no need of improvement—they are, ipso facto, exemplary Christians. So also are all persons accepting challenges, from the shepherd David, who killed Goliath in a duel, up to the rank of viscount. Dukes also are exempt by their station, and perhaps their eldest sons. We would recommend the taking out a license for gentlemen going out to shoot their friends, the same as for other wild-brutes and birds.

So hopeful a system we should trust to see soon extended to other sins, which there is no reason should escape any more than this. The little peccadilloes to which flesh is heir, and which, like the former, are strongly recommended by the authority of David,—Why should they be uncultivated? Why should the "Preventive Service" hesitate to denounce the contraband amiabilities of Peer, or Peeress, to their face? Why not lecture the wife for the husband, the husband for the wife meditating such evil doings? Why not approach and save the intended delinquents, in the very crisis of their perdition? When, too, a single lecture would economize the virtues of both, and their own labour.

Why indeed not publicly address such parties even now? provided always the victims be of a rank to give a chance of desired notoriety to the lecturer. Such selections could not be more invidious than the recent. Why not come to face, to point 'Thou art the Man, or the Woman? There is Nathan's example for this at least, though he came a little too late. But our monitorial peripatetics are, we fear, as unlike to Nathan the Prophet as to "Nathan the Wise."

ART. IX.—*Lexique Roman, or Dictionnaire de la Langue des Troubadours, comparée avec les autres Langues de l'Europe Latine.* Par M. Raynouard. Tome Premier. Royal 8vo. Paris, 1838.

On a former occasion we noticed the second volume (the first in order of publication) of this most important work. The volume then reviewed contained the commencement of the Dictionary of the Old Provençal Language, extending through the three first letters of the alphabet; and, considering how little had been hitherto done towards such an undertaking, we feel ourselves justified in saying that it is the most perfect work of the kind ever produced. Nobody can lament

the loss of Raynouard more than ourselves ; but it is some consolation to find that he had left the work of the greater part of his life in such a condition as, by the care of M. Just Paquet, his heir, we may expect ere long to see it complete on our shelves.

The present volume, with the exception of an introductory *résumé* of the Grammar of the Neo-Latin tongues, consists of a large body of ancient Provençal poetry, and contains the most important documents of that language. An idea may be formed of the extent of this collection from the circumstance that one of the poems which it contains, the Romance of Jaufre, printed closely in double columns, consists of upwards of nine thousand lines.

The study of the Provençal language is one of the utmost importance in its bearing upon that of the other modern languages that have sprung out of the wreck of the Latin. It forms, in a peculiar manner, the connecting link between the pure language of Rome and its several descendants. The antiquity of the *form* of a language does not always depend on its position or its date. At the present day, the Spanish is older in form—advances nearer to the original Latin—than the Italian, which we might have supposed to have been the elder by its position. In the thirteenth century, to judge by the documents which remain, the Anglo-Norman language was older in form than the French of the twelfth century, although doubtlessly the latter had preceded it in the date of its formation. And so, to judge by all the monuments which remain, the Provençal, at the earliest period when its monuments are abundant, was much older in form than the Italian, or the Spanish, or the Anglo-Norman, or any other Neo-Latin tongue, and consequently in the stream of derivation it holds the first place after the parent language. It is thus necessary, for the explanation of many anomalies and variations in the others, which would otherwise seem altogether without reason.

The literature, however, of Provence, does not occupy the same position with regard to that of the other people of the middle ages, as does its language. It neither forms a link between the Latin literature, and the French and Anglo-Norman ; nor does it furnish us with the rude model of that which was spread throughout Europe in the thirteenth century. On the contrary, so early as the eleventh century, we find the literature of the south of France exhibiting that gay lightness of character, that chivalrous form of gallantry, shaded off with the richest tints of gothic imagery, that high degree of refinement, which did not appear else-

where till several ages later. It is a literature which, at that remote period, was peculiar in its kind.

Whether we turn to the early literature of France, of Germany, or of England, we find each going through regular gradations. First come the old romances, whose groundwork were still older legends of the purely national traditions—then come, later in relative formation, though often partly contemporary in their form with the preceding, the long, heavy, religious poems, and the saints' legends ; these are followed, more or less immediately according to historical circumstances, by the poetry of a stirring and, in some measure, refined society, when the solemn chivalry of the heroic age, employed in feats of wild warfare, or dreaming in the mead-hall over the memory of deeds which had been perpetrated, and its successor, the period when medieval superstition ruled paramount over all, have both given place to the din and intrigue of political strife. Then, the spirit which has been infused into party song and satire, perpetuates itself in amorous chants, and finds its way into the whole body of the national literature. Every thing is moving and animated. The poet is neither the dependent bard who touched the strings of his harp at the festival, nor the cloistered monk ; but the prince, the partizan, or the courtier.

When we turn, however, to the literature of Provence, we find a singular anomaly. We there fall at once upon the third of these periods, without any traces of the steps which in other countries led to it. In fact the national literature there appears not to have gone through the same gradations. There are no signs of the ages of romances, and religious poems, and metrical chronicles, but from the first we meet with songs and satires in their most refined shape ; they are indeed the only purely original productions in the language. The romances and saints' legends are evidently adventitious, and of a later date : and the only metrical chronicle, that of the war of the Albigenses, by William of Tudela, was apparently produced in adoption of a faction which had long existed in the north. We may also observe that the romances and saints' legends are generally not written in pure Provençal, but in a northern dialect, and are the alteration of works of a still more northern origin to suit that dialect, perhaps in many cases by the scribe who wrote the manuscript in which they occur. So we find the originals of the romances of Fierabras and Gerard of Rousillon, in the same words, allowing for various readings incident to manuscripts, in the northern French of the thirteenth century. And there can

be little doubt, from their subjects, that the other three given by Raynouard once existed in the same form.

In the present volume Raynouard has published, in addition to the extensive collection given in his former *Choix*, a large number of songs, servientes, tençons, &c., by no less than fifty different poets, many of them distinguished warriors and lofty barons, who flourished at different periods from the eleventh century to the fifteenth. If we inquire the reason of this strong characteristic of the literature of Provence, we may perhaps find it explained by the supposition, that the population of the south was in its composition more Roman—that the mixture of northerners was not sufficient to engraft upon it those old traditions, which they carried into other parts,—and that it did not possess in the same way a line of monarchs who prided themselves upon their descent in a direct line from the old fabulous genealogies, which was the cause that no indigeneal romantic cycles existed there; but that the literature of the country sprang up under the political circumstances, which in other countries only produced a change in its character. Be this as it may, the Provençal songs belong to a class of medieval literature, which is

most valuable on account of its intrinsic beauty; they are natural and original, full of life and vigour, and distinguished by a playful variety of rhyme and measure. The saints' legends in every language are dull and uninteresting; the French romances, with a few exceptions, are devoid of taste, trifling, and tiresome; but the songs, which have preserved to us the pure and ancient *langue d'oc*, are always elegant, and pleasing.

Besides the whole or abstracts (with long extracts) of five metrical romances, and the collection of songs just mentioned, the volume, whose title stands at the head of our article, contains an abstract of William of Tudela's Metrical History of the War against the Albigenses (since published entire by M. Farinel), and lengthy extracts from various other poems, such as the *Breviary of Love*, a long philosophical and theological poem; a moral poem, entitled *The Book of Seneca*; the Life of St. Enimia; a poem on the Four Cardinal Virtues; the Lives of St. Trophimus, St. Honoratus, and St. Alexis; and metrical versions of the Apocryphal books of Nicodemus and The Infancy.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

BENGAL.—A gentleman in the H. I. C. Service is employing his leisure in collecting original Indian airs, which he intends publishing with notes on the manners of the ancient poet-musicians. This is a subject teeming with unexplored matter, and will, we hope, attract the attention it deserves. From India we derive the custom of *criers* or heralds, who precede warriors or princes reciting their qualities. "The great Garus never appear in public without the utmost degree of pomp. Several bands of musicians precede them, playing on all the instruments of the country. Some of their officers take the lead, singing odes in their praise. The custom of having criers on such solemnities to make their proclamation of praise before all great personages when

they appear in public, is common throughout all India. They repeat with a loud voice *or sing* the renown of their masters, with a long display of their illustrious birth, exalted rank, unbounded power and high virtues."—See *Dubois' Description of People of India*, p. 68.

MADRID.—The Spaniards laugh at the ideas of painters or travellers, when speaking or delineating Spanish customs, introducing the Fandango and the Bolero; these dances being scarcely known in Spain. They are as much forgotten as the Minuet and Gavotte are in England. The *Domino noir* has been produced, but it has been arranged as a musical comedy by Ventura de la Vega, and bears the title "*La Seganda Dama duende*." Spohr has fallen into two

errors, viz. first, in giving the Bolero as a dance at the king's ball, and secondly, there has been no instance where the doors of the palace have been opened for a masked ball. The "*Riego Hymn*" has become the national anthem since the change in political affairs.

PARIS.—Paer has left an unfinished opera, entitled "*Olind and Sofronie*;" the two first acts are perfected. The new opera by Helevy, entitled "*The Sheriff*," will shortly be produced in this capital. Meyerbeer's "*Hugonots*" has been performed upwards of one hundred nights. The celebrated violoncellist, Batta, will shortly leave Paris on a musical tour through Germany.

NORMANDY.—In order to preserve the memory of their songs, the Normans employed characters called *runstabach*; these are the Runic letters, and to them were joined those which Ethicus had previously invented, and for which St. Jerome had furnished the signs.

(See Chateaubriand's *Sketches*.)

We have been informed by an Amateur, that a MS. is in existence at Rouen containing some of these ancient Norman Melodies, which have never yet been given to the public in a printed form. There are other Musical Curiosities of a similar kind worth the search.

In the Harleian MSS. No. 1717, is a song or canticle, set to music, upon the advantage of the Crusade, by *Benoit*, the Norman Minstrel. It escaped the notice of Dr. Burney and Wharton.

POLAND.—There are no native composers of celebrity in Poland, and but one new opera was produced during the whole of last year. The representations in the chief Theatre during the year were 191, and at the *Teatr Rozmailosci* 211; twenty-two new pieces were produced, principally tragedies. Iaskinski has recently published six volumes of dramatic pieces in Polish; the series will be completed in fifteen volumes, and contain seventy favoured dramas.

GOTHA.—The new Theatre is now completed, and will shortly be opened for operatic performances.

BRUNSWICK.—A Musical Festival was held in this town on the 16th August, the choir comprised upwards of 300 singers. The only novelty produced was a cantate by Liebau of Quedlingburg, which is described as very beautiful and pleasing:

SALZBURG.—Ole Bull gave a brilliant concert on 11th July, the proceeds of which were added to the fund for building a monument to *Mozart*.

SUABIA.—One of the most interesting spectacles took place at Biberach on the 15th July, the day appointed for the cele-

bration of a great singing festival, to which more than 1000 singers were invited. Thirty-four singing clubs from Wirtemberg and Bavaria contributed to this fête, and entered the little town attended by a band of music, and in carriages decorated with flags and flowers. The houses in the town were similarly decorated, and the residences of the poet Wieland, and the composer Knecht, bore emblematical inscriptions. At one o'clock they assembled in the market place, and sang several national airs. The afternoon and evening performances, which would have been equally brilliant, were entirely suspended by most violent storms of rain, thunder and lightning.

PESTH.—Ole Bull lately purchased a very beautiful Cremona violin for 4000 francs (166*l.*); in the inside it bears the following inscription: "*Antonius Stradivarius Cremonensis, faciebat anno 1637.*"

BERLIN.—The Bayaderes have been performing at the principal Theatre with great eclat; and have consequently been the general theme of conversation. At Humboldt's suggestion, they visited professor Bopp, the celebrated oriental scholar, but their corrupted dialect was so totally different from the Sanscrit known by the learned professor, that conversation with them in their own tongue was impossible.

DRESDEN.—The great attraction of the summer has been Signora Ungher; her performances in Donizetti's "*Anna Bolena*," and Bellini's "*Norma*," have excited the greatest admiration and surprise. She has left for Trieste, where she is engaged for the autumn.

VIENNA.—A host of musical talent has visited this capital; at one time there were young Mozart, F. Schubert, and Goethe's uncle Walther von Goethe, who has been engaged in the composition of an opera to be brought out in this town. Taglioni appeared for ten nights. The "*Daughter of the Danube*," was produced for her, but Adams' music was so much complained of, as well as the whole arrangement of the ballet, (particularly the inappropriate dresses) that it was withdrawn for the "*Sylph*," which met with enthusiastic applause. Meyerbeer's "*Hugonots*" has also been produced under the title of "*Die Ghibellinen vor Pisa*," and has been enthusiastically received.

ITALY.—During the present year, eight new operas have already been produced. Of these, five were composed at Naples, two at Venice, and one at Genoa, but only one from this number can be said to have fully succeeded, viz. "*Ciarlatain*" by Cammerano, a new composer. Among the new

prima donnas, the following have been eminently successful: Streponi, Gabussi, Frezzolini, and Boldrini.

MESSINA.—The Prince Brancaforte has erected an immense organ upon a hill in his park near this city, which is supplied with wind by a windmill, and can be distinctly heard two or three miles distant.

GENOA.—The new opera by Pietro Combi, entitled "*Ginevra di Moureale*," was brought forward at the Great Theatre, but, with the exception of two or three pieces, found but little favour.

MILAN.—Miss Kemble has been performing in Donizetti's "*Lucia de Lammermoor*" with great applause. A Mademoiselle Agnes Schebest has made a successful début as Romeo.

NAPLES.—The extreme and unusual heat of the weather, during the spring and summer, has had a considerable effect upon the Theatres throughout Italy; they have been less visited. Rossini is still here, and engaged in writing a new opera for the Theatre S. Carlo, under the title of "*Johann Von Montferrat*." The libretto is by Ludwig Guarniccioli. Paganini is at Nismes; he continues in a very weak state, his voice is scarcely audible.

BOLOGNA.—The chief attractions of the summer have been the two sisters, Manzocchi, Almerinda and Eliza, and Dagnini, the new tenor. Mercadante, the composer, brought forward his opera "*Elena di Feltre*," which found so little favour in Genoa and Naples; here it was received with tumultuous applause. Frezzolini, the prima donna, succeeded in enrapturing the audience, and has since performed with equal success in Donizetti's "*Lucia di Lammermoor*." The celebrated tenor, Antonio Poggi, has been appointed singer to the Emperor of Austria. F. Sampieri the composer has been elected honorary member of the Philharmonic at Florence.

CRETE.—A late traveller mentions a "Sarcophagus at Arva in Crete. Sculptured on it one of the figures is a Bacchante playing on a *Tympanum*, an instrument common to the rites of both Dionysius and Rhea, and said by Euripides to have been an invention of the Corybantes.* It was made of an animal's skin stretched on a hoop like the cymbal; it was unknown to Homer's age, when the usage even of that earlier invention the flute, was confined to the Phrygiary, to whom its discovery is usually assigned, and who are said first to have employed it in the celebration of their mystic rites."—*Pashley's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 3.

This is a much more likely origin of the drum than that given by most of the Musical Historians.

Cretan Dance.—The dance and its accompanying song were commenced. The cyclic chorus exhibited, consisted of six women and as many men, each of whom held the hand of his neighbour. The coryphæus favoured us by singing various poetical effusions as they danced.

It requires no great imaginative power to regard these dances of Cretan youths and maidens, as an image which still preserves some of the chief features of the Gnossian chorus of 3000 years ago. As songs are now sung by the peasants on these occasions, so, in ancient times, there was a *hyporchem* or *ballad*, with which the Cretans more than all other Greeks delighted to accompany their motions in the dance. (See a specimen of the songs.) *Pashley's Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 246.

While on the subject of Ancient Musical Instruments, we may mention that Dr. Burney, in his notice of Hebrew music, hazards the assertion that "we have no authentic account of any nation, except the Egyptians, where music had been cultivated so early as the days of David and Solomon; the Greeks at that time having hardly invented their rudest instruments."—Vol. i. p. 255.

But in a notice of Arabian music, (*Foreign Quarterly Review*. No. 39, p. 60,) *Thirty Musical Instruments* are enumerated as invented by them. A late traveller alleges that the *Bagpipe* is unquestionably of Arabic origin. There are several treatises extant upon music by Arabic writers,* much older than the days of Solomon, proving incontestibly that the art, and even the science, was well understood by this extraordinary people.

LONDON.—The period during which the Opera, Covent Garden, and Drury Lane Theatres remain closed, is always an interval devoid of interest. For, as regards this metropolis, if we except the talent which Webster has drawn around him at the Haymarket, we might say the theatrical as well as musical talent were all out of town; but cheering prospects are before us.

Covent Garden has been entirely re-embellished, and the boxes hung with superb draperies. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mathews, the lessees, have engaged a very talented company, including Farren, Keeley, and

* The work by *Al Farabi*, (called the Arabian Orpheus) treating on the principles of the Art or *Elements of Music*, and the *Kitab al Aguni*, or great Collection of Songs, by *Abulfaraji*, A. D. 1226, are in the Library of the Escorial.

* Priests of Cybell, or Rhea, the wife of Saturn.

many excellent comedians. The theatre opened on the 30th, with Shakspeare's comedy of "*Love's Labour Lost*." A long list of novelties are in active preparation, including a drama by Sheridan Knowles.

Drury Lane has not been behind its rival, either in re-decoration or engagement of talent. Mr. W. J. Hammond has shown great judgment in securing the services of Macready and Ellen Faucit, as well as in engaging James Wallack. The theatre will be opened with a new piece of Douglas Jerrold's on the 16th (October) instant.

The Haymarket continues to draw crowded houses with the "*Lady of Lyons*," and we hear a new play, by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, is in course of preparation.

The St. James's Theatre has been taken by Balfe, in conjunction with Mr. Bunn, for the production of musical entertainments; and we have no doubt they will succeed.

The Adelphi opened its doors for the winter season on the 30th, with several attractive pieces.

The Promenade Concerts à la Musard will be shortly resumed at the English Opera House, which has again closed after a very short and unsuccessful career. These concerts will possess all the principal musical talent which so distinguished them last year, when Willy Harper, Negri, Richardson, and Baumann, drew such crowded houses. We are confident they will be rewarded with similar success.

The Sacred Harmonic Society at Exeter Hall will recommence their performances on the 4th instant with "*Judas Maccabeus*." We can cordially recommend this Society as one of the best conducted and well regulated in London; the low price of the admission tickets will always ensure a full attendance.

Society of Female Vocalists.—Her Majesty Queen Victoria has, in the most gracious manner, sent a donation of twenty pounds, in aid of the gradually increasing fund of this praise-worthy association, which, as it includes nearly all the principal female vocalists who have so frequently administered to the gratification of the musical public, deserves, and we trust will receive, abundant assistance from the nobility and wealthy amateurs.

The closing of the concert season enables us to bestow a few words upon the present state of music in England, interesting alike to the singer, composer, and amateur. In the first place, then, what is the patronage to be expected by the cultivated English musician, be he singer, composer, or performer? Royalty affords *none*. The nobility and gentry (with the exception of Earl Grosve-

nor and one or two other families of distinction) *none*. The mania is for every thing foreign. Although we have the works of Purcell, Arne, Shield, Percy, Dibdin, Bishop, Callcott, Barnett, &c. &c., long the boast of musicians, as men who adorned by their works the country of their birth—*where*, this season, have any of them been heard?—Echo answers, *Where?*

Although we have at this moment as much talent in England as there is existing on the continent, with this only difference—with them all the diamonds are polished and becomingly set, eagerly sought after, and appreciated; with us, "*many a gem of purest ray serene*" finds no lapidary to polish its roughness, make the most of its brilliancy, or introduce it as a *jewele of worthe* to those who could estimate its value. While this is the case, and foreigners alone are patronized by the higher classes, real English music must sink (but most undeservedly) in public estimation.

"As music, which, I apprehend, had the precedence of poetry as a human invention, was regulated by certain principles of art, when words came to be adapted, these latter would of course be likewise regulated by similar principles. The measured cadences, therefore, of musical expression may be presumed to have first suggested the idea of metrical harmony, and to have evolved the elements out of which every order of verse subsequently derived its existence. But Poetry, as it improved and ripened towards maturity, rose above the trammels in which Music had originally shackled it; and becoming disassociated from its parent art, sprang up and ramified into an almost endless variety of production, leaving all other mental processes at an immeasurable distance behind it, and becoming a universal agent of the purest mental enjoyment."

This extract is from a work lately published, entitled, "*The Poetry of the Pentateuch, by the Rev. Hobart Caunter, B. D.*," which treats of the beauty and sublimity of the poetry of the five books of Moses. It well deserves a place in the library of all who have yet to learn where to search for the highest class of poetical inspiration. The observations upon primeval music, interspersed among the first two or three chapters, evince the reverend author's appreciation of, and power over the subject, and will very greatly interest the educated musician, who observes his art, in the only way it ought ever to be viewed—with a poetical eye.

Reminiscences of Handel; The Duke of Chandos, Powell, and the Harmonious Blacksmith. By Richard Clark, fol. London 1836—"Allen, Michael Angelo, and Han-

del belong to the same order of minds ; the same imaginative powers, the same sensibility, are only operating with different materials."—This brief tribute to the gigantic composer by a well-known writer, (D'Israeli,) sums up in few words the causes that occasioned such extraordinary effects in the musical productions of this child of genius. Every particular, however apparently trivial, in the life of Handel, must continue to interest musicians, and we therefore have to thank Mr. Clark for his acceptable contribution ; which, with his usual enthusiasm in such matters, he has printed at his own expense, for private circulation among his friends. Respecting the origin of the air in Handel's lessons, known by the name of "*The Harmonious Blacksmith*," when the composer was at Cannons, (the seat of the Duke of Chandos,) near Edgware, he was one day overtaken by a heavy shower of rain, from which he took shelter in a blacksmith's shop by the road side.* The industrious occupant was beating iron on the anvil, and singing at his work. The varying sounds of the hammer falling on the metal, mingling with the rude tones of the man's voice, suggested to Handel the feeling and character of this melody, a simple speaking air, replete

With image, music, sentiment, and thought,
Never to die.

There is a clever lithographic engraving of Whitchurch, (Cannons,) where Handel presided at the organ, and a copy of the composer's will. While on this subject, we may remark that there is no well-written and popular life of the immortal composer to be had. The *memoirs* of Smith, his amanuensis, 8vo. 1760, are rather scarce ; but from these, Hawkins, Burney, Archdeacon Coxe, *Life of Handel*, and one or two other sources, easily attainable, a cheap and condensed memoir might be made, including the opinions of various writers upon his works, that would form a pleasing volume for the young-

* This shed has been, for some years past, the abattoir of a *butcher* ! "To what base *uses* may we not return, Horatio !"

er students. The following anecdote may, perhaps, not be so generally known.

While Marylebone Gardens were flourishing, about the year 1738, the enchanting music of Handel, and probably of Arne, was often heard from the orchestra there. One evening, as my grandfather and Handel were walking together, a new piece was struck up by the band. "Gome, Mr. Vontaine," said Handel, "let us zit down and listen to this biece ; I want to know your opinion of it." Down they sat ; and after some time the old parson, turning to his companion, said, "It is not worth listening to—it's very poor stuff." "You are righd, Mr. Vontaine, it is very boor stuff—I thoughtd zo myzelf when I vinished it." The old gentleman being taken by surprise, was beginning to apologise ; but Handel assured him there was no necessity : that the music was really bad, having been *composed hastily*, and his time for the production limited ; and that the opinion was as correct as it was honest.—See *Letter from Norrison Scatcherd*, p. 502. in Hone's *Year Book*.

Belshazzar's Feast, an oratorio, by J. H. Griesbach.—This subject has been set by Handel, but, as a whole, it was never so successful as some of his other works. Mr. Griesbach is a sound and tried musician, and has shown his zeal in the good cause, by venturing to print, at such a time as this, a musical work of the highest class. The story is treated in a dramatic and elaborate manner by Mr. W. Ball, (the author of the words,) and in some pieces, such as the tenor song, "*Raise the Song of Festal Pleasure*," and the quartett, "*Fateful Hour*," he has displayed a capacity of adapting words to music, not usual in the general style of poetical adaptations. There are forty-five pieces in this oratorio ; in performance some of the recitations would require curtailing. The solos and chorusses are very effective and well wrought, and the finale is splendid. Altogether, we have no hesitation in saying, that this oratorio, when well performed, would place Mr. Griesbach's name among the first of our native composers.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

PARIS.—The most comprehensive history of Portugal in the French language has recently been published. It is entitled "*Essai sur l'Histoire du Portugal depuis la Fondation de la Monarchie jusqu'à la Mort de D. Pédre IV.; 1080 to 1834.*" The authors are M. Chaumeil de Stella and M. Sauteul. The work is embellished with portraits of Don Pedro and Donna Maria the Second. A new magazine for the ladies has also appeared, entitled "*Les Voilettes.*" A new work on the history of Poland has been published by the Librairie Polonaise; "*Skarbiec Historii Polskiej, przez Karola Sienkiewicza.*" The first part contains a review of Contareni's *Travels through Poland, 1474*; *Memoirs of the Abbé Kitowicz, 1754 to 1785*, and the diplomatic relations between France and Poland during the thirty years' war; *Memoirs of Count Pozzo di Borgo, 1814*; and remarks respecting the Polish historian, Adam Naruscewicz.

Charles Forster, who has written much respecting Poland, has translated Falkenstein's well-known work upon Kosciuszko, under the title "*Kosciuszko dans sa Vie politique et intime:*" it is accompanied with notes, and a portrait of Kosciuszko.

Dr. Larrey has communicated to the Academy of Sciences at Paris a successful mode, adopted by the Egyptians, of preventing any disfigurement from scars by the small-pox. The patient, from the first outbreak of the fever until the height has passed, has the face covered morning and evening with gold leaf, which is applied with a little gum water, and remains perfectly fast and smooth, even during the period the pock is confluent and the face swollen; except in one or two small places, where the pillow may accidentally rub the gold off: and it has also the additional quality of allaying the irritation which usually accompanies this distressing malady.

GERMANY.

HANOVER.—We hear that the Fifth Volume of Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* will shortly leave the press. The Fourth Volume was published in the autumn of 1837. The Third Volume of Ruperti's Tacitus is at last announced as ready, and will complete this excellent work. The First Volume of a new edition of Döring's Horace has been published by the brothers Hahn, of this city. It is re-edited by Gustavus Regel—a name new in classical literature; he is, we think, a professor at Göttingen. The same publishers have just brought out the Third Volume of Schubert and Walz.

BERLIN.—M. Leipmann (of Berlin) has invented a machine for copying paintings in oil with perfect exactness. The invention is stated to be the result of ten years' incessant study: during which time the ingenious artist suffered the severest privations, and supported himself by making sealing-wax at night, the day being wholly devoted to prosecuting the above discovery. M. Leipmann is said to have been a regular attendant of the museum at Berlin, and to have selected a portrait by Rembrandt as the object of his experiment. Fixing single features and parts of this picture in his memory, by hours of daily and incessant observation, he contrived to reproduce them at home, with perfect fidelity, and by the aid of a machine—in what manner is not known. The discovery, however, is so complete, that he lately produced, in presence of the directors of the Museum, 110 copies of the painting in question. These copies are said to be perfect, and to retain the most delicate shades of the original picture, confessedly one of the most difficult in existence to imitate in the usual way. The price of the copies is but a louis d'or each.

We trust that this admirable discovery will not meet the fate of a perhaps some-

what similar invention, by a Flemish artist, about fifty years since, and whose imitations, then exhibited at the Adelphi, in London, were such perfect facsimiles as to defy the most skilful connoisseurs to distinguish from the original paintings. It was considered, however, at the time, that the merit of the imitations destroyed the value of the originals themselves. The invention was discouraged, and the artist, quitting the country, died abroad in great distress.

BRANDENBURG.—Great preparations are making for the celebration of the third centenary of the Reformation for the 1st of November.

DRESDEN.—The celebration of the third centenary of the Protestant Reformation, which commenced in Dresden on 5th July, 1539, was held on a scale of splendour never before witnessed in this town. The morning of the 5th July was ushered with the ringing of bells and firing of cannon. A procession walked from the town hall to the Kreuz Church, which was decorated with flowers and orange trees, and were favoured with a sermon appropriate to the occasion. On the following day they attended at Neuestädler Church, when Haydn's Creation was given with all the talent and celebrated singers of this and the neighbouring towns, including Mdle. Schroeder Devrient. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated, and innumerable transparencies and inscriptions, relating to Luther's worth and honour, were to be seen in every part of the city. But the most imposing spectacle was the Frauen Church, which was illuminated with large lanthorns to the highest point of the tower. The Roman Catholics took a friendly part at this celebration, and expressed the utmost goodwill; even the most bigoted refrained on this happy occasion from any expression of illiberality.

Prince John, Duke of Saxony, has just published, under the assumed name of Philalethes, the first part of an improved and enlarged quarto edition of "Dante, Alighieri's göttliche comödie," in metre, with critical and historical notes. The title plate is by Moritz Retzsch. It has also a map and two plans of Hell.

BONN.—Professor Redepenig has left this town for Göttingen, to supply the place of Ewald, Weber, and Ruperti, as professor and chaplain to the University. The last new oriental work published here is Parisini's Grammatical Aphorisms, with the Sanskrit notes. It is, however, still very difficult to read, and the appearance of Dr. Böhtlingk's Commentary, which will form the Second Volume, will be hailed with pleasure by the Sanskrit student. Delius is writing a book on the Sanskrit Radices; and Westrogard, who is at present in Paris, has a work on the Pracrit Radices.

STUTTGART. Cotta has republished Kotzebue's "Geschichte für meine Söhne," which will in some way supply the great

want of proper reading books for the male youth of a more advanced age. The edition of Voss's *Odyssea*, lately published at Leipsic, has induced the same publisher to bring out a cheap pocket edition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but this is a second translation of Voss's, and not considered to be so good as the first.

Ludwig Schöner, the editor of the *Kunst-Blatt*, has published the Second Volume of his translation of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, from Cimabue to the year 1567. It is embellished with many plates, and has a great quantity of original matter not found in the Italian.

The last number of the German Quarterly Journal contains several interesting articles. One on the Machinery in modern Manufactories; a paper on National Education, by Bülan, the present editor of the *Jahrbücher für Politik*; another on the Connection of the Manners and Customs of the East with their Religion; also a long article on the popular Belief in Ghosts, &c. in Germany.

The annual meeting of the Association of German Naturalists and Physicians was held this year at Pymont, in September. The following were the sections:—1, Physic and Astronomy; 2, Chemistry and Pharmacy; 3, Mineralogy and Geology; 4, Botany; 5, Zoology, with Anatomy and Physiology; 6, Medicine and Surgery.—Excursions were made to the celebrated mineral springs in the neighbourhood. Foreigners are admitted members, and the dinner, which was provided in the great hall, was contracted at half a dollar for each member daily.

The Apothecaries' Association for Northern Germany will also hold their annual meeting at Pymont very shortly.

One of the peculiarities of the middle ages was the marrying their princesses at a very early age. It was customary to give them in marriage on their attaining the age of twelve; for we find Otto, the second duke of Meran, married Blanca, a countess of Champagne, in 1225, at the age of twelve: he had just completed his fourteenth year. Hedwig, daughter of the Duke of Maran, was married, in her twelfth year, to Henry, Duke of Breslau, in 1186. Godila, countess of Saxony, had a son, Werinhar, when she was but thirteen years of age.

Railroads.—The line from Leipzig to Dresden is now completed, and has been opened the whole distance. The line between Mayence and Wiesbaden is proceeding rapidly; more than two-thirds of the distance is finished. The same may be remarked respecting the line between Frankfort and Hattersheim, but from Hattersheim to Cassel they are proceeding but slowly. The line from Frankfort is now opened as far as Höchst; but the continuation from thence to Cassel will not be completed before the next spring. The railroad from Berlin to Potsdam has also been re-

cently completed, and has created unusual bustle in the latter town: the journey now occupies three-quarters of an hour, whereas by the old road system it required nearly a day to pass from Berlin to the royal palace and gardens at Potsdam. The Berliner now takes his coffee in Potsdam, after completing his business in the capital, and is enabled to return there again before dark.

The number of Passengers by the great Belgium railroad during the month of August, amounted to 206,435, and the receipts were during the same period 521,287 francs, or 20,850*l*.

GREECE.

There are several newspapers published at Athens, but their only peculiarity is the violent expression of their political feelings. The *Athene* has the largest circulation, amounting to 700 copies, to subscribers. It is the organ of the constitutionalists or English party. The *Æon* is in the pay of Russia, and circulates 500 copies; it is unfavourable to the existing government. The *Tachydrom* is the French organ, and also that of the government. The *Sokrates* is constitutional, and has 600 subscribers. There is also a medical gazette published at Athens, called the *Asklepios*, and a periodical similar to the *Revue Universelle Pittoresque*.

In Athens there are but four booksellers, three of whom are German.

ITALY.

ROME.—The King of Bavaria has purchased several Egyptian bronze vases and gold ornaments, from the celebrated collection of Ferlina.

The high altar of the church of *St. Maria della pace* has been burnt down; but the celebrated al fresco painting by Raphael was fortunately preserved.

Tuskulanum, a small town in Lombardy, possesses several paper mills. In one of them a fine paper is manufactured, upon which the writing, with the common black ink, turns a bright red within twenty-four hours after use, and cannot be erased. The paper is of a very strong and durable character.

POLAND.

WARSAW.—Literature continues to be on the decline; a few agricultural works, and two or three annuals, are the only writings which now appear. The four daily journals, the '*Gazeta Warszawska*,' the '*Gazeta codzienna*,' the '*Korrespondent*,' and the '*Gazeta poranna*' (morning newspaper), are principally used as a vehicle for advertisements; and as politics are very cautiously introduced, they generally fill up what is left, after the daily news and of-

ficial notices, with tales and anecdotes. The '*Gazeta Warszawska*' is accompanied by a leaf called '*Tecza*,' (the Rainbow), in which whole novels appear translated from the French and German.

In addition to these there are ten small journals, most of which have their particular circle; thus the '*Sylwan*' is agricultural, the '*Pamiętnik towarzystwa lekarskiego*,' is medical, the '*Pielgrzym*' is musical. The '*Muzeum domowe*' and the '*Magazyn Powszechny*' treat on common subjects, and are embellished with wood cuts, treating occasionally of the latest literary productions.

The '*Kosmorama Europy*' contains a '*Podroz malownicza*,' illustrated travels, this year on New Columbia, '*Nowy Kolumb*,' with engravings by English artists, and lithographic views.

There is also a '*Magazyn mod*,' Magazine of Fashion, and a theatrical newspaper, entitled '*Świat dramatyczny*,' with portraits of the principal actors at the Warsaw theatres, by Oleszczynski.

The annuals published this year are the '*Pierwiosnek*' and the '*Niezapominajki*,' (the Forget-me-not), published by K. Korwel.

The '*Encyclopedia powszechna*' proceeds but slowly; letter A only is completed.

The only works of great interest of the present day are the '*Numizmatyka Krajowa*' (National Numismatics), by K. Władysław Steżynski Bandtkie, now in the press; it will consist of two volumes, and contains drawings of 1000 Polish coins. The other is entitled '*Pamiętniki o dziejach, pismnictwie i prawodawstwie słowian aż do wieku XIV.*,' by Professor Maciejowski, and will be divided into Two Parts.

Within the last few months Polish literature has lost three of its brightest ornaments: Anselm Szwejkowski, president of the Warsaw University; Joseph Mrozinski, author of a celebrated Polish grammar; and Professor Ludwig Osinski, celebrated for his translations of Corneille's Tragedies, and his Lyrical Poems.

PORTUGAL.

There is no country in Europe in which literature has declined so rapidly within the last few years as in Portugal; even Poland, fettered with every restraint, presents us occasionally with works of great literary value. The freedom of the press in Portugal, and with it the unbridled expression of politics, have as yet had an effect contrary to all expectation; thus literature, instead of being encouraged, has suffered incalculable injury. For although there are more than twenty Portuguese newspapers and daily journals, we find them entirely engrossed with political and extraneous matters.

It is not to be denied that the early Portuguese were more studious and learned than those of the present day, and yet until with-

in the last twenty years it was exceedingly difficult to publish any work however useful. The author was obliged to obtain the permission of the Santo Officio, where the manuscript underwent the most rigid criticism. It was then attested that the work contained nothing contrary to the laws of religion; and ere these forms were completed, years would frequently intervene; to these evils followed the slow progress of printing.

It is evident that Portugal possesses no MSS. of an earlier period than the 9th century, although the author of the Catalogue of Alcobaca (in the 5th vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Lisbon) states the MSS. numbered 17 to be the work of the 6th century; in this he was in error.

In the library of the convent of Necessidades are two Bibles of the 10th century. Among the archives of Torre de Tombo are several MS. writings of the 12th century of great value; Alcobaca possess 72 MS. writings of the same period, among others are the Geographical Dictionary of Monk Bartholomeo, the Latin Dictionary of Alphons de Louriçal, and the Confessiones S. Augustini, written by Father Theotónio de Condeixa, all of which are but little known.

In the above-mentioned archives, a MS. of the 14th century contains drawings of all the cities and fortifications in the country; there are also of the same period documents of great historical and geographical interest.

The Dante of the public library of Lisbon is very beautiful. The Talmud MSS. are covered with gold, precious stones, and miniatures. The MS. of Aristotle's Ethics, translated into Spanish by Charles Prince of Navarre, and the costly Bible presented by King Emanuel to the monks of St. Cajetan, are also preserved at the public library of Lisbon, and are but little known.

The following comprise the most choice and valuable works of the early Portuguese writers:

HISTORY.]—Fernaõ Lope, the father of Portuguese history. Froissart wrote the Chronicles of King Pedro I., Fernando, and John I. The chronicles of the two first are contained in the Ineditos of the Academy. Azurara, Tomada de Ceuta, (The Conquest of Ceuta.) Ruy de Pina, Chronicles of the Kings, from D. Sancho I. until D. Diniz (Dionys the Just): also the Chronicles of John II. which appeared in the Ineditos of the Academy. Galvao, Chronicles of King Affonso Henrique. Damiao de Goes, Chronicles of Prince Don Joao, and King D. Manoel the Great. Andrada, Chronicles of John III. Osorius, De rebus gestis Emanuelis. Leao, Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal, part 1, (Lisbon, 1600); part 2, published by D. Rodrigo de Cunha. Brito, Monarchia Lusitana, parts 1 & 2; parts 3 & 4 by F. Antonio Brandao,—(these two parts are considered to be the best that has been written upon Portuguese history); parts

5 & 6 by F. Francisco Brandao; part 7 by F. Rafael de Jesus; part 8 by Manoel dos Santos. Menezes, Portugal restaurado. Garcia de Resende, Cronica de D. Joao II. D. Francisco Manoel, Epanaphoras. Barros, Decadas da Historia da India, continued by Diego de Couto; Barros wrote a Portuguese grammar and other works. Castanheda, Historia da India. F. Bernardino de Brito, Monarchia Lusitana, also Elogios dos Reis. F. Luiz de Sousa, Historia do S. Domingos; Vida de D. Fr. Bartolomeo das Martyres; Vida do beato Suro; (Sousa is considered by all critics to be the best Portuguese prose writer). Feire de Andraha, Vida de D. Joao de Castro. Afonso de Albuquerque, Commentarios. Pinto Pereira, Historia da India, during the government of D. Luiz de Ataide. Mendonea, Jornada de Africa. Lucena, Vida de S. Francisco Xavier.

RELIGIOUS WRITINGS.]—Paiva d'Andrada, and Ant. Vieira, Sermoes. Ceita, Quadragenas.

TRAVELS.]—Cartas das Missoes, (being a continuous line of information during the 16th and 17th centuries; it is highly interesting). F. Pantaleao de Aveiro, Itinerario da Terra Sancta. Santos, Historia da Ethiopia. Bermudez, Relacao da Ethiopia. Mendes Pinto, Perigrinações. Gouvea, Jornada do Arubispode Goa, and Relacao da Persia. Godinho, Relacao do novo caminho, &c. Guerreiro, Relações das Missoes, a continuation of the Cartas das Missoes.

POETRY.]—The Cancioneiro, in the Collegio dos Nobres, contains poems of the 12th and 13th centuries; the Cancioneiro de Rezende (Lisbon, 1516,) contains the poetry of the 14th and 15th centuries. Diego Bernardes, his works, collected under the title, O Lyma; Fernao Alvares do Oriente, Lusitana transformada, pastoral songs. Rodriquez Lobo, O Pastor peregrino; A Primavera; O Desenganado; he has also written elegies, odes, and sonnets. De Castro, Ulyssea, an epic poem. Francisco de Sã y Menesez, Malacca conquistada; this and the Ulyssea are esteemed by the Portuguese as the best. Jeronymo Cortereal, Naufragio de Sepulveda, and Cerco di Diu. Brandao, Elegiada.

Camoens, Antonio Diniz da Cruz, Bocage, Dias Gomes, and Francisco Manoel, were the most distinguished poets prior to the 19th century.

THE DRAMA.]—Gil Vicente, the creator of the Portuguese stage, 1480 to 1557, wrote many pieces, the first in 1502. Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos wrote three plays, Ulissipo, Aulegrafia, and Enfronino. Antonio Ferreira, two comedies, O Cioso and Bristo, and the tragedy of Ignez de Castro. Sã de Miranda, the two comedies Villalpandios and Estrangeiros. Camoens, Filodemo, Amfitrioens Selluco. Antonio José, (the Jew burnt in 1745,) comic operas. P. Ant. Correa Garcao, O Novo Theatro, and Assembleia.

ANTIQUITIES AND STATISTICS.—Leao, Descripção de Portugal; also Origem da Lingoa Portuguesa; De vera Regum Portugalie Genealogia; Orthographia da Lingoa Portuguesa; Collecção de leis extravagantes Severim; Noticias de Portugal, and Varios discursos politicos. Paiva d' Andrada, Exame de Antiquidades. Mendes de Vasconcellos, Do sitio de Lisboa. Oliveira, Grandezas de Lisboa. Marinho d' Azevedo, Antiquidades de Lisboa. Andre de Rezende, Antiquidades de Evora.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURGH.—Smirdin, the principal publisher in this capital, has recently issued the first volume of a talented work on Russian literature. It is entitled *Sto Ruskikh Literatoror*. The principal papers are by Senkowsky, Davidov, Marlinsky, Zotov, Kukolink, Svinin, and Prince Shakovsky.

Tschernezow, the academician, has recently returned from his travels along the banks of the Volga. He has brought with him more than 100 views and plans, with which the Emperor has expressed the highest satisfaction, and has directed the publication of them, with the voluminous descriptions with which they are accompanied.

Hitherto the title of "citizen of the first class" could not be held by the Jews in Russia. The emperor has just issued an order to the minister of the interior, by which this title may be held by any Jew who renders himself worthy of it by personal merit, or by any eminent service rendered to the state either in art, science, manufacture, trade, or otherwise.

REBUILDING OF THE KREMLIN AT MOSCOW.—It is built in the old style of Russo-Tartar architecture. Upon the roof there is to be a terem or large pavilion, in the form of a tent, such as was found in all the places of residence of the ancient czars, and in which they shut up their women. The interior of the palace will correspond with the exterior, as the disposition of the apartments, their form, ornaments, tapestry, and furniture, even to the most minute details, are to be in the Russo-Tartar style.

The population of Russia, on the 1st of January, 1839, exceeded 60,000,000 inhabitants. The Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian provinces are not included in this amount.

We also find extraordinary instances of longevity; there being at the time in the Russian dominions—

853 persons of from 100 to 105	
125 110 . 115	
130 116 . 120	
111 121 . 125	
3 126 . 130	
5 131 to 140	
1 145	
3 150 to 155	
1 160	
1 165	

During the year 1838—893 works were printed in Russia: of these 777 were original works, and 116 were translations. In the year 1837—866 works were printed: 740 were original, and 126 translations. To these 51 periodical writings are to be added, —making the total of the last year 944 works. The number of volumes imported into Russia during the past year amounted to 400,000 volumes.

WALLACHIA.—A company of young ladies at Jassy have undertaken to translate the best classical works of foreign tongues into Moldavian. Some of these are already published. Prince Stourdza, the Hospodan, who has widely patronised literature, has awarded gold and silver medals to some of the fair labourers.

SWEDEN.

The first number of a quarterly Review has been published at Carlstab. It is entitled *Läsning i blandade Amnen*, and is published under the auspices of the young Count Adlesparre, a son of the well-known promoter of the Revolution of 1809. It has already created a great sensation, particularly an article by Tegner on "the Effects of the Revolution on the Swedish People." Among the contributors are Bishops Franzen and Agardh, and Miss Brehmer, the talented authoress of "*Teckningar ur Hvardagslifvel*."

Miss Linne, the daughter of the celebrated naturalist, died at Upsal, on 23d March, at the advanced age of ninety-one, and was buried with great pomp on the 5th of April. The leading members of the University attended her funeral.

The population of Sweden has been recently found to consist of 3,025,140 souls, showing an increase of one-fifth since the ascension of the present sovereign.

An edition of the Swedish poets has been issued by the talented P. D. A. Atterbom, entitled *Dikter i Prosa*. The second volume, containing four miniature novels, has just appeared, and commences with an excellent prologue to "*Phosphoros*," one of the finest poems in the collection. The first two volumes have been published at Upsal.

This learned professor, Atterbom, has contributed several papers to a new literary journal, the "*Mimer, månadsskrift för Vitterhet, Historia philosophi och Statskunskap*," which appears monthly at Upsal. His article in the January number is on the History of Philosophy; in the February part, on the Ancient Traditions (the Mosaic). There are several interesting articles in the March and April numbers.

TURKEY.

The well-known prejudice against pictures has not altogether prevented a taste for this delightful art in the natives. Capt. Ibrahim Effendi, one of the young Turkish officers sent to England for improvement, has at-

tained a high proficiency in this art, and to which we are happy to bear testimony. The portraits executed by him in oil possess considerable merit; his water-colour drawings approach the effect of paintings, and the style and finish of his miniatures is not easily equalled even here. Though but an amateur, we think this gentleman, who speaks English with great facility and astonishingly well, is destined to lead the way to his countrymen in taste and the fine arts.

EGYPT.

Achmed Pacha, governor of Senaar, is about to send an expedition along the White River.

M. Main, a Frenchman at Alexandria, asserts that Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's Needle are only cement.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Frank Hall Standish, Esq., the talented author of "The Shores of the Mediterranean," "The Northern Capitals of Europe," &c. &c., has a work of great interest in the press, entitled *Seville and its Environs*, which will be embellished with a portrait of the author.

The lovers of science will derive great gratification from the perusal of the "Outlines of Analogical Philosophy," by George Field, Esq. The work is interspersed with many well-executed diagrams, and is very skilfully divided into sectional divisions, which form a ready reference to the philosophic reader.

An interesting "Essay on the Literature and Learning of the Anglo-Saxons," by Thomas Wright, Esq., has recently appeared, and attracted continental attention.

A selection from Jean Paul F. Richter's beautiful writings have been very carefully translated by A. Kenney Esq., of Dresden, and published in London under the title of "Death of an Angel, and other pieces." They are accompanied with a sketch of Richter's life and character.

A clever little volume of German, French

and English Conversations is now in the press. It is on an entirely new plan, and preceded by a philosophical introduction to the study of European and Oriental Languages.

The want of a good Guide Book for the south-eastern part of Europe has long been complained of, and we hail the appearance of Mr. R. T. Claridge's "Guide down the Danube" with great pleasure: still we think the title might have been more comprehensive in the extent of the first few words; it is in fact a Guide to Southern Europe, for the author has traced out the routes to Smyrna, Greece, the Ionian Islands, the route to India by way of Egypt, and from Paris to Marseilles. It will form a valuable addition to the list of hand books.

Another work, highly interesting to the summer tourist, bearing the title "Legends of the Rhine," has just been published. It contains all the traditional lore connected with the castellated ruins, and little villages which ornament the banks of this picturesque river; the materials have been very carefully collected by J. Snowe Esq., and sent forth in two handsome volumes, embellished with wood-cuts, and some well executed engravings on zinc. It is to be regretted this work was not completed earlier in the season.

AVA.—A tremendous earthquake occurred at Amcrapoara between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 23d March, and extended with equal violence northward as far as Toungnov, and south to Prome. Pagodas, monasteries, brick dwelling-houses, all within the city and on the neighbouring hills, were destroyed, and from 2 to 300 lives lost; but the slightly built wooden houses escaped. The current of the Irrawaddi was forced upwards for some time; large fissures in the ground, from 10 to 15 feet, formed deluges of water, and threw up grey earth in great quantities, and with a sulphureous smell. The towns and villages near the capital are in ruins, and the old city of Ava is said to be destroyed.

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THE
FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW,

No. XLVIII.

FOR JANUARY, 1840.

ART. I. — *Ariadne*. — Die TRAGISCHE KUNST der Griechen in ihrer Entwicklung, und in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der VOLKSPÖESIE. Von O. F. Gruppe. (The Tragic Art of the Greeks. By O. F. Gruppe.) Berlin. 1834.

WHEN Schlegel (in 1816) gave to the world his celebrated dramatic lectures, it was natural in the then state of our criticism to suppose that he wished to make a sensation in the literary commonwealth by overtrumpeting the Greek drama altogether, and especially by outrageously bepraising Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, at the expense of Euripides. What effect, we may now reasonably ask, has experience of more than twenty years had in confirming, weakening, or in any wise modifying the critical decisions of the German Aristarchus? Where does our English criticism of the Greek theatre stand at the present moment? Have we been moving at all? And if we have been moving, have we advanced in the line of Schlegel, and beyond Schlegel?—or have we been forced to retrace the rash steps we ventured in his track, after discovering him to be a quack and a deceiver, a big declaimer of sublime nothings, after the true German fashion, as we charitably imagine that fashion to be? Have we, with genuine British productiveness, pioneered a new path for ourselves, and entered heart and hand into living fellowship with ancient Greek poetry, by immediate and direct wedlock? Or do we

still curiously amuse our academic leisure with measuring mechanical cæsuras and fingering Cretic endings; and paring the nails, and “unrolling the mummy-bandages” of antiquity, and in various other edifying ways calling the ancients Lord, Lord, and doing not the things which they say?

The answer to these questions is short. Mitchell and Sandford and other native scholars have published to the British public that the German was quite right in the matter of Aristophanes. The pious labours of Blomfield, Schölefield, and others seem to be a clear admission that he was also right in the matter of Æschylus. As to Sophocles, no person ever ventured to doubt the justice of his praise; though perhaps here and there a cold English *litterateur* might have venom enough in his dry, dusty heart to criticize down the fine enthusiasm of the German into “rhodomontade.” With Euripides the case is, we believe, yet *sub judice*; but we are inclined to think that, among those who interest themselves in these matters, there prevails a pretty general feeling in favour of the scourged tragedian and an inclination, by the application of leniments and soothing drugs, to smooth away the point of Schlegel’s ridicule. But is this anything more than a feeling? a very amiable and pretty feeling indeed, but withal a prejudice, arising more from superstitious reverence for antiquity than religious love of truth. Has any person succeeded in disproving the charges which the acute German brought against

the blundering Greek? or do all these charges stand unrefuted in the last edition of the Greek theatre, and the last classical article of the Quarterly Review? Let us inquire calmly.

We assert that the accusations of Schlegel will stand the test of the most severe and scrutinizing criticism, and moreover that he brought no charge against the tragedian which does not lie clearly implied, if not explicitly said, in the works of the most acute and discerning of the ancients. The German knew well what ground he was standing on; and he cites expressly the authority of Aristotle and Quintilian to support his views. Add to this the authority of Aristophanes, now (thanks to Welcher and Mitchell) no longer sneered at by prim martinets of criticism, as a low buffoon and a common jester, but held up to public admiration as at once the journalist, the critic, the censor, the dramatist of the most polished, and the prime wit of the most witty age of Greece—something above Rabelais, but not quite so high as Shakspeare. Him, however, we pass.

But what says Aristotle? He compliments Euripides certainly as the most tragic of the tragedians, but in a manner and in a connection which altogether precludes the supposition that he meant by this phrase to crown the name of Euripides with serious dramatic eulogy. The philosopher (Poet. c. 13) is discoursing about the effect of dismal, and, what we call, tragic catastrophes in the drama; and, in accordance with his own theory of moving pity and terror, he (somewhat narrowly, doubtless) awards the superiority to those dramas which end in the blackest mischance—*εις δυστυχίαν τελευτῶσι*. Medea, according to this theory, is a better drama than the Eumenides, and Hecuba than Philoctetes; and Euripides, he adds, is in this respect much to be praised, because *ει και τα αλλα μη εν οικονομει, αλλα τραγικωτατος γε των ποιητων φαινεται*. What value is to be placed upon Aristotle's opinion in a matter of this kind we shall presently inquire; but the praise, taken at its highest value, is very scant indeed. Euripides, in so far as his catastrophes are concerned, is very savage and bloody, and therefore "*though in other respects he manages badly*," yet in this he may be considered "*the most tragic of the poets*." Alas! for poor John Ford, if we had nothing more to say for his great play than that he murders half-a-dozen respectable persons in the course of it, and in the last scene we find the stage direction—

"Enter Giovanni with a bloody heart on his dagger!"

And yet this much, and no more, is the compliment which the Stagyrte pays to Euripides when he calls him the most tragic of the poets.

We ourselves are willing to concede much more. We say that Euripides is not only the most tragic of the poets in respect of bloody catastrophes (though the contrary is true of many of his plays), but also the most pathetic in respect of moving eloquence, and the most pleasing in respect of sweet, flowing and elegant declamation. But with all these accomplishments we do not make him a dramatist, or the shadow of a dramatist. What then?—a lyrist? Unquestionably. A rhetorician; this chiefly, and beyond all doubt, as Cicero well knew, himself the great pattern, and Quintilian, the great master, of Roman eloquence. Quintilian also, like the Stagyrte, seems to eulogize Euripides. But alas! only *seems*. His praise is pure damnation, not because it is faint, but because it is too strong the wrong way; for a man may as well commend a song by saying that it is very epigrammatic, as commend a tragedy by saying that it is very rhetorical, and (what is worse) very forensic. These are Quintilian's words: and for the sake of sound sense and impartial criticism we shall quote them at length:—"Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse esse, iis, qui se ad agendum comparant utiliorem longe Euripidem fore. Nam is et in sermone magis accedit oratorio generi; et sententiis densus: et in iis quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pene ipsis par, et in dicendo et respondendo, cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro disertis, comparandus. In affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miseratione constant facile præcipuus." In plain English, if a man wishes to speak smooth words by the hour, to stave off the decision of a hopeless case, to whitewash the rottenness of knavish particulars by the speciousness of virtuous generals, to move a silly jury to tears over the self-created miseries of a fool;—in such cases let him study Euripides. This is the advice of Quintilian; and had the poet of the Medea written in English, and not in Greek, we should have most heartily joined in enforcing the advice on our young barristers. As it is, we must confess ourselves exceedingly sceptical as to the amount of real benefit to be derived by English speakers from the study either of Greek orators or Greek oratorical play-writers. Life is too short, and art too long, for every man's professional Iliad to begin with the egg of Leda.

But as to the Greeks and the Romans (who all spoke Greek) Quintilian was undoubtedly right; and indeed he says no

more than what Aristophanes had said before him (though in a different style) when he laughed the sensitive poet away to Macedonia (see Thomas Magister's Life) by calling him ποιητῆς ρημάτων δεικνυμένων (the poet of forensic phrases) and other surnames too true to be relished. Euripides was a very king of rhetoricians; so all his biographers inform us; πολλοὺς προσεξέχευε λόγους καὶ ρητορίας, says Elmsley's anonymous biographer; and though but the son of a vintner and a seller of kitchen herbs (Aristophanes knew better than Moschopulus), yet he could afford to take lessons from Prodicus, the famous itinerant sophist, who charged fifty drachmæ every time he opened his mouth, and was at last put to death by the Athenians (as Xenophon relates) for corrupting the youth of the city. There is indeed great reason to suppose that Euripides altogether mistook his calling in applying himself to the drama; and to judge from the notice of his biographers (there are three besides Suidas) compared with the very marked character of his works, we feel ourselves warranted in saying that he was intended by nature, perhaps for a painter, perhaps for a barrister, most probably for a union of sophist and philosopher—certainly not for a dramatist. Moschopulus and Suidas tell us that he applied himself to drama only after he had seen, by the sad example of Anaxagoras, that it was an unsafe thing for a Greek to philosophize: what therefore he could not say in his own person without danger of the hemlock, he could say by the mouth of others in fictitious dialogue. This was not a very straightforward proceeding certainly; and the more blameable for this reason that the Athenian tragedians were all sacred poets, and attached by virtue of their office to the religion of the state. That this story is true we have pretty strong evidence in the eighteen surviving tragedies; all his characters, men, women, and children, heralds, nurses, and drunken deities, are ever philosophizing, in season and out of season; what we call dialogue is with him oration: and the insinuation and peroration of every speech is a philosophic gnome: nothing with him is done or said without cause shown, as the lawyers say; every character is a herald of himself; no one is virtuous without discoursing on his virtue; no one is natural (when it chances to be) without a formal treatise on the "*vivere convenienter naturæ*;" every hero and heroine is lavish of life, generally without a dramatic motive, never without a rhetorical reason: a mother will not even weep for her dead child without telling you how proper a thing it is for mothers to be pitiful;

turn where you will, at all times and in all cases, you find rhetoric, morality, philosophy, by intention—drama sometimes, and, in some cases, by chance.

It is a most curious thing to observe, with regard to Euripides, that his biographers have, with the most amiable simplicity, narrated, as his greatest virtues, what are, in fact, his greatest and most obvious faults. No Boswell, for instance, ever matched the following, from Thomas Magister.

"He shone in tragedy, and was the author of many inventions in the art dramatic, which none of his predecessors had an idea of; for the adumbration of the argument in the commencement of the play, leading the hearer by the hand, as it were, into the secret of the story, is peculiar to Euripides; the clearness and breadth of his dialogue is also remarkable; and his style is distinguished no less by justness of argument than by graceful rhythm; he is abundant in philosophic gnomes, and they are always well suited to the subject."*

Of all this eulogy only one article contains any real praise—that of the gracefulness of the Euripidean rhythm. His choruses float luxuriantly, like a rich bed of white ranunculus and water-lilies; a strange contrast to the strong, rough outline of Æschylus; an angular writing, which, with much labour, those learned in the priestly wisdom of Egypt alone can spell; but this is the praise of a lyric poet, and we are at present writing of the drama.

Now, as to the first matter of the prologue, it is happily quite true, as Magister says, that this is an invention (*τεχνημα*) of Euripides; so characteristic, indeed, is it of this writer, that the only two dramas which want it, the Rhesus and the Iphigenia in Aulis, have, for this among other reasons, been shrewdly suspected to be the product of some other pen. With regard to the Rhesus, the matter seems pretty certain, for the ancients have transmitted their doubts as to its authenticity; and external combines here with internal evidence to warrant the scepticism of a modern critic. The doubts as to the Iphigenia originate, we believe, with Herr Gruppe, concerning whose valuable work we shall have occasion to say more immediately.

But what sort of a thing, in truth, is this Euripidean prologue? Schlegel has com-

* Ἐλαμψεν ἐπὶ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ σεμνῶς—πολλὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τέχνην ἐξέχευεν ἃ οὐδεὶς τῶν προ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δράματος τὴν ὑπόθεσιν διατυπῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὥσπερ χαίρων εἰς τὸ ἐμπροσθεν, Εὐριπίδου τέχνημα· τοῦ τε σαφηνεῖν καὶ πλατὺς εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποικίλλειν ἐπιχειρήσει τε καὶ ῥυθμῷ χαριεντι· καὶ γνῶμας εἰσαγεῖν συνεχεῖς καὶ καλὰ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ προσφορὰς.

pared it to the speaking labels which come out of the mouths of the figures in old paintings; and the comparison is not merely humorous, as some have observed, but literally and strikingly true. The Euripidean prologue is a formal and detailed piece of self-heralding by some principal character in the play, which in the infancy of the dramatic art—in Phrynichus and Æschylus—might have been tolerated; but in Euripides is altogether without palliation. It is the clumsy blunder of a rhetorician, who takes delight in tricking out, in an elaborate statement of the cases, what ought to be elicited by natural dialogue, or quietly educed by befitting soliloquy. A more undramatic, antidramatic invention Euripides could not have stumbled on. Take, for instance, the prologue to the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which begins like the pedigree of a race-horse, as far back as the memory of famous ancestry reaches.

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος ἐς Πῖσαν μολὼν
θαῦσιν ἵπποις Οἰνομάου γαμεῖ κόρην,
ἐξ ἧς Ἀτρεὺς ἔβλασθεν· Ἀτρεὺς δὲ παῖς
Μενέλαος Ἀγαμέμνων τε· τοῦ δ' ἔφυν ἐγὼ
τῆς Τυνδαρείας θυγατρὸς Ἰφιγένεια παῖς,
ἦ ἀμφὶ δῖναις ἀς θάμ' Ἑρίπος πικναῖς
αὔραις ἐλίσσων κνανέαν ἄλα στρέφει,
ἔσφαζεν Ἑλένης οἶνεχ', ὥς δοκεῖ, πατὴρ
Ἀρτέμιδι κλειναῖς ἐν πυχαῖσιν Αὐλίδος.*

Let the student of poetry compare this formal exposition of lineage with the natural and beautiful soliloquy spoken by the same *Iphigenia*, in Göthe's classical play,† and he will understand at once what a rare invention the Euripidean prologue is, and what the famous praise of Thomas Magister is worth.

But this is not all. The Euripidean prologue not only states what is, and what has been exhibited of the story preparatory to and beyond the action, but it anticipates the action itself, and blabs the final catastrophe in the opening speech. So in the *Ion*; so in the *Hecuba*; so also in the *Alcestis*, (v. 65,) though the prologue of this play is cast in the shape of a dialogue. The story of *Hecuba* is well known. Euripides' play represents the sorrows of the captive queen; and is more properly a dramatic wail than

what we call a drama. To exhibit a wail dramatically it seems pretty obvious that tidings of unexpected woe should break in upon the sufferer, stroke after stroke increasing in severity. Thus, like the *Prometheus Bound*, the *Hecuba* might have acquired the simple grandeur of a picture whose accessory figures are varied, and light after light is thrown in upon the principal group, every new light bringing out its significance in more skilful relief. But Euripides, the fine rhetorician, and bearded philosopher, (ελεγετο δε βαθύν πωγωνά θρεῖσαι — *Vit. Anon.*) was not a man to take a lesson from the stout, old soldier-bard of the *Prometheus*; he doubtless conceited himself far in advance of a poet whom even Aristotle thought too old-fashioned to be praised; he has sneered at the father of tragedy in more places than one, where the allusion is as obvious as it is ungenerous.* It is the duty of posterity to return the sneer; and it may be most fitly cast upon the prologue of the *Hecuba*. Here the son of the Phrygian queen formally announces himself to the spectators in the shape of a ghost; he has been murdered by a Thracian barbarian, and is waiting for burial; his sister *Polyxene* is to be slaughtered to satisfy the manes of *Achilles*: these two things are formally expounded in a long prologue of sixty lines; and this for no other purpose that can be imagined, than that they may be expounded a second time in the simple course of a short play, and the sympathetic spectator be scientifically prepared not to feel too deeply the woes of the bereaved mother. This blunder is so monstrous, that a modern reader will hardly believe it. Surely *Aristophanes* was entitled to indulge his lungs in a hearty laugh at such dramatic incapability.

What if Æschylus had announced *Io* and *Hermes* in a formal oration before the admirable opening dialogue of the *Prometheus*? Choked and smothered his plot in its very first breath of life? And yet there have been critics, and sensible critics too, who have not found language strong enough to express "the transcendent and bewitching beauty" of the Euripidean prologues, and who have recorded their surprise that *Sophocles* had for the most part omitted "this elegant introduction."† We believe that neither *Sophocles* nor Æschylus ever heralded their plays into notice with such cold formal chancery statements as the prologues in question. There is not even one play out

* "Pelops, the son of Tantalus, coming to Pisa with swift horses, married the daughter of Oenomaus, of whom Atreus was born; the sons of Atreus were Menelaus and Agamemnon, of which Agamemnon and the daughter of Tyndareus, I, Iphigenia, am the daughter; whom, near the currents which Euripus, with frequent breezes curling the dark sea, urges, my father sacrificed, as is believed, to Artemis, for the sake of Helen, in the famous bay of Aulis."

† "Heraus in Eure Schutten rege Wipfel
Des alten heiligen dicht-belaubten Haines!" &c.

* The passages are well known—one in the *Electra* and the other in the *Phœnissæ*.

† We are quoting now from an otherwise admirable article in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlix.

of the seven which remain to us by the father of tragedy, where the prologue stands out from the piece like the long sign of a cheap shop, as is the literal character of most of those of Euripides.

The most formal prologue in Æschylus is that of the Eumenides, where the Pythoness of Delphi explains her office and its descent somewhat over curiously; but the prologue does not proceed long with this formality; the genius of Æschylus speedily breaks out; and we are plunged at once into the middle of a scene, which, for breadth of dramatic outline, and intensity of dramatic effect, has been rivalled only by Shakspeare. But Æschylus, for the most part, begins his plays with the chorus; (a *παροδος* in anapaestic verse, or march-time;) or where he prefixes a speech, as that of the watchman in the Agamemnon, it is natural and appropriate, and an essential part of the action; or he sets out, as in the Seven, with a dialogue, also natural and appropriate, and the proper starting-point of what follows. With such an example before him (to say nothing of the finished wit of Sophocles) when Euripides purposely introduced his famous invention of the prologue, what can we say, but that he showed himself an eloquent rhetorician and declaimer, but un instructed in the very commonest laws of dramatic composition?

With regard to the other items of Magister's eulogy, we have only to say, that the *σαφηνεια* and *πλατυς* which he so much lauds, do on not a few occasions transform themselves into that thin transparency and loose breadth of style which is another of those obvious characteristics that stamp Euripides as an orator, not a dramatist. Besides, what critic will say that breadth and clearness are the distinguishing characteristics of a good dramatic style? If this is not nervous, vigorous, and manly, it is no dramatic style. Without a certain pregnant Laconism it cannot be so; and therefore it is that we English are so much better dramatists than the ancient Greeks or the modern Germans. The best of the former were too curious about mere words; there were more fluent orators than wise generals in the late liberation war; and as to the Germans, and their most undramatic literature—we speak *at* things, and they discourse *about* things.

We said above, that Euripides was perhaps intended by nature for a painter. We shall add a word of explanation on this matter. Painters are seldom talkers; he who has trained his eye to learn the wisdom of God is, for the most part, slow of tongue to babble the vain conceit of man; and Sir Joshua Reynolds justly considers it as a great evil when a son of the brush is tempted

to win popularity by the easy praise of fluent discourse. Nevertheless we have some problematic minds, such as Fuseli, of whom it is difficult to say whether nature meant them to express their quick fancies simultaneously or successively. Göthe also had a long battle with himself as to his proper destination in this respect; and it is certain that his later works smack more of the artist than the man: calm Arabesque painting, not vigorous poetic movement. Something of a like nature seems discoverable in Euripides. His biographers inform us, not merely that he was an amateur in the fine arts, but that, in the outset of his career, he actually was a painter; and in proof of this they tell us, that pictures by him were publicly exhibited at Megara. In remarkable accordance with this statement is the style of his works, in which the most superficial reader must have noticed that the descriptive and pictorial parts are generally the best. The *πρωτον μιν, επετα δε* of his formal, rhetorical declamations, misnamed dialogue, almost always wearies; but the vividness and richness of his painting, whether it be of a Bacchantic revel among the woods of Cithæron, a sacrifice in the harbour of Aulis, or a chariot race on the plains of Elis, never fails to charm. And who, with an eye for art, can read the Hecuba, and pass over the beautiful picture in the well-known lines spoken by Polyxene to Ulysses?

ὁρῶ σ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, δεξιὴν ὑφ' εἵματος
κούπτοντα χεῖρα, καὶ πρόσωπον ἔμπαλιν
στρέφοντα, μὴ σου προσθίγω γενειάδος.*

As in other places nature is substituted by rhetoric, so here action is supplanted by the officious painting of action. We are not unaware that Æschylus paints also, and the Greek drama generally more than it ought; but our remark is, that Euripides is as peculiarly strong in pictorial description as he is weak in dramatic effect, and clumsy in dramatic machinery. The student will examine for himself; but if our remark be right, then, in one respect at least, Mr. Taylor, of Norwich, (that "Arch-Philistine"†) was not so far wrong when he compared Göthe to Euripides; and Lord Byron, when he said that he did not relish painting, spoke perhaps the instinctive voice of nature, since he was born to be a poet.

The dramatic incapacity of Euripides,

* "I see thee, Ulysses, hiding thy right hand in thy mantle, and turning thy face from me, lest I should touch thy chin" (the ancient form of supplication).

† "A Philistine is a man who walks anxiously upon eggs."—*Burschen Song*.

over and above the matters already touched on, appears principally in these three things.

First. The different parts of his plot do not grow organically *with, in, and out of* one another; but one part is pieced to another, or patched on it.

Secondly. Even with the most simple materials he fails to produce a unity of impression; the good is universally neutralized by something bad; and confusion and dissatisfaction are the result.

Thirdly. His characters want nature, truth and consistency; and it is but too manifest that not they are speaking, but the rhetorician and philosopher through them.

It were a tiresome and thankless task to pursue the illustration of these Euripidean characteristics through the whole eighteen plays. A great deal has been already done by Schlegel; and he who wishes to see the anatomy carried more into detail, and with a more masterly hand, may consult Herr Gruppe. A few remarks, however, on this head, we may be allowed in our own person; only lest we should seem to delight in vague declamation and groundless calumny. To point out faults is always unedifying, especially where they lie as thick as beauties; and the task does not even compensate to the understanding by adding to its acuteness what it takes from the heart by hungering its charity. Nevertheless, if people will worship idols, truth demands that we publicly call them idols, and no gods. The Greeks themselves, should they rise from the dead, would be astonished and ashamed to behold with what foolish admiration sensible British men have paid blind homage to the flimsy productions of their third-rate dramatists. A blunder is not the less a blunder because it is two thousand years old; and is so much the more dangerous because there exists in this free country a certain unwise conservatism in literary matters which upholds ancient wisdom, not because it is wisdom, but because it is ancient; and which stamps a value upon Greek poetry, not because it is poetry, but because it is Greek. Why should Euripides, when he drivels prettily or glitters meretriciously, find more favour than Bulwer when he does the same? Why should a bad play which Porson edited be read and expounded in all the schools, and a good play which Sheridan Knowles wrote be known to our studious yonkers hardly by name? To answer these questions would lead us a long excursion into the philosophy of education, and specially into that domain curiously called classical; but we must proceed in our inquiry.

We have already suggested a comparison

between the Prometheus Bound and the Hecuba. Let us pass from the prologue to the catastrophe of this latter play, and discover another striking characteristic of Euripidean art. The end of tragedy, according to Aristotle's well-known philosophy, is to move pity or terror: the Prometheus, however, produces neither the one nor the other, but only calm admiration; and the Hecuba, clumsily endeavouring to produce both, produces neither the one nor the other, but simple disgust. The woes of Hecuba move pity, and in moving pity lies the strength of Euripides: the first part of the drama, accordingly, (bating always the foolish prologue) containing the wail of Hecuba over her own prostration as a queen, and bereavement as a mother, is good; but the poet straightway proceeds to convert the unfortunate queen into a savage, blood-thirsty barbarian; she murders the two sons of her son's murderer, and puts out the father's eyes, and exults and rejoices in the deed; thus the second part of the drama works deliberately against the first; and the unskilful dramatist freezes the tears which he has himself educed. Far otherwise in the Prometheus. The admiration which the silent obduracy of the patient god had excited in the first scene, not only remains unimpaired, but is strengthened as the action (if it may be called action) proceeds; and continues increasing, not with the hurry-scurry of a modern overture, but with the steady march of moral resolve, to the culminating point of the catastrophe.

In the Greek drama, where the materials worked on were so few, it was above all things necessary that they should be congruous. Æschylus is a master here, and so is Sophocles. What true poet, indeed, ever bundles the parts of a real poem together, or mechanically dovetails them? That is the work of a Pisistratus, or other *διασκευαστής*, collecting and arranging any cycle of old ballads; but a true poem is like a true flower, where each individual petal bears a relation to its brother, and the whole corolla to the cup, and the cup and corolla to the leaves, and leaves, cup and corolla to the whole plant. So it is in the Philoctetes, so in the Antigone, so in the Choephoræ; so also in the Iphigenia in Aulis, the only thoroughly good play among the whole Euripidean collection, which, however, as we had occasion to remark above, is, in this and other respects, so unlike Euripides, that serious doubts have been thrown upon its authenticity.

Look now at the Orestes, the very next play in the common arrangement. This play is intended to dramatize the historical link between the Choephoræ and the Eumenides

of Æschylus. The mother has just been sacrificed to the manes of the father, and the city of Argos is urged by Tyndareus to pass a sentence of death against the murderer of the daughter of Leda. Menelaus, who in the Greek drama always plays the heartless self-interested politician, will not move a step in the cause of his Argive nephew against an Argive mob, and a Spartan father-in-law. The life of the son of Agamemnon is in danger; and the problem of the drama is how that life shall be saved. It is manifest, from the very statement of this case, that the first business of the dramatizer here is to enlist our sympathies in favour of Orestes. He is a mother's murderer certainly, and, in the eye of the public prosecutor of a modern court of justice, guilty of a crime so monstrous, that no eloquence can possibly win for it a tear; but in the ancient Argive legend this crime is a sacred duty, urged by the real voice of filial reverence, and expressly commanded by the infallible voice of a god. It is a duty, however, that brings the performer of it into fearful conflict with the most tender instincts of nature; and in this struggle of commanded duty and commanding instinct the dramatic character of the legend lies. The instinct of the spectator, like that of the doer, rebels against the deed. In spite of this, however, the poet must enlist our sympathies in favour of the murderer; and he can only do so by representing him under the most amiable and engaging aspect: as a virtuous man doomed by divine decrees, or, like Werner, necessitated by circumstances to the commission of a deed against which his inmost nature rebels. The least admixture of savageness or barbarity in his character will cause the mind to leap back into its natural abhorrence of his crime. So in the Choephoræ and the Eumenides there is nothing to destroy the natural sympathy which a pious Greek was naturally disposed to feel for the sorrows of a son commissioned by an oracle to murder his father's murderer. But the Orestes of Euripides, after a beautiful *pictorial* opening, goes on from bad to worse, from selfishness to savageness: every character is more base and more brutal than another. Orestes, Pylades, and Electra, the persons *with* (not *against*) whom we ought to feel and suffer, employ themselves, without shade or discrimination even of villany, in devising and scheming the most public and barbarous butcheries: a melo-dramatic death (amid burning palaces) of the principal parties on both sides is prepared. Helen, the wife, and Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, are in the act of being publicly slaughtered, that Orestes and

his friends may die amid the due environment of tragic horrors, when suddenly—swift as the studied scene-shifting of our modern effect-pieces—the horrible is changed into the ridiculous. The *Deus ex machinâ* descends; Helen is whipped up into heaven (like Faust in Göthe) by Apollo, that her beauty may no more be the cause of strife to men; and Orestes is married, without further ceremony, to that very Hermione at whose innocent throat he is pointing the barbarous dagger! It is impossible, without reading the piece, to understand the curious feeling which this tasteless jumble of ancient tragedy and modern melo-drama and comedy produces on the mind.

Schlegel is very severe on the *Electra* of our poet, which ends also, in modern fashion, with a marriage: he thinks it the worst play of the eighteen. Among so many bad the choice is hard; but in our opinion the Orestes may well put in a claim for the distinction of being one of the most disgusting and silly plays ever written. We do not quarrel with the conclusion, because it is happy for all parties; the Greek *τραγῳδία* is anything but a *tragedy*, in our sense of the word; but we blame the want of poetic unity and the barrenness of dramatic sympathy which characterize the whole. And yet we are told that this play enjoyed favour on the Athenian stage (*το δράμα των ἐπὶ ἀθηνῶν εὐδοκίμωντων*). This piece of information, however, we can well afford to believe, without throwing any particular imputation on the good taste of an Attic audience; for besides the melo-dramatic trickery of the concluding spectacle, we have the choruses and the music, which, in this play, must have had a peculiar charm. The Phrygian, with his Harmateion melody and barbarous roar (*αρματεῖον μέλος βαρβαρῶν βοῶν*), was, no doubt, something striking and novel in Athens, and might easily have procured for an inferior piece, decked out with the orthodox number of villanies and murders, the praise of a fleeting popularity.

To piece a story historically together is one thing, to organize it poetically is another. Wherever we turn our eyes, to first-rate, or to second-rate dramas, we shall find that Euripides had no notion of poetic organization. In the "*Andromache*" the sorrows of the wife of Hector swallow up all interest during the first half of the play; in the second half the sorrows of Peleus begin, and we hear no more of the original heroine. In the "*Hercules Furens*" there are many fine things, especially in the latter part; but the same want of coherency in the dramatic sympathies is observable. Amphitryon, Megara, and the children occupy our atten-

tion exclusively in the first part ; Hercules exclusively in the second part. One-third of the short play is exhausted before the hero appears, and another third spins itself away before the interest centres in him. The "Heraclidæ," which represents the reception of the sons of Hercules under Athenian protection, is another instance of complete failure from want of a principal figure, round which the interest of the drama may concentrate itself. Iolaus, the heroic old soldier, and Macaria, the heroic girl, are the only characters of any prominence in the piece ; but the rhetorician, after balancing them neatly on his little finger as long, and as long only, as the *historic* progress of the action requires, lets them drop straightway, without ceremony ; and the piece is closed by the introduction of new character, Eurystheus, king of Athens, in whom we can feel no interest, and who neither says nor does anything that in any way tends to bind together the loose fragments of the piece. It is said by some that Euripides is at least superior to Æschylus in the management of his plots. The Heraclidæ compared with the Suppliants will disprove this. Æschylus never undertakes what he cannot manage : his plot is simple, but it is consistent ; it is *one* : his characters are few, but he is never without one or a body of persons (as Prometheus and the Danaïdes) who command prominently the attention of the spectator. Euripides, on the other hand, multiplies the persons in the action only to confound the action itself ; he makes a complex plot, in appearance, by ravelling two or three plots together, instead of unravelling one ; he not only does not manage, but he does not attempt to manage, the speaking puppets of his show. His care is that his characters shall make long speeches, and say fine things. Having done that, they dismiss themselves as they introduced themselves, with a wise text in their own praise. It is not even necessary that they should be consistent with themselves, provided they be consistent with their speeches ; to be consistent with the drama is impossible, when, as in the Andromache, it is made up of two parts that mutually neutralize each other.

It is a common device of Euripides to endeavour to eclipse his predecessors by piling up a huge architecture of events (where bulk at least awes.) and stringing together in one play several distinct actions, of which Æschylus and Sophocles would have made as many distinct plays. This has been ably shown by Gruppe, in reference to the "Phœnissæ," a play whose action properly is the same as Æschylus' Seven against Thebes,

but wherein the poet has clumsily endeavoured to tag both the Antigone and the Œdipus Coloneus to the end. But, as Gruppe well observes, if Antigone leaves Thebes with Œdipus for the Equestrian Hill, what becomes of Polynices and Hæmon ? The Phœnissæ, however, with all its laboured bulk, will ill stand comparison with the simple and consistent grandeur of the Seven. The prologue, spoken by Jocasta, may, as usual, be cut off with much advantage to the play. The chorus, contrary to a well-known rule of Aristotle, does not, as in the Æschylean drama, enter with stirring dramatic interest and striking dramatic effect into the action of the play, but sways loosely and carelessly about it. Then, again, the self-sacrifice of Menœceus is not only, as Gruppe observes, an altogether voluntary and episodical act of heroism, but, by bringing Creon in as a sufferer, acts contrary to the main sympathies of the play. Like Osric in Hamlet, Creon stands by in the Labdacidan story, and cries "A hit ! a hit !" himself unscathed. Hæmon, to be sure, dies in the Antigone, but that is for the sake of Antigone. The death of Menœceus, in the Phœnissæ, is altogether uncalled for ; altogether uninteresting, because altogether unprepared ; altogether undramatic, because the stroke of fate should strike only the fated. Further we may notice how cunningly Æschylus has varied his long narration, by interspersing short choral chants, as well as by the intrinsic peculiarity of his speech. Euripides has given us 220 lines of description, only once interrupted—all the rhetorician, as usual, and nothing of the dramatist. How clumsily, also, is the character of Eteocles managed ! The famous sentiment,—

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδίκειν χρη, τυραννίδος περὶ
καλλίστον ἀδίκειν* τ' ἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών,*

of which Julius Cæsar was so fond, is the explanation of the philosopher as to the tyrant's real motives, not the motive which any tyrant would confess to himself, much less trumpet to the world in a formal pleading of his own cause. So plump and unskilful is the rhetorician in the management of human character ! So also Medea tells us, in the same gnomic style, that she is a she-devil, and all women with her—

ἐπιστάσαι δέ' πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεφυκαμένῃ
γυναῖκες· ἐς μὲν εὐθλ' ἀμνηχανώταται,
κακῶν δὲ πάντων τεκτονες σφωτάται.

What unnatural rant is this ! But Euripides

* If injustice be lawful in any case, it is lawful in the pursuit of power ; in other matters a man should be pious.

pides is full of it. His characters make as little conscience of publishing their shame as of oratorizing their own praises : the reason, in both cases, is manifestly the same, as we have already had occasion to observe. It is not the person speaking, but the poet.

The *Medea* is generally considered one of the best plays of Euripides : but we must confess, after several perusals, we have not been able to force ourselves into admiration of it. In the character of *Medea*, as in Euripides' women generally, we see not only that certain amount of bloody propensities which is necessary for tragic purposes, but a gratuitous and unmotivated barbarity. Let any person quietly compare her with Lady Macbeth, and see what he can make of her. Schlegel very properly asks, why does she butcher her children at all?—and if so utterly without need it is consistent in a Colchian sorceress to show herself so magnificently savage, how is it consistent that she should at the same time be so deeply moved by the tender, motherly emotions of her sex, so unable to look upon that πανστατον γέλασμα—that “last smile,” which she herself so unnecessarily had made the last? Does Lady Macbeth in *Shakespeare* relent, except in the sleep-walking scene? We must confess we cannot understand this matter; and as to other things, the play is decked out in all places with the usual number of adventitious patches and false ornaments, which may be taken from Euripides' plays, not only without organic injury, but with material advantage. What, for instance, is the use of the interview with *Ægeus*? This is another episode, in the style of *Menæceus* in the *Phœnissæ*. It does not belong to the organism of this drama to know whether *Medea* goes to Athens or Argos. “Hither to me!” as *Mephistopheles* says to *Faust*, and the rest may be safely, most wisely, left to the imagination of the spectator. Or, if we take Schlegel's apology, that this scene was introduced to gratify the Athenians, this will not mend the matter a whit. *Æschylus* in the *Eumenides*, and *Sophocles* in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, wrote with one view at least, to flatter the Athenians; but their patriotism was interwoven with their plot,—here it is stuck on it.

We hope the reader will now give us credit for having some plausible grounds for the unfavourable opinion we have been obliged to express of Euripides' powers as a dramatist. We shall offer a specimen of Herr Gruppe's critical ability, and then proceed to more pleasant contemplations. He has analyzed at length seven plays of Euripides:—the *Hecuba*, the *Trojans*, the

Bacchæ, the *Hippolytus*, the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the *Ion*. We shall take his remarks on *Ion*. The subject, as Potter confesses, is a fine one. Serjeant Talfourd has made something of a kindred theme in modern times. What Euripides made of the old story we shall see.

Gruppe gives the narrative of the play down to the chorus of the Athenian virgins, and proceeds,

“ Their curiosity leads them to press further into the temple; but here *Ion* commands them back. Then *Creusa* herself appears; a long *stychomythie** begins: mother and son stand against each other without knowing or suspecting their relationship: and Euripides applies himself diligently to make this situation as piquant as he possibly can.”

Of the scene between *Creusa* and *Ion*, he observes,

“ Then at the conclusion of this long artificial conversation, *Creusa* has to request *Ion* expressly to say nothing of the matter of her friend's exposed child to *Xuthus*, for the men are always disposed without motive to think evil enough of the women.”

After the prayer of the chorus for the race of *Erectheus*,

“ Then follows a scene which is certainly dramatic, and in many respects may be considered as successfully handled—though doubtless in skilful hands much more might have been made of it.”

Of the scene with *Xuthus*—

“ The poet (for he it is that speaks all the while, not *Ion*) falls immediately back on the mother; she must be mentioned prominently now, because she is to be made particularly prominent in the afterpart of the drama. There is no joy, no surrender of the soul to the natural influence of such a situation; the whole scene wants nature, tenderness, and warmth. *Sophocles* would have managed it otherwise.

“ The same want of nature is exhibited in the scene where *Xuthus* explains to his son that he must now follow him to Athens, there to be heir of his riches and his kingdom.”

After blaming the grounds of *Ion*'s apprehensions, Gruppe proceeds,

“ In all this it is manifest the poet speaks,

* A conversation carried on line by line, like a church-catechizing, as Gruppe says in another place—or more exactly like a game at battle-door and shuttlecock when well played. All the tragedians delight in this artificial measured mode of conducting dialogues. When there is pith and point in each line (as *Shakespeare* sometimes manages it,) the effect is pleasant enough. But Euripides, the smooth rhetorician, is not the man for such delicate matters; and his *stychomythies* are generally more weak, tedious, and wire-drawn than even his speeches.

not the persons: he lays out the plans, he keeps a certain aim in his eye, he is continually manœuvring every thing with the most open and unconcealed artifice towards that aim; but actual acting characters are not before us. Why the poet makes Ion speak as he speaks is but too obvious; his scheme is that the thing shall actually turn out so, as Ion is made to fear; he intends to represent Creusa as jealous, he intends that she shall attempt to poison her own son, and finally he intends to make it out, in Ion's very words, that Ion is no stranger, no bastard, no son of Xuthus, but the genuine son of an Athenian, son of Apollo and Creusa. He makes Ion's speech full of unconscious allusions to the actual state of the case; but what is gained by all these allusions? Either we do not yet know what the poet is driving at,—and in this case the allusions will seem as impertinent as they are forced and unnatural: or we do know his drift (as here but too obviously), and then we can scarcely be called upon to forgive the unceremonious nonchalance with which he thrusts his plot into his characters,—asking no questions of nature and consistency,—instead of drawing it out of them. That internal, symmetrical structure, and that richness of *internal* relation of the parts, which we admire in Sophocles, ceases to be art, and to manifest the charm of art, so soon as it does not take place as it were instinctively, while the characters act only from their own free individuality, and the inward necessity of their nature. Here Euripides exhibits the very reverse of all this. Ion is any thing but a young man joyfully surprised to find his father, and in him to find himself the heir of a mighty kingdom: Ion is a mere spiritless hearer of short-sighted, frosty, altogether formal, artistical tricks.*

"But this is not enough: the thing is twice done; not the less formally and circumstantially by outward machinery, because Ion has already rhetorized the whole rant. A tragedy consists in the tying and untying of a knot; it is always best when unexpected joy comes after deep disaster, recognition after misunderstanding; my plan, therefore, thinks Euripides, is to set the people first savagely by the ears together, and then make them shake hands, and smile as comfortably as the converted villains in the last act of a modern comedy. If this were enough to make a work of art, we should feel ourselves obliged to give Euripides this

* To estimate the full value of these remarks the student will compare their precision and truth with the vague, laudatory generalities in Potter's introduction to his translation of this play. Potter was the child of an age whose watchword was *classicality*,—a thing as opposed to nature and freedom, as a drawing-room is to hill and valley. The French were our masters in those days—(as indeed our criticism seems fated to be the slave of foreign impulse); and the French paid as decent a homage to the outer surface of Greek literature, as they were impudent and conceited rebels against its inner spirit.

further praise, that he always brings it about in the shortest and most convenient way. Ion is the son of Creusa, not of Xuthus, but he holds him for his, not she for hers; this, however, is not enough to produce a proper *tragic effect*; and she must be made at least to attempt the life of her own son. But for what reason in *nature*? How comes it to pass that she conceives so violent a hatred for the amiable stranger youth? Does she hate him because he is her husband's son—the husband whom she loves? Does she hate because he was born out of wedlock? On this view of the question her own speeches in the previous part of the play gave us no reason to suspect such wrath; but besides there is the authority of the oracle which she came to consult, and which she also believes. No! no! says Euripides, I am not much concerned that Creusa shall have any natural, sufficient motives for planning this bloody murder, but I shall at least make sure, that no one shall be able to lay his hand on the passage and say, here is an action done without a visible motive. I have nothing to do but bring in a nurse or a pedagogue, who shall advise the deed, and she shall follow the persuasion. The pedagogue is one of those characters brought in adventitiously on all occasions by our poet—his ready helpers out of all difficulties—that seem to enrich the plot by multiplying the persons, but in fact only show the barrenness of the poet in not being able to bring the catastrophe out of the characters that naturally belong to the action. They are a personification of dramatic awkwardness. This pedagogue, in the hands of a true tragedian, would at least have acted from some strong internal motives of his own, and perhaps shown some heroism in the execution of his villany. But Euripides never concerns himself whether his plots are developed by persons who act from natural motives, or by persons in whose motives you feel any interest. The pedagogue accordingly, after performing the part required of him, leaves Creusa in the lurch, and drops out of the piece. How different Dejanira in the *Trachiniæ*! She acts from inward motives, and the strong power of the most natural illusion. Here, however, Ion must remain alive, and Apollo acquire public reverence as the great ancestor of the Ionian race. How this could be brought about by natural and at the same time poetical motives was a question that Euripides, if he ever asked, certainly was not in a condition to answer.

"We now make acquaintance with Creusa as a murderess; and nevertheless the poet attempts to win us with pathetic rhetoric in her favour. She speaks very beautiful words to Apollo, and accuses him of ingratitude to his own child and its mother—the ingratitude of a god towards a mortal. This scene might have had a fine effect, had Euripides power to put it in a proper place; but here it is utterly lost. Her own shameless barbarity has closed our fountain of tears; such a woman was in all likelihood

worthless from the beginning, and Apollo may have treated her only according to her deserts. We cannot force our sympathies."

As to the following scene with the pedagogue,

"The first matter is evidently discussed here a second time, in order to engage our sympathy for Creusa; but the intention, as usual, is too manifest; and the cool, deliberate barbarity of the whole matter, as just mentioned, repels our sympathy. Sophocles interests us in the misfortunes of his heroes: Euripides disgusts us by their crimes. The turn, moreover, which he gives the matter, by making Creusa boast of revenging herself at one blow, both on Apollo and Ion, only makes the matter worse—impiety is here joined to barbarity; and yet it is expected that we shall feel interested in the fate of a creature whom the poet has done every thing in his power to make hateful.

Finally, it is observed,

"We do not in any wise say that the Euripidean play is destitute of successful, aye, poetical passages; but the whole is in no sense to be tolerated as a work of art, and deserves the praise which has here and there been lavished on it, in no manner of way. There is no other drama which exposes so completely the wretched secrets of Euripidean stage machinery, none which exhibits more strikingly the contrast between Euripides and Sophocles. We have here a piece with illusions and misunderstandings enough, rich in those dramatic situations which Sophocles knows so wisely to handle. How otherwise Euripides!—For the pure poetry of the classic tragedian we have here the pointed, barren, thinly-veiled sophistry of a rhetorician; for the great tragic fugue of living characters, we have here not a single living character, much less one in whom the poet has made the spectator feel any thing like a living interest. What Aristotle says of the *Antigone* falsely, suits here admirably; the disgusting, not the tragical, is produced; and over and above this, the piece must end happily too! When Sophocles ends his piece happily, he takes care to make his characters perfectly worthy of the prepared salvation; they bear their sorrows in the first place, and are purified by suffering; the whole piece must have served to developé worth and dignity of character, before a god is introduced to unloose the inexplicable knot of mischance. Euripides, on the other hand, reveals here nothing but wickedness, shame, sin, and suspicion; a blood-thirsty woman, who swears revenge even against the person of the god—and then, *sans ceremonie*, a reconciliation and happy catastrophe, by means of this same god! So faulty is the internal organization of Ion. And even externally the piece wants artistical rounding and completeness. Xuthus (like so many other characters in Euripides'

plays—*Tr.*) loses himself out of the plot, and we hear no more of him. As little is any light thrown on his alleged son, the offspring of a Bacchic woman. This matter should have been explained. Here the poet might have found an *analagon* to Creusa's lapse; reconciliation of man and wife on the footing of mutual forgiveness might have taken place; and then the matter of the poisoning (for which there is no sufficient motive afforded, besides being altogether irreconcilable with the happy event of the piece) might have been altogether dispensed with. In the mouth of Xuthus also should have been placed all those doubts and anxieties as to whether the Athenians would submit themselves to the sway of a foreign prince. There they would have been natural, and might have served to increase the sympathy of the spectator for the principal party. Ion himself, instead of preaching political philosophy, should have surrendered his soul to unsuspecting joy."

In the course of the preceding observations, we have attained to only one result, and that altogether of a negative kind, viz. Euripides is not a dramatist. In this there is small consolation. But we have now to ask ourselves a question, in which, we hope, we have been anticipated by most of our readers, and the solution of which may probably bring forth some positive fruit. If Euripides be indeed the helpless dramatic blunderer that we represent, how comes it to pass that he attained in ancient times such a high rank as poet for the Athenian stage, and how comes it to pass also that in modern times his poetry has been so popular with most of our great men, that even Milton the mighty-minded knew no more familiar bosom-friend in the wide world of books? The second of these questions is more shortly answered than the first. Euripides is a pleasant, fluent, pathetic, philosophic, luxuriant, rhetorical poet enough—and our Greek men, living as they have too often done in the back galleries of literary life (where a man may nod without observation) and nibbling at Greek instead of feeding upon poetry, asked for nothing more. Milton, again, was an architectural poet, and a solemn-building Epopœist, but of a genius essentially undramatic; the beautiful pictures, the magnificent descriptions, and the rich choral festooning of the Greek drama, were exactly suited to his taste. Why he should have preferred the effeminate Euripides to the strong, manly Æschylus, is difficult to explain. Perhaps the notorious difficulty and corruption of Æschylean Greek deterred him from the study; perhaps also (what seems more probable) as

likings, like dreams, are wont to go by contraries, Milton admired Euripides for the same reason that Wilson worships Wordsworth—by the law of opposition—“*un gleich dem gleichem paaret sich gern.*” Besides we must never forget that Milton lived in times when what would now be blamed as a foolish and narrow reverence of classicality, justly claimed the character of a noble and generous enthusiasm. In the infancy of a creed, the fervour of new-kindled devotion animates many superstitions, which in after times congeal into harsh jagged slugs, with which a hard and obstinate bigotry vexes the ribs of men. Iræneus may believe many things with propriety, which Dr. Chalmers may with propriety deride. So Dante and Petrarch may know nothing in the world of highest intellect but Virgil and Plato. So Milton may know no drama superior to the ancient, and out of that pious prejudice, Comus, and Samson, and other the like stiff, formal, modern antiques may come forth; but if Serjeant Talfourd, or Sheridan Knowles, or Bulwer, were to impose such Hellenizing dramas upon the public taste, they would meet with universal ridicule. Of this, however, enough.

Our other question is of more importance. Whence did Euripides win for himself those dramatic laurels with which he unquestionably stood crowned before the Athenian people?—not indeed so proudly as some people imagine—confessedly inferior to Æschylus and Sophocles—for he was only crowned five times* out of some seventy contests; and we know little of Agathon—but still a famous poet, and historically coming down to us as a member of the great tragic triumvirate that gave dramatic laws to Greece in its noblest times. So far as Euripides personally is concerned, the answer is of little or no interest to us; but it obviously implies the answer to a previous question, second to no literary question in importance, viz. What sort of a thing the Greek tragedy was? If Euripides was no dramatist, and nevertheless vied with such men as Æschylus and Sophocles in the dramatic contests of Athens, he must have won his laurels by some other than dramatic virtue. The Greek drama must not be *chiefly and essentially* drama, in our sense of the word. The limbs and flourishes may move for the most part according to dramatic laws, but the soul and plastic germ of the thing is not—cannot be—inherently and necessarily dramatic. What then is the essential, in-dwelling,

formative principle of the Greek tragedy? The subject has been often discussed—the individual abstract notions pertaining to it stated not seldom with sufficient accuracy. But in their cumulative importance they have been rarely apprehended—more rarely still, with a wise and thorough consistency, practically applied.

According to our notion the Greek tragedy consists chiefly and essentially of these three things.

I. A choral hymn to the gods, with dance.

II. A sacred spectacle representing the common and well known fates of heroic and divine persons by a series of living *tableaux*, and illustrated by means of recitation spoken in character.

III. The development of a religious idea.

And we say, that though these three elements may, by the hand of a Sophocles, be so beautifully and skilfully combined as to form a complete work of art, most fitly designated a drama (though very different from what we are accustomed to call such) yet that this beautiful and skilful combination is by no means essential to the idea and organic principle of a Greek tragedy; so much so that a poet like Euripides may be ignorant of the very simplest laws of character and action, and shall be a great Greek tragedian.

It is generally said that the Greek chorus is a part of the drama; according to our view, the drama is a part of the chorus. The chorus is the nucleus; and an imposing well-ordered series of choral songs in reference to one subject, illustrated by a few recitations spoken in character, does in fact constitute a Greek drama—as we see in the *Choephoræ*, the *Suppliants*, and the *Persians* of Æschylus. Professor Jacobs long ago did not hesitate to designate this latter play a *cantata*, not a *drama*; and Professor Herrman, in some late speculations, has divided the Greek tragedies into two kinds—the tragedy proper (such as the *Œdipus Tyrannus* and the *Agamemnon*), and the “*quasi lyricum et cantabile genus tragœdiæ*,”* of which the *Troades* of Euripides furnishes an example. Now in stating what the soul and essence of Greek tragedy is, we take this “*lyricum et cantabile genus*” as the original type and proper emblem of what necessarily belongs to the idea of a Greek tragedy generally. This is intrinsic; the other, or dramatic element, matter of adornment, matter of variation, matter, if you will, of a higher development, but not intrinsic and essential in the germ of the thing. Without a chorus a Greek tragedy cannot be; with-

* Fifteen times, says one of his biographers. But this perhaps includes the cases where he was second best.

* Opusc. vol. ii. p. 312. De Tetralogiâ longâ.

out action, without character—with much pomp of spectacle, with much ravishment of the ear, with little or no nature—it can be. This point of view alone explains the thousand blunders and puerilities of Euripides; alone makes it intelligible how a tender and luxuriant lyrist, a smooth rhetorician, a fluent pleader, has had the happy chance to come down to posterity crowned with the undeserved laurels of a dramatist. Hazlitt said that the Prometheus of Æschylus was more of an ode than a drama. We think he was most unhappy in his example; but there was a glimmering of truth in his idea. The Persians is certainly much more of a solemn national wail than a drama; the Suppliants is a dramatized supplication; the Hecuba and the Troades, each a dramatized wail; the Seven against Thebes is a sacred spectacle, “full of war”—partly and mainly lyric, consisting of fears and prayers before, and laments after the battle; partly epic, consisting of the narrative description of the chief heroes of the invading host. Of action there is very little; of drama in our sense, —impersonated acting characters treading now timidly, now violently rushing through the uncertain paths of complicated events—still less. But take even the Agamemnon, what were the Agamemnon without the chorus, without the musical amœbean chants between Cassandra and the chorus? little more, we fear, than a series of sublime, certainly, but stiff and formal recitations. Is then Æschylus no better than Euripides? do we not contradict ourselves here? Apparently only. In our previous observations, we compared one Greek dramatist with another, and found that, taking the dramatic capabilities of the Greek drama (however small) as they are, Euripides had no notion whatever not only of drama, but not even of poetical unity and harmony in composition. We now set the ancient drama against the modern drama generally; and we maintain, that in none of the Greek dramas, not even the best, was *action* a principal, or even a necessary thing. There may be more progressive movement, more complication of event, in one of these sacred musical spectacles than in another. The Œdipus Tyrannus may suit our ideas of a regular tragedy much better than the Troades, or the Persians; it may also be that Sophocles in the Philoctetes shows a more nice and delicate discrimination of *human* character than Euripides in any of his plays (always excepting the Iphigenia), but neither progressive movement in times, nor curious complexity of event, nor nice discrimination of *human* character, was an essential ingredient of the sacred musical spectacle of

the ancient Greeks—the *τραγῳδία*, or goat-song, which we translate tragedy, and by that single word translate ourselves from Athens into London, from Æschylus to Shakespeare, and into a whole chaotic world of confused and confounding criticism. Music, gods, religious feeling, living tableaux, solemn declamation, belonged essentially to Greek tragedy. Every thing else might be dispensed with.

Of all the elements, however, the chorus, as it was the historical origin, so also it remained, to the last, the centre and nucleus of the whole exhibition. Even in the Euripidean plays the choruses are generally the most splendid and poetical parts to *read*; but the Athenians *heard* and *saw* what we read; and this is a matter to which very wise critics have seldom paid sufficient attention. It is indeed an element which must be made to enter much more largely into our criticism of Greek poetry generally than has hitherto been the case:—no poet, in the blooming days of Greece, courts to be *read*. Put Pindar against Wordsworth, and carry out this remark for private edification. But as to the tragedy, how much the *song* lived in the associations of the ancient people, as the principal idea in the word, is attested to the present day, by the fact that *τραγῳδία* is the Romaic for a song generally. To the people, doubtless, the chorus always was, and continued to be, the literal centre and nucleus of tragic interest. Euripides, in his loose fashion, might indeed in many cases seem to embosom the sacred action in music, rather than inspire it by music. But the rosy cloud-car of the fairy might be a more lovely thing to look on than the fairy herself; and Æschylus at least took care that the chorus should not only outwardly by public sympathy, but inwardly by artistical development, command the chief share of public attention. In the Seven, the Choephoræ, the Suppliants, the Eumenides, the chorus forms the very muscle and bone of the composition. So also in the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles; there the action is little; spun out, in our opinion, somewhat unnecessarily by the colloquy with Polynices; but, as it is, take away the nightingale notes of the equestrian groves, and you take away the soul, the inspiration, the living patriotism and religion of the piece.

We do not flatter ourselves to have said any thing new, when saying that the chorus is a great distinguishing characteristic of the ancient Greek drama, which has often been misunderstood by the moderns, and sometimes, but always unsuccessfully, attempted to be revived. We only wish to bring the matter into more decided and unquestioned

prominence; and to entreat the Greek student on all occasions to bear it in mind, and not allow himself to be confounded by the thousand meaningless criticisms which pert or silly people will make on that branch of ancient literature, apart from this habitual rudder, as we may say, of judgment. Potter was so puzzled with the beautiful Mysian wail that winds up the sad lamenting of the Persians (in all respects without doubt one of the most curious dramatic remains of antiquity) that he pieced the fitful responses of sorrow into a magnificent high-sounding speech (after the manner of English translators); and Bishop Blomfield, in more recent times, has also shown so much ignorance of the musical principles of criticism by which the Greek tragedy must be judged, that he fell plump into the old pond of Sicelias, and declared the Persians to be, if not altogether, at least half a comedy—perchance a farce. Did the bishop ever hear the Litany chanted in an English cathedral? or, that most simple and most beautiful of musical and religious things, the Litany of the Saints in a Roman Catholic chapel? These Litanies are exactly such a thing as the amœbæan chant in the Persians, the wail or *κοῦμος* in the Seven, and many the like passages in our present text-books of ancient opera; for such and nothing more are the valuable remains of antiquity, by the editing of which our Porsons and Elmsleys, our Moncks and Burgesses, have acquired such an adventitious and artificial certainly, but not therefore (as flash wits imagine) altogether undeserved and unlaudable immortality. A Greek tragedy was a sacred opera; very different from a modern opera indeed in several respects, as Schlegel has well cautioned, but still an opera; and an opera in which dance or *ballet* occupied a no less important position than song. It is vain, therefore, for any scholar to attempt understanding these old text-books by Greek words and glossaries alone. A living sympathy with dance and song must be brought to the work; and with that, even what Porson despaired of, an organic reconstruction of the choral chants may possibly yet be effected. The Germans have done much in this line already; let us, if we are men, gird up our loins and do more.

But the difference must be well marked. Between Metastasio and Æschylus there is a gulf of 2000 years; and all the leap, moreover, that intervenes between a soldier who fought at Salamis, and a courtier who served at Vienna. We are not, however, concerned here to consider the difference in quality between the piping of an Italian eunuch and the roar (*βῶν ἀγῶος*) of a

Greek soldier. What touches us is to observe that while the modern opera is, strictly speaking, a musical drama, i. e. an action represented by singing characters, the Greek goat-song, as its etymology sets forth, may be more properly described as a dramatizing hymn, mainly and essentially a song sung in character, and illustrated by appropriate recitations; a Pindaric Ode, to borrow a simile from chemistry, out of which some of the principal mythical figures have been shaken loose and precipitated; but they never acquire such a circulation and independency as to form of themselves a perfect and complete imitation of an action. They swim in the musical element, which originally held them in solution, and are not recognised as having acquired any separate tenure of existence. A sea of song introduces, accompanies, and finally swallows up their ephemeral movements. Nor are these movements ever altogether free from a characteristic air of lyric solemnity and epic formality, the certain evidence that they are not the native and unfettered children of nature. They declaim rather than speak; they describe action oftener than they act. In Metastasio the reverse of all this holds. Cut away those pretty little corollaries, or perhaps only blooming epitomes of the dialogues called airs; and a perfect and regular drama still remains, constructed according to all the principles of complex plot, interesting situation, natural and impassioned dialogue, which Aristotle and the ancient critics wished to make, and Shakspeare and the modern stage-poets have made, of theatric exhibitions. A modern musical drama is not the less perfectly a drama because it is musical; and the reason of this is, partly that it is not religious (of which anon), and partly that it is not mainly and essentially lyric and choral, as the Greek opera was. To the true nature of a sacred ode that calm and sustained dignity belongs, more contemplative than impassioned, which we trace alike in the Odes of Pindar and in the choruses of Æschylus. These choruses are calm Pindaric odes essentially, dramatic outbursts of passion incidentally. The Fishermen in Masaniello are not more essentially dramatic than the supplicating Virgins in the first chorus of the Seven, or the Chase of Furies in the opening scenes of the Eumenides, when “the scent of human blood laughs in their nostrils” (*ὁσμη βροτῶν αἱμάτων μοι προσέλα*). But it is the calm dignity of religio-philosophical contemplation that stamps the main character on the Æschylean chorus particularly, as on the tragic chorus generally. Music, indeed, of the highest kind (as we see in the German

music) has something solemn and contemplative in its very nature: it is a most unlikely thing that the early singers even of Dionysiac choruses practised the mimic craft of De Begnis and Paltoni; rather let us think that the Dionysiac odes, in their earliest state, though substantially drinking songs, were, like the German Burschen songs of the same nature, interpenetrated throughout with a deep and solemn feeling of religion;* at least the element of ludicrous and sportive mimicry was early separated from the nobler part, and relegated into the region of comedy and farce (Satyrs); and one thing seems perfectly certain, that the fevered activity and dramatic St. Vitus fits of our modern stage-singing must be kept far apart from all conceptions of the ancient Dionysiac ode: the twitter and the chatter, the splutter and the roar, the vaulting and somerseting, the furious chase, the licentious intoxication, the scream and the agony, and the convulsion of sweet sounds, as they are made a public spectacle of by the Donizettis and Mercadantes of the modern opera, had, we may imagine, no counterpart in the sacred solemnity of the heathen hymns.

Second in importance scarcely to the musical is it to observe, and keep in view, the religious and sacred character of the Greek tragedy. To the neglect of this plain and obvious principle (however generally it may have been recognized in the abstract) much childish and unedifying prate, under the name of criticism, may be traced. Whenever the catastrophe of a Greek drama is brought about by the intervention of a god, our profane modern critic, without discrimination, immediately bawls out "*Deus ex machina*" (an echo from the Epicurean Horace); and expounds with much self-satisfaction how much more cunningly he would have brought about the *dénouement* by means of the interworking of human motives and the intertwining of human fates. And Göthe, no doubt, in his Iphigenia, brings about the catastrophe nicely enough, without the aid of Pallas Athene; but whether Euripides would have done wisely to have wound up this sacred legend without the solemn seal of a goddess (though, perhaps, the goddess should have been Artemis, and not Athene) set upon its authenticity, is a different question. The Greek drama was not a drama of human motives, but a drama of divine dispensations.

πολλαι μορφαι των δαιμονιων,
πολλα δ' ιελπτως κραινονσι θεοι.
και τα δοκηθεντ' οὐκ ετελεσθη,

των δ' αδοκητων πορον ευρε θεος
τοιονδ' απεθη τοδε πραγμα.*

This tragic colophon, so commonly affixed to the Euripidean plays, is in fact the proper motto and symbols of every Greek tragedy. Not the wit of man, but the wisdom of God brings about the issue.

των τ' αδοκητων πορον ευρε ΘΕΟΣ.

And they who blame the Greek tragedies for this characteristic, firmly lamenting that they are "too much mixed up with their tales about oracles, and the vengeance of the gods" (Blair)—do in fact act as wisely as if they should blame the Bible for not being a fashionable novel. The Bible of Greece was Homer and the lyric poets; the tragedians did nothing more than cut slices from this bounteous feast of popular poetry. *Τεμαχη των Όμηρου μεγαλων δειπνων*, as Æschylus said: their tragedies were our sermons, and their stage was our pulpit. Suppose the pious old adjunct of mysteries and moralities not to have been choked in its first infancy, but to have grown up along with the other parts of our Church service:—suppose at our great Church feasts—The Nativity, Lent, Easter, &c. (answering to the *ανθεστηρια*, &c. of the Greeks)—sacred lyrical dramas, comprising the most interesting events in the history of the Church from Adam to Martin Luther, to be annually exhibited with all the pomp of appropriate costume, and all the solemnity of genuine cathedral music;—suppose these dramas written by Southey, not by Mrs. Hannah More: for Iphigenia put Jephtha's daughter; for Dionysius put Noah; for Hercules put Samson; for Caucasus put Calvary. Bring all this *as part of the Church service*, before joyful throngs of worshipping spectators, and you have a clear idea of what the Greek tragedy was to the Greeks. The spectators of the Dionysian operas did not seek for the stir of a bustling action, or the excitement of a curious plot; they sought for the calm religious contemplation and the devout religious enjoyment of ancient, familiar and venerated traditions. To this feast of devotion, dramatic strength like that of Æschylus, dramatic skill like that of Sophocles, might be highly serviceable. But a luxuriant lyrist and fluent rhetorician, like Euripides, might do the work creditably, and even, in some cases, gain the palm. It is not to be calculated how

* Many are the deviations of the Gods, and many things they bring about contrary to expectation; things that seemed probable have not come to pass, and for things improbable God hath found out a fulfilment. Such hath been the course of this story.

* Of this we have a fine example in the beautiful Burschen air, "*Von Hohern Olymp*."

modern critics have confounded themselves and their readers by the vicious habit of comparing the Greek goat-song with that perfectly different thing—the modern tragedy. They have thus with much *negative* wisdom (a commodity in which critics are too apt to deal) assured us that that which is round is not square, and that which is square is not round. But they should have set the ancient tragedy against the modern oratorio, or the few sacred dramas which Metastasio exhibited at Vienna, and they would have seen in what a pitiful case we moderns are as to this matter. We have made no such noble use of our Bible as the Greeks made of their popular poetry. This is a lamentable fact. One epic poem we have constructed out of the three first chapters of Genesis; but the rest of our sacred history, so far as our poetry is concerned, lies an uncultivated garden. Our stage alas! is essentially profane; and not profane only, but deep-leprosied through many years with immorality, from which disease it is only now recovering. Our pulpit again, we may well say, is too sacred, too formal, too didactic, too abstract, too general, too vague, too remote from the sympathies of everyday life. Our religion seems somehow strangely at war with the poetical arts; the sisterly bond of beauty and piety has been broken; the graces of the human soul will not intertwine in friendly dance; and famous preachers have declared publicly that the door of the theatre is the mouth of hell. The division of labour has triumphed here also: the fingers of the pin-maker have become very expert; but the heart of the man is barren and unfurnished: the holiness of life is felt only amid the solemn gloom of the Church, before the formal discourse of the preacher; its luxuriant pomp unfurled only amid the empty glitter of the stage. Is it meant that this divorce shall remain for ever?

And yet we seem hasty. We have been drawing conclusions from Protestantism, and not from Christianity. No doubt a Madonna of Raphael is as glorious a wedlock of art and religion, as the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles. And of this that sect of English theologians, who are called "Oxford Papists," seem to have some notion. Keble is a poet; he looks for unity and harmony; he seeks to smooth down all religious differences by the sweet music of poetic reconciliation; not like some stern Calvinistic Northmen, whose religion blows like a sharp east wind, as if reason required to be killed eternally. But matters are mending. Even out of Presbyterianism George Staney has drawn poetry; witness those divine pictures!

—The fire is not the less hot within Hecla, because its outer rind is ice. What the sterner phase of Protestantism wants is not poetic fire, but the diffusion of that fire. Our tree is hung with fruit, but the fruit is not mellow. Our present may be hard to bear, but there is no fear of the future. Our pulpit shall certainly become less scholastic, our stage more sanctified.*

There are some men to whom what we have said on the sacred nature of the Greek stage may appear strange. These men find nothing but a low and degrading superstition in the ancient drama; and "mere fatality and blind chance" seems a very different thing from God. Alas for the narrow sympathies of those souls who can share in no worship beyond the four walls of their own conventicle!—Alas for the barren harvest of that eye which feeds continually on its own seeing, and on its neighbour's blindness! Were I to extract the whole of Christianity from an *Æschylean* chorus, what harm? Is the noonday light which I enjoy less precious because it once shone through the darkness? There are plants whose fruit is ambrosia, but whose root is poison; is the fruit the worse for that? But where is this theological poison of the Greek drama, and what ode celebrates the triumph of fatality and blind chance? Where is the human soul upon earth whose basest superstition is not inhabited by a divine soul of piety?—unless, perhaps, that poor brother of the kangaroo in New South Wales, who, if they tell true, believes in a devil only—not in a God. But the Greek tragedy is instinct with the profoundest and most genuine piety. And what they call fatality and chance is a mere imagination of the one-sided modern critics, borrowed from a one-sided contemplation of one section of the Greek tragedy, the *Labdacidan* story. Herodotus also speaks of chance, but it is a *θαια τυχη*, as he qualifies it, and merely another name for what we call special providence. And as to necessity, the tragedians never worship a God of this name, but they say in language, which any Christian might adopt,

* On the subject of the stage generally, and especially on its connection with religion both in ancient and modern times, the reader will find some admirable observations in the article of the *Edinburgh Review*, formerly quoted.

† We think the famous ode in the *Alcestis* to *Necessity* is a solitary example in the Greek drama; and it is only another way of saying "All men *must* die!" What Prometheus says again he says for himself, not for *Æschylus*. And if in any passage of ancient writers Jove is said to be inferior to Fate, it is always open to inquire, whether an *inward* or an *outward* Fate be intended.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τι ταῦτα θρηνῶ καὶ ματὴν οὐρομαι ;
 Τὰς γὰρ ἐκ ΘΕΩΝ ἀναγκὰς θνητὸν οὐτὰ δει φερεῖν.

That is to say, the divine decrees are unalterable, and we ought to submit to them with cheerful resignation. These lines are the last of the Phœnissæ ; and the prologue of the same play shows how little reason Blair (Lecture xlv.) had to complain of the influence of "mere fatality and blind chance" in the Labdacidan story.—

Μη σπείρε τέκνων ἀλοκα ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ βία—

"Do not sow the seed of children contrary to the will of the gods." So sounded the words of the oracle to Laius ; and is it not strange that a Christian divine should have found no theology here, but the atheism of blind chance, when his own faith is founded upon the ever-memorable denunciation—"In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die !" And as to the circumstance that Œdipus personally was innocent of any great crime, do people die in life or the drama merely because they are guilty ? And shall the punishment of sin be just even to the third and fourth generation in the mouth of Moses, and

αἰὼνα δ' ἐς τρίτον μὲνει

be unjust in the mouth of Æschylus ? But the fact is, that no stern iron necessity, but the slow-gathering storm of divine wrath for unrepented sin, hangs solemnly over the doomed ones of the Greek drama. So the chorus of the Eumenides expressly sets forth—

ἐς τὸ παν δε σοὶ λέγω
 βῶμον αἰδεσθαι Δίκας
 μῆδε νιν
 κερδὸς ἰδὼν ἀθεῶν ποδὶ λαῖξ
 ἀτίσης·
 ποῖνα γὰρ ἐπέσται·
 κυρίον μὲνει τέλος.*

No homily could be more clear. The Greek dramatists are truly far more express on this point than the moderns. Admire Hamlet who will ; then let him denounce the blind fatality of Œdipus if he dare.

The more profoundly indeed that we study the religion of profane antiquity the more clearly shall we comprehend that Christianity was not so much a new religion, as the blossom and crowning triumph of all previous religions—a consoling truth that makes the heart of a man expand, and the Divine particle within him leap for joy. So the Greek tragedy—the Æschylean in particular

teems every where with a half-developed Christianity. The whole play of the Seven against Thebes, for instance, is a practical commentary on the song of the Blessed Virgin, "He hath sheweth strength with His arm : He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts." It is a mistake to suppose that humility is a virtue peculiarly Christian. The only great Christian virtue which the Greek drama cannot comprehend is that divinest one—"Love thine enemy !" "To hate with one soul,"—*καὶ στυγεῖν μίᾳ φρενὶ*—was the maxim of ancient citizenship ; and no wonder. So speaks flesh and blood ; and we Christians, both priest and layman, have hitherto for the most part contented ourselves with *preaching* this *new* commandment ; the practice of it is very hard and presses too closely on the strongholds of the old Adam of selfishness. Nor even in the more unlikely region of theological doctrine is the Greek drama barren of the most pious lessons. The Polytheism of the Æschylean chants is a thing comparatively innocent ; even as the Roman Catholic religion in the head of an educated Roman Catholic is a very different thing from the same religion in the head of an ignorant and bigoted individual. The inferior deities of the Æschylean theology are only the viceroys of the one Eternal Sovereign of the Universe. Jove is the fountain of all divine energy : Pallas Athene is wise only because she inherits her father's wisdom (*καρτὰ δ' εἰμι τοῦ πατρὸς*). Apollo does not prophecy his own wisdom, but the wisdom of Jove—

(Δίος προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός)—

and from Jove comes the "sweet-speaking voice" (*ἀδυεπὲς φωνή*) of the Delphic oracle. Jove is the all powerful, the only free ; the eternal ruler (*αἰώνιος κρείων ἀπ᾽ ἀνστος*) : wise and the teacher of wisdom ; just and the avenger of injustice ; prayer-hearing and the protector of suppliants. There is in fact no attribute which Christian philosophy ascribes to God, that Æschylean poetry does not ascribe to Jove ; with this difference, however, that we boast to read the statute book of the law in stereotype ;—the Greeks were guided by the inward polarization of the heart only, or the loose fluttering Sibylline leaves of an uncertain mythic tradition.*

The Greek tragedy is not merely the musical and declamatory representation of a sacred history ; it is also, as we stated arti-

* "But chiefly I tell thee reverence the altar of Justice, nor, when gain tempts thee, venture to kick it with godless foot ; for punishment hangs over sin : the appointed end remains."

* Those who imagine we have overstated the value of Æschylean theology will read over the seven plays with *impartial* study ; and for the sake of easy reference and useful comment they may take along with them *Klausen's* valuable tract "*Theologumena Æschyli Tragici*." Berlin, 1829,

culately above, the theological development of a religious idea ; and the apprehending of this idea is often of far greater importance to the right estimate of the play than any criticism, however just, on character and incident. But the idea is not always to be found in a single play ; it is obscurely hinted at in the outset, and often only finds its full development in the final play of a series. Here the matter of the tragic *Trilogy* becomes of primary importance. It is impossible in this regard to separate the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoræ* from the *Eumenides* ; and the *Prometheus Bound* must remain a riddle to every reader who does not scheme out for himself a *Prometheus unbound*, to reconcile the religious discords of the piece. Happily this may now be done without losing ourselves in the transcendental wanderings of Percy Bysshe Shelley. The Germans have pioneered here, and opened a hopeful vista. On the *Trilogy* as applied to *Æschylus*, Professor Welcher of Bonn has written a somewhat fanciful, but not therefore to the wise a less edifying work.* Herr Gruppe also has justly devoted considerable space to this interesting subject ; and no student who wishes to penetrate beyond the surface of the *Æschylean* drama will neglect to make himself master of these luxuriant German speculations. Herrman, as usual, has brought his square university logic to bear against the fruitful poetry of the Welcher and Müller school. But fairy forms will not allow themselves to be fingered by every mathematical man who would plane down the rich garden of things into a chess-board. Welcher is a scholar with wings, and Herrman will have the learned world laugh solemnly at the capers of the mad bird ; when it were wiser and worthier in this generation of prose to thank God that there appears such a thing as a winged spirit at all.

There is one matter remains ; the matter of declamation ; but that is shortly discussed. Euripides is prominently remarkable for this characteristic : but *Æschylus* and *Sophocles* also are not free from it. The ease and variety of natural dialogue is altogether wanting in the measured solemnity of tragic phrase. This seems to have arisen from two causes. The dialogues were altogether wanting in the original drama of *Phrynichus* ; where there was only one speaker, formal recitation necessarily supplied its place. *Æschylus* introduced a second speaker : but it would have been quite contrary to the organic laws of poetic

development had we found in him a sudden leap from the formality of cothurnate declamation to the vivacity of natural converse. Accordingly his dialogue bears every where the stamp of its undramatic origin. What shall we say to the long narrations in the latter half of the *Prometheus* ? We behold here drama in its most infantine and imperfect state ; but one step above the monologue of *Phrynichus*. *Prometheus* discourses ; he does not talk : the action not only flags, as we say of a dull play, but there is no movement at all. In *Sophocles*, again, considerable point and pith of dialogue will often be found : witness the admirable parry and thrust between *Œdipus* and *Tiresias*. But even *Sophocles* is far from being free from long, formal, stilted expositions, that betray at every turn the incomplete and half-developed character of the Greek drama, when viewed strictly as drama. In such a state of things is it at all wonderful that Euripides was able without much offence to pass off for stage dialogue his formal law pleadings and philosophic argumentations ? But another cause was also at work in preserving to the Greek tragedy its measured and deliberate pace. The religious chant which composed the nucleus of every sacred drama, was, of course, in its own nature measured and solemn ; and good taste required that the character of the declamation should be in keeping with the character of the singing. Here again we see the influence of the chorus ; the solemn character of the ode passes into the dialogue ; and even in the human heroes of the Greek drama we seem in every move to hear, not the walk of a man, but the tread of a god.

In the preceding observations, from the vast extent of the subject, we have been compelled throughout to give hints rather than disquisitions, to allude rather than to expound, to give the results of observation rather than the facts observed. But what we have given, we have given as the fruit of much laborious study ; and perhaps the Greek student will not take it amiss, if we endeavour, in conclusion, to supply a few hints which may possibly be of use to him in prosecuting his private researches on this subject. Greek is now out of fashion ; and there are many reasons why it should be so : it remains, however, indisputably true, that next to our native treasures, no foreign literature will yield such a rich mine of poetry as the Greek. The drama, in particular, for its thorough nationality, its lyrical luxuriance, its moral purity, its religious dignity, is unexampled in the history of the human mind. No lover of poetry will grudge twelve months of his most vigorous

* Die *Æschyleische Trilogies* Darmstadt, 1824.

youth to the study of the Greek language. In twelve months, however, the business should be done :* and if it now occupies as many years, and the fruit produced nevertheless is meagre and dry, the uninitiated seem perfectly justified in estimating the profit as far beneath the outlay ; for it certainly does seem a strange thing that men should spend twenty years in learning that Plato was a great philosopher, and yet sell their souls, like unlearned men, to Jeremy Bentham, and the great goddess Utilitaria after all. With like practical consistency we spell out the choral chants of Æschylus, and we append learned titles to our names to show that we have done so. But what becomes of choral singing in our families, in our public assemblies, in our sacred congregations ? Does it not seem a much wiser thing to sing English choruses in our schools than to read Greek ones ? The uninitiated ask these questions, and they are entitled to ask them.

The great error seems to be that we go to Oxford for Greek instead of to Athens ; we hold pedantic converse with the dead, when we should enter into bonds of fraternity with the living. Greek is not a dead language ; any newspaper printed in Athens or Nauplia will prove that. Why then do we study it as a dead language ? Why do we spell a thing painfully after six years' study, which we might learn to speak fluently in six months ? If the student is wise he will not confine himself to Oxford. Next to a residence in Athens, a semestre of a German University—Berlin, Göttingen, or Munich—will prove of the greatest advantage to the student. He will find an inspiration in the presence of Böckh, Müller, and Thiersch, which does not breathe forth from the arid atmosphere where Burney is praised and Porson worshipped ; and where conjectural criticism is trumpeted as the sole end and aim of Greeks, and Greek as the sole end and aim of human nature. Conjectural criticism truly ! not merely “ pots to mend !” as Whewell says ; for unless it be mended the pot will hold no broth :—but an useless and unprofitable disfigurement of ancient pictures by officious and conceited modern restorators—the ceremonial service of a superstitious devotee, who stitches away with minute diligence at the petticoat of the Virgin Mary, and boasts thereby to be doing God and humanity good service. Of all things the Greek student will most carefully avoid the barren puerili-

ties of the Porsonian school ; the pedantic jargon of Iambus and Trochee, monotonously doled out by men who have no music in their ear, and no poetry in their soul. Better to abstain from Greek altogether than to become either buyer or seller in the scholastic retail trade of syllabic technicalities ; perform idol worship to the skin of a “ dead vocable ;” and lose sight of the noblest ends in the pragmatistical fingering of the puniest means.

With regard to the Greek drama, in particular, the student will find six aids of especial importance : some of them indeed altogether indispensable.

1. The study of life and nature.
2. The study of English drama.
3. The study of music—modern opera and oratorio ; and Böckh's Pindaric discourses.
4. The study of ancient art, as suggested by Schlegel.
5. The study of ancient religion and mythology.
6. The German critics.

On these things we cannot at present afford to enlarge. Their propriety will be manifested to the slightest reflection. Only on the last point we shall allow ourselves a few words. We attach the greatest importance to the study of the German critics ; not because these writers are altogether free from puerile fancies, and sublime observations ; but because they are always rich in those qualities of mind, of which our native criticism (in this department at least) is peculiarly barren—imagination, ingenuity, and enthusiasm. From the Greek critics little is to be got ; from the French less. Aristotle was a philosopher ; a square scientific man. No person can read his poetry without disappointment. We do not here speak of its fragmentary character ; but of its whole style and tone. It is a criticism of the mere understanding ; it is entirely destitute of poetical sympathy ; it dissects and lays bare one scientific idea, but does not recreate and reorganize the whole poetic vegetation ; it sees nothing but *πλοκή, περιπέτεια, and αναγνωρισμός* in the drama ; precisely that for which it is least remarkable. But Aristotle was a Greek ; and not only a Greek but an ancient ; he could not see the wood, as the German proverb says, for very trees. The French critics will amuse more than they will edify : all that they could say about the Prometheus was, that they held the plot was “ monstrous.” And yet so barren were we of native intellect that these men were our guides in classical belles-lettres more than half a century, till Schlegel

* “ We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in *scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek* as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.”—Milton, letter to Hartlib.

wakened us out of our dreams ; and along with Wilson, Carlyle, and other free and generous spirits, exercised a most beneficial influence on the critical literature of this country. He helped to banish the prior cant of "patronizing criticism ;" and lowered the factitious importance of the small kid-glove men who measured the giants of nature's growth as tailors measure kings, by externalities only. The criticism of reverential sympathy—the alone positive, the alone profitable—now lifted up its voice. Exaggeration and mystification were of course here and there its concomitants. When a ditcher digs, bubbles will come out of the earth, but he does not dig for bubbles. Profitable work was done ; men sought with humble inquiry to ascertain what things are, not with vain pretence of dictatorial wisdom to tell us what things are not ; Schlegel was triumphant in all the reviews ; and not in the reviews only ; but into the *cramming* books of the Oxonians also he came, and seemed nearly as important a person as Porson ; the sentence about the Niobe and the Laocoon was hawked about small periodicals and young men's essays, as frequently as Rory O'More is whistled through the street ; Aristophanes was no longer a buffoon ; and professor Scholefield, in Cambridge, expounded *Æschylus*.

The great merit of Schlegel was that with a decided and fearless front he beat down the strongholds of the French dynasty ; and revindicated to nature, earnestness, vigour, and fire, their rightful empire over refinement, trickery, elegance and correctness. A courtly lie was no longer to be preferred to a plebeian truth ; and this is the essence of all good criticism. In Germany Schlegel had been preceded by Lessing—the only man, says Menzel, among an age of women. But here when Schlegel came amongst us in 1826, the age of women was not yet extinct ; our classical criticism was almost a blank ; and to twirl on the finger ends a few crisped sentences on a Greek tragedy, was naturally the exclusive monopoly of classical prigs ; sound and substantial men had something more useful to do. To Schlegel we owe almost every thing that our classical criticism is or attempts to be. It is the part of national gratitude to acknowledge the obligation.

What now has Herr Gruppe done that may be regarded as solid gain, after the notable labours of his meritorious predecessor ? The first thing that strikes us here is that in all main points and general views he completely coincides with Schlegel. The same enthusiastic admiration of Sophocles, the same cheap estimate of Euripides, is

everywhere visible, and may be said indeed to constitute the soul of his criticism. *Æschylus* he seems somewhat to depreciate, but only *seems* ; he is evidently writing partly with the view of counteracting the influence of that one-sided partiality for *Æschylus* which characterised the late ingenious labours of Professor Welcher. Bating this, his estimate of the father of tragedy will not be found to differ materially from Schlegel's. It is in the more curious and comprehensive illustration of detail that we are to seek for the peculiar excellences of Gruppe's book : and here we find him a real treasure. Schlegel could give only the most general views ; he was lecturing not on the Greek tragedy, but on drama generally : some slips of judgment in matters of detail were scarcely to be avoided on this extensive theme ; and in these matters Herr Gruppe, with a somewhat ostentatious zeal, but at the same time with the handling of perfect mastership, is never slow to set him right. We may instance the two Euripidean plays, *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Rhesus* ; both of which Schlegel had unworthily criticized, but which have received a full and triumphant vindication from our new critic. If on these and on other occasions, not Schlegel only, but Herrman also is somewhat severely handled, they have themselves to thank. Herrman has uniformly spoken the language of scholastic dictatorship ; and Schlegel, always too legislative, has of late exhibited himself publicly as a coxcomb and a gasconader. The one character might have passed with a smile, the other deserves the lash. To the student, however, the book is all the better for this spice of polemical severity ; the clash of opinions stirs his energies, and forces him to form an independent judgment.

Gruppe is in all things a thorough German ; and herein the great excellence of his book lies. The Germans are born critics. Their literature, by a process the reverse of what history generally presents, was founded on criticism. Lessing was a critic ; Herder was a critic ; Göthe was a critic. But the criticism of the Germans is not the barren work of the understanding. Perfect reproduction of the lost Beautiful, and perfect reverential sympathy with it when reproduced, is the ambitious mark of its activity. It is a thing essentially vital ; essentially creative. It collects and orders the scattered dry bones of antiquity, and breathes into them the breath of life. It is poetry, but poetry working on nature mediately only, through books. It is based on learning and inspired by enthusiasm ; it demands imagination to re-create, ingenuity to invent and

supply, a free fancy to revel joyfully in the thing re-created. It has no kinship with the barren, arid formalism of the Porsonian school; it is a thing peculiarly German; a plant which grows naturally, and healthily, and lustily only on German ground. Let this be examined into quietly, and it will be found to be the case. The Germans are the proper priests of literature; we need not be chary to allow them this merit; so long at least as we can boast more gods, and the one supreme Shakspeare, before whom Göthe, like our own Byron, wisely trembled.* But being priests, the Germans may be truly said to be indispensable to all who seek to join generally in the public worship of literature. Let us confess it honestly—a great part of our best criticism at the present day is only an echo from Germany; an echo sometimes indeed waning louder and more solemn, like thunder among the hills, but sometimes, also, as unlike the original impulse as the prattle of a child to the deep-mouthed utterance of an oracle. Coleridge is a German, Carlyle is a German, Wilson also is a German, though unconsciously; the Oxonians do nothing at this present moment but translate German; and even the newspapers quote Jean Paul Richter.

We cannot more fitly conclude these hasty observations than by adding from Gruppe a passage, where he brings out strongly the general poetical worth of the Greek drama, and specially its connection with ancient popular poetry; and compares both with the less perfect development of *national* literature in modern times.

"I seem to discover two great steps in the development of Greek poetry, the nature and relative position of which has hitherto been very superficially considered. The product of the first is the Homeric ballads, and was rounded into completeness by the *διασκευαται* of Pisistratus. But contemporaneously with this stable record of tradition, I recognize the existence of a luxuriant many-branched tree of popular fables growing up and cherished in the bosom of the people—the circle of cyclic poetry. Part of this poetry also is prematurely committed to writing; but petrification does not follow, as in modern times has so generally been the effect of printing popular legends. The free vitality remains, and the rich mythic materials find their rhapsodists in the tragedians, and their Homer in Sophocles. The Greek tragedy grew out of the immense circulating mass of mythics, as naturally as Homer grew out of the Iliadic and Odyssean le-

gends; the architecture is perfectly homogeneous—colonnade piled upon colonnade.

"This organic completeness, indeed, this fair and perfect growth of the national vitality, is that characteristic of the Greek poetry which will make it interesting to cultivated minds as long as men live to take an interest in the spiritual development of men. We have here two perfect chains of popular poetry, springing out of the same mythic bed, each advancing in its own separate line of unbroken energy to the culminating point of perfect organization; the history of literature presents nothing to compare with this. The great Greek poets do not stand isolated and alone, like our modern writers; the bonds of popular sympathy have not been unloosed; Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, stand in essential organic relation to each other; in this connection alone can they be estimated or enjoyed. Never since the Greek times has poetry received such a full, free and uniform development. Neither stunted in any limb, nor starved in the general quality, we behold here a full-grown pattern specimen of poetry, an example to all ages of perfect poetical propriety.

"Our own Niebelungen presents us with a modern repetition of the Homeric poems; and the Book of Heroes may be looked upon as the cyclic poetry belonging thereto; but out of these elements no German drama has arisen—a few story plays of popular theme, by this or that isolated writer, do not compose a national theatre. Even out of the memory of the people these fables have now for the most part vanished. To drag them out of oblivion with learned preparation will now avail nothing. The most national poet would come too late to re-animate the popular poetry of Germany. Besides, no national poetry was ever created by a leap; Sophocles worked upon Æschylus, and Æschylus upon Phrynichus; with us every one must strive after originality, and work out of himself.

"In England, however, I see something analogous. Shakspeare, like Sophocles, stands at the head of a line of popular poetry, neither so long, nor so rich, nor so unbroken as the Greek, but still national. Into his hands the legends of far centuries travelled; some of them even came through the hands of previous dramatists; forming a perfect analogy to the course of Greek poetry; as in Lear, Measure for Measure, the Merchant of Venice, the Taming of the Shrew, &c.; and in the most he had Italian novels and curiously constructed tales to weave from. However many singularities and excrescences he exhibits, we may still trace in him that inward organization and rounding so characteristic of popular poetry. Shakspeare is indebted for these advantages to the circumstance that England was less harsh and bitter in her religious views than other kingdoms of Europe. The religion of the Elizabethan age could tolerate poetry. We Germans suffered first from the rigorism of the Protestant Reformers, then from the keen

* See Göthe's confessions on this subject in Eckermann's *Gesprächen*, Foreign Quarterly Review, October, 1836. To compare Göthe to Shakspeare, is to compare a garden to the world.

edge of the thirty years' war; we were cut off violently from all connection with the inexhaustible riches of popular poetry. To the evil influence of theological strife, the pedantry of what is called classical learning was added. We have been studying Greek for three centuries only to learn at this time of day, that while the letter of Greek erudition has been nursed with most curious care, the spirit of Greek poetry lying at our feet has been systematically trampled on, and has now perished in one branch beyond redemption."—*Ariadne*, p. 654.

ART. II.—Schubert: *Reise im Morgenland, in den Jahren 1836 und 1837*. (Travels in the East, in 1836 and 1837.) 2 Vols. Leipsic, 1839. With an Atlas of Illustrations.

FEW of those who remember the publication of Chateaubriand's "Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem" have forgotten the sensation it produced, by laying before the public eye those lands of history, romance, and fable, which, once the terror and aversion of Europe, had since become the superstitious wonder of the vulgar, and a long desired field for literary enterprize. The tribe of tourists that followed, with their tales of personal peril and their national peculiarities, contributed towards keeping up the interest their talented precursor had awakened: earlier travellers had only for a time excited attention from the learned. Those times are past, and with them much of the danger and novelty of oriental travel. The wonders of nature and art which adorn these interesting regions have proved so fruitful a theme, that even the details have too often become insipid from repetition. We select, however, on this subject, an author of well-known literary attainments, nor can it be denied that the work before us is by far the most interesting and important he has produced. Dr. Schubert is a gentleman both in spirit and language, and the perspicuity and elasticity pervading the work must raise the author to a tolerable rank among the tourists of his day. He possesses one important advantage even over Chateaubriand, viz.—a thorough knowledge of natural history.

Hence arise a force and brilliance in his description of scenery, of atmospheric or celestial phenomena; and which, joined with active incident and humorous anecdote, preserve untiring the interest of the work. There is another striking feature in the book before us, which it shares with the "Itinéraire

de Paris," namely, pious and exalted Christian sentiment; but in this the author is inferior to Chateaubriand, as the copy to the original. The images of the latter have a lofty if not sublime character, which assimilates them to the words of the prophets, while the thoughts of Dr. Schubert belong to the species which has sprung up so recently in Bavaria, and threatened to spread over Germany, in opposition to the sentiments of the northern or Protestant districts. How it happens that Bavaria has constituted herself the centre of such catholic propagandism is foreign to our purpose; but we must do our author the justice to say that he has not interfered with this or any other essentially political question, except perhaps where he most obsequiously flatters the Austrian government, which is supposed to be at the bottom of this movement.

M. Schubert's work is dedicated to the Queen of Bavaria, and a voluminous introduction follows, occupying thirty-four pages with utter uselessness. It is entitled "Whither wilt thou go?" and consists of certain juvenile dreams, or inspirations as the author would call them, which might be interesting from Shakspeare or Byron, but are insipid and irrelevant in a star of so much less magnitude. We should, however, act unjustly towards the author were we to say much about his *Einleitung*—for the simple reason that we have not read it, which we apprehend will be its fate with most English readers.

In the beginning of this tour we are informed of what may assist us in understanding some parts of the work, that Dr. Schubert was in his fifty-seventh year when he undertook the journey, and that he was accompanied by his wife, a draughtsman, and two young scientific friends, of whom we may not have occasion to speak hereafter, invading as they do with their mineralogical hammers even the rock of the mystic Horeb and Sinai.

But it is time to relinquish these general remarks, and bring the writer forward in his own person.

At page 44 occurs a good description of the author's feelings whilst travelling through Bavaria. It seemed as though the body only, and not the mind, was journeying towards the holy east; nor was it till he arrived in the environs of Enns (in Austria) that the latter also became engaged in the enterprise, and accepted the conviction that its ardent longings were about to be accomplished.

"Perhaps," he says, "the elements of this desire lie in the historical interest of the spot. Here existed that ancient nursery of the Christian faith, which even in the first century was illuminated by the dawn of a spi-

ritual day, while the countries around were buried in the deepest night. Here stood the Roman Laureacum (Lorch) which received the feet of the messengers of salvation even in the second century, which the inspired Bishop Maximilian filled with the word of life, and where the Christian warrior and hero Florian found in the waters of the Enns, the death of a martyr."

Our next extract is a description of the scenery in these regions.

"The country from its rich plantations of fruit trees resembles a large and beautiful garden. In the afternoon at Stienberg we were all powerfully struck with the solemn beauty of the surrounding landscape, and the quiet loveliness of the autumnal day; the distant peaks of the Styrian Alps, covered with new fallen snow and glittering in the setting sun, the refreshing breeze that waved the luxuriant foliage, and far and near the mellow notes of the evening bells, seemed like harbingers not only of the day of rest which the morrow would bring forth, but of the approach of that land which had given to us our corporeal and spiritual Sabbath."

In Vienna the author amused himself with inspecting the spots which have become memorable by the repulse of the Turks in that city; but we pass on to notice one of those adulatory passages alluded to in our earlier remarks, and it certainly is singularly characteristic of the present state of Germany, that a Bavarian of some rank, like Dr. Schubert, should be extolling (even in his own country) not the services rendered him by the diplomatists of his own monarch, but those of a foreign prince. The passage is as follows: "The powerful effect of these introductions and recommendations, which were given me by the chancellerie of state of his Highness Prince Metternich, taught me that the great and comprehensive mind of this statesman is capable of combining the care of the general good with that of the individual; and that while he strives to guide the powerful stream for the welfare of his country, a poor little rivulet is not beneath his assistance."

The journey from Vienna down the Danube in a steamer affords the traveller few objects of importance; but the following description of the Castle of Vissegrad is worthy of notice. "In the afternoon the thunder clouds like mountains towered over the forest of Bakony, whilst the sun in his progress above them illuminated the antique structure of the triangular Castle of Vissegrad (Plenteswurg) in which the noble Matthias Corvinus passed a time of joyful repose in the company of our great countryman, the astronomer Regiomontanus." This latter name is of the more importance at present

from the prominent place it occupies in the life of Columbus, adverted to in M. D'Humbolt's *Examen critique sur la Geographie du Nouveau Continent*. The country about old Orsova and the baths of Hercules near Mehadia is interesting on account of the classical recollections they awaken, and the description of our author evinces the clear and precise investigation of a naturalist. "A wooden bridge crosses the little rivulet of Jardedizka, which is rich in trout and other fish; then appear those ancient and seemingly immutable trenches said to be the commencement of a Roman aqueduct; next the fertile though rock-bound valley of Mehadia with its handsome buildings and romantic scenery invites the traveller to a lengthened stay. Here are the first traces of the baths of Hercules; and although the surrounding country may want the charms of the gardens of the Hesperides, it bears abundant marks of the force of the patron demi-god. Wild heaps of fallen mountains, torn from their places by the waters of the Czerna, are strewed about the meadows, as though the hero had commenced but not completed the task of clearance; or as if some vast deluge had received from these rocks a momentary check, till gathering strength from opposition, the invading flood had forced them before it and scattered them in its way." Mehadia, a township of about 1500 souls, lies on the left bank of the Bella Laka on the site of the Roman *Ad Mediam*.

On the Temples of Hercules and Esculapius which existed here some centuries ago, were found inscriptions which proved that the baths of Hercules were known to the Romans and much esteemed for their healing qualities. They are situated about forty minutes' walk from the township, on the rocky banks of the Czerna. Large masses of granite cross the bed of the river, especially on the right, and form rocks in the higher ground; from the fissures in these proceed the vapours which, condensed in the upper part of the mountain over beds of granite, marlschist, and a compact grey chalk, form the springs that supply the salubrious baths. There are twenty-two springs in all, and their presence is announced to the traveller by the smell of sulphuretted hydrogen, which has been compared to the effluvia of putrid eggs. The quantity of heated water thus supplied is considered inferior only to a few of the springs of Iceland. Zimmermann has calculated exactly the quantity of water produced by nine of these springs, and found it to be on an average 6525 cubic feet in the hour, or one-half more than all the aqueducts of Paris conveyed to that capital.

"We walked along the verdant meadows which border the river Czerna, or under the shadowy roof of the forest up to the cataract. On the green turf and in the shadow of the shrubbery the *crocus speciosus* appeared with its modest blossom: the vine in a wild state is not uncommon on the borders of the forest, and the fig-tree is seen near the spring of Hercules growing in the open air: a singular proof of the mildness of the climate. Among the birds we fancied we heard that poetic inhabitant of the East the wild cooing-dove (*columba risoria*)."

This is a fair specimen of the style of our author, surrounded as he proceeds on his journey with classical and historical recollections, and seizing every interesting and characteristic feature with some feeling and judgment. But the East affords scenes and incidents more striking and important.

At length the author finds himself on the Black Sea, surrounded by the waves of the Bosphorus:

"The impetuosity of the stream of the Danube at its entrance into the Black Sea is so great as to carry the current of fresh water to the distance of three miles and a half due east from the mouth of the river; as may be discovered by the taste. Steering south we soon lost this companionship, and entered at once the vast domains of the Black Sea. It is remarkable that even in calm weather the waves of this immense expanse of water rise to a considerable height: this arises from its being the point where the high peaks of the Caucasus on the east, the girding mountains of Hæmus and Olympus on the south, and the sloping plains of the countries of the Danube on the west and north, finally commerge, and by the powerful contrast of plains and mountains keep the atmosphere in a perpetual excitement; the Black Sea being on a great scale what the squares in front of one of our lofty domes is on a small one, that is, the focus of a constant fluctuation of wind and weather. The mind of the wanderer is moved like the waters round him when he finds himself for the first time in the vicinity of the stage that witnessed the deeds of the youth of mankind; there in the east arose the Sun of the second cosmic day (*zweiten Weltages*) of history, and there in the distant south it reached the meridian zenith."

Dr. Schubert often descends to observations and remarks that bear the stamp of his usual quaint acuteness.

"The next morning most of us tried in vain to rise from our beds to cast our longing eyes towards that spot on the western coast where Tomi, the ancient capital of Scythia Minor, was situated, and where the banished Ovid sung the pains of expatriation. We had been seized with that affection

which resembles death without ever producing it; that disease in which we feel oversatiated without having tasted food, tired to death without having walked, and intensely active even in repose. It seems as if we were no more ourselves, but the tossing ship; the brain seems fastened to the top of the mast; and in lieu of thoughts, the rattling wheels and cracking engines have taken possession of the head, and deprived it of all power to keep itself erect. In this state we passed the fine day of the first of October."

The author gives a detailed account of Constantinople; we forbear to insert it, but lay before our readers the following description of Stamboul while ravaged by that Oriental scourge, the plague.

"In spite of the clamour of the violin and the yelling song of the gypsies resounding through the streets of Galata, it did not prevent the appearance of a goddess who could be prompted by such music to dance and merriment. A protracted drought, emaciating for months past the countries on both sides of the Bosphorus, had strewn ashes upon the head of the queen of Turkish towns; the plague had appeared in the interior with a violence unknown for many years, and a severe conflagration had lately consumed some of the most showy streets. Whilst we were in Pera a fire broke out in some of the miserable Turkish huts situated on the south-easterly slopes towards the Arsenal, and we were only saved from the impending danger by the resolution of some Franks who came to our assistance. If we walked towards the sea through the grove of cypresses near the Turkish cemeteries, we were sure to meet the porters bearing away the dead in hair-blankets, and the harbour was full of small boats loaded with coffins and biers. Beyond the town near the shore towards Daud Pascha the graves of Moslemite saints were covered with pieces of cloth or rags from the body or bed of persons about to die; by this custom, as dangerous as it is disgusting, this people hope to obtain an amelioration of the disease. In all the streets and bazaars of the town the Franks might be seen wrapped in oiled silk, and carrying long sticks with which they hoped to avoid contact with the Turks; and when you entered the house of a Frank, or returned home after a walk in the town, you were shut up in a chest like a cupboard, which had only a small aperture for breathing, and fumigated to suffocation by a basin of coals placed at your feet."

From Constantinople, our traveller continued his voyage to Smyrna, a country equally interesting to the antiquarian, the naturalist, and the historian; we shall therefore extract his description of the locality of the primitive churches of Asia.

"A visit to some of the seven communities of Asia Minor, to which the Epistles of the Apocalypse are directed, was from the first one of the favourite plans of our pilgrimage; and we had determined to proceed from Constantinople to Brussa, and thence through Pergamus and Thyatira to Smyrna; but before I say anything of our visit to these localities it may be well to give a slight general survey of a country so replete with the memorials of infant Christianity. The fertile villages in the vicinity of Smyrna were the principal seats of these communities; among them, Hermes and Mæander stand pre-eminent; the former is now called Sarabat, and is situated north of Smyrna, and the latter, now called Meinder, lies to the south of the same peninsula. But in this ill-fated land not only the hand of man, but the power of nature has also contributed to remove the memorials of the past. The once sonorous spring of Marsyas in the midst of ancient Celæne, and which formerly flowed near the castle and park of Cyrus, has formed a different track, through the rock; and this probably as far back as the earthquake of Mithridates. The more recent Apamea, now called Dinare, and built by Antiochus Soter, near the town of Celæne, dismantled by repeated earthquakes and Turkish invasions, is now scarcely distinguishable; and, in short, the ruins of one church and a number of Christian sepulchres, are almost the only relics which time and violence have spared. The church with its adjacent burying-place is situated on a mountain, which is represented by traditions founded on Sybilline verse, as the Ararat of the Noachic flood.* The city of Ephesus, properly so called, is divided from Ajasluk by a fertile plain intersected by dykes. The pavement and quays once destined for the loading of ships prove that the bay, now encumbered by sand and soil, was at one time navigable up to the town; but the shores of the sea have been pushed backwards for above two miles, and the structures and harbours of Ephesus are for the most part buried in sand.

"We rested for awhile in the proscenium of the great theatre, and recalled the time when the now deserted and silent space had echoed to that shout of excited thousands, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' Opposite, or perhaps by the harbour, stood the temple of the goddess; that deity whom all Asia, nay all the ancient world, had worshipped; that temple which had won from mankind admiration and wonder. Now no knee is found to bow before the majesty of the goddess; the very site of her temple is doubtful; but He whose disciple was persecuted in that theatre is worshipped as the salvation and the solace of man. A voice of conviction from within rose to our lips and said, 'He will never change.' The wind vibrated through the ruined walls, and moan-

ed through the deserted town; it seemed as though the voices of the dead had answered 'Amen.'"—p. 301.

From Smyrna our traveller took shipping for Alexandria. He was informed by the captain of the vessel in which he sailed, that there would be only thirty passengers, including his own party; this seemed quite sufficient for so small a craft; but he found too late the worthy seaman had omitted to mention that one hundred extra passengers were to accompany the aforesaid thirty in the same vessel. "Sweet are the uses of adversity," and the doctor found the crowded ship a favourable opportunity for studying the character of the Turkish hadshis or pilgrims who constituted the principal part of his fellow-passengers. After sufferings grievous to one so unused to hardships, the traveller arrived in Egypt, the land of mystery and primeval knowledge, the land of Moses, Plato, and Herodotus, now the goal of idle rambles and would-be sentimentalists. When the party landed it was about Christmas, which is considered a favourable time for travelling, as being the finest part of the Egyptian spring; and in consequence the stranger becomes inured to the climate, before the intense and dangerous heat of the summer months. The doctor indulges in a long description of the appearance of the country during his journey up the Nile, as well as the effect produced by the call to prayer from the minarets. We shall pass over these, and bring him at once to Cairo. Mehemet Ali has made himself of late so important to the European powers, that, politically speaking, his kingdom has become, in a manner, a part of the European conclave. We give the Doctor's account of his visit to the court.

"As early as the third day after my arrival in Cairo, I was summoned to an audience at the Viceroy's, to whom I had been very kindly recommended by the Austrian consul. It was yet the time of the Ramadan, and the hour appointed was eight o'clock. Accompanied by the Austrian consul and my friend Mr. Lieder, we rode through the city with a portly Janissary, as a sort of protection to our little cavalcade, and a number of servants bearing flambeaux walked by our sides. This was the first time I had seen the town, except by daylight, and I could scarcely be said to see it now, for it was in a state of total darkness till within a short distance of the palace, where it was lighted by lanthorns and pans of burning pitch. The squares and gates, as well as the staircase leading to the palace, were brilliantly illuminated. As we entered, was heard a cheerful song performed by a chorus of manly voices. I imagined there must be a

* Compare Arundel, Discoveries in Asia Minor, vol. p. i. 208, et seq.; Bochart, Sac. Geograph.

concert; but it turned out to be the song of the Life Guards, which they sing at the prayer Esche, or the time when darkness has set in.

"It happened that I had chosen for this audience an especially important day. The Islamite clergy of Cairo, muftis and ulemas, as well as the other superiors of sects and clerical orders, were sitting in the great antechamber, about to make the Viceroy the visit of the Ramadan. In the saloon there were several Arabs and Turks of distinction, intermixed with Franks in Oriental dresses. A deputation from Mecca was also there; they might be distinguished by their yellow faces and high turbans, and, as my friend remarked, by the atrociously contemptuous glances which they cast upon our party. There was moreover an ambassador from the Sultan, who, at the time we arrived, was engaged in a private interview with the Viceroy, at which not even the interpreter in ordinary was present.

"This important interview having terminated, the Turkish ambassador appeared, surrounded by his own suite, and escorted by a crowd of high officers. The private physician then went to his Highness for a few minutes, after which the deputation from Mecca received a short audience, and the high clergy of the city a still shorter one. Much ceremony was observed, and I remarked that the clergy were saluted most respectfully by the courtiers and soldiers as they passed.

"After a short pause we were conducted by Austin Bey, the interpreter, to the audience room of his Highness. He was seated to the right in a corner of the saloon upon a splendid divan; next to him in the same corner, but upon the divan of the other side or wall, the seat of honour was assigned to me. The fine Oriental greeting of the Viceroy, 'Praise be to God for thy happy arrival,' was translated by Austin Bey into French, by, 'His highness rejoices at your happy arrival in Cairo,'—and thus, I was afterwards informed, he mutilated the whole conversation. Mehemet Ali is a well-formed hale old man, with piercing glittering eyes: his countenance expresses not only conscious authority, but that moral power which talent and unconquerable resolution impart. I thought much of what I had heard and read of him, but his countenance seemed to say, 'You see the plough which cuts the furrows, but not the power that moves it.' We were scarcely seated when a page presented to us a tumbler of fresh water, with several preserved fruits on a splendid dish; another handed us the long pipe, upon the tobacco of which a glowing coal was placed. The bowl was supported by a small pedestal to save the valuable carpets. The large amber mouth-piece of the pipe I received was richly ornamented with diamonds, and the tube covered with other jewellery; so much so, that I was informed by Mr. Champion that its value was about 8000 dollars; the Pasha has pipes of still greater value.

Whilst these civilities were going on, his highness made honourable mention of our king Louis of Bavaria, and as the contents of the European papers are regularly communicated to him, he seemed pretty well acquainted with what was passing. He knew that we had a rail-road in Bavaria, which, however, he seemed to consider more extensive than it really is, and that a canal was in progress to connect the Danube and the Rhine: and he told me that he also intended to construct a rail-way and an extensive canal. He was farther aware of the magnificent buildings lately erected in Bavaria, and asked me whether I had seen the works of the new Mosque he was building near his palace. He asked me the age of our king; and when he heard his majesty was still in the prime of life, and had lately visited Greece and Asia Minor, he expressed a wish of seeing that monarch at Cairo, which he said surpassed Smyrna in beauty. I could not perceive the slightest lassitude either in the appearance or manner of the Viceroy, although he had rigidly kept the fast of the Ramadan through the whole day, and had been engaged four hours in giving audience to his ministers, and subsequently to the foreign ambassadors."

We have had occasion to notice before that though Dr. Schubert is not a professed antiquary, he is keenly sensible to the feelings which the remains of former days inspire; and his work abounds with notices and descriptions of localities bearing an historical interest; but instead of filling it with dry and technical details, interesting only to one class of readers, he makes it agreeable to all by intelligent research in every science, by the poetry of his scenic descriptions, and by the quaint and pleasant style of his general remarks. His description of the far-famed Sphynx will be interesting to all, while it might satisfy the cravings of any but the antiquary.

"We stopped at the immense image of the Sphynx, whose size, compared with the human body, is as the palm to the rush: it is situated in the vicinity of the great Pyramid, but compared with this primæval work of Memphitic greatness, appears only like a subordinate servant; it is also the youngest of them, having been hewn out of the rock by command of Totmes the Fourth, who reigned only 1446 years B.C. The face of the mighty ruin has been mutilated by the barbarism of succeeding ages; the nose is completely gone, having been formed probably of a different material, and attached to the head by a groove, which is still visible. The rock underneath its neck has suffered from the influence of the weather; and of the altar and entablature found between the fore legs of the Lion, not a vestige remains, the sand of the desert having filled up every excavation. If there be any sepulchral

caves in or below the Sphynx, the entrance to them must be by cavities hidden at a great depth, for no aperture is visible either in the image or in the surrounding rocks."

We pass over the author's description of the great Pyramid, as well as some ingenious remarks which accompany it, and bring him at once to his journey through the desert. Chateaubriand observes that "St. Jerome was a man for whom nothing but Rome or the Desert was adequate;" and we must pay our author the compliment to say that he seems never more at home than in this last and trying situation. The reader must not expect any harrowing adventures or hair-breadth escapes; the desert through which his party had to pass is, compared with some others, safe and easy of access. National character, moreover, is not a quality thrown aside with the dress, and accordingly, among novel and interesting descriptions of scenery and incident, we find a pretty regular report of the daily meals. With the exception of a few roughings, our South-German has not forgotten the comforts of life, and has made himself, as we said before, perfectly at home.

"As the diurnal course of the camel resembles that of the sun in uniformity and duration, so the two indispensable attendants of the desert assimilate in the perfect silence of their movements; to avoid collision the camels march in a single straight line with a considerable interval between each, so that conversation is out of the question; and thus we proceeded on our way in a silence by no means inimical to the feelings inspired by the scene. Every traveller, however willing to pay for alimentary comforts, finds himself here circumscribed to mere nutrition. Our food consisted of the ship's biscuits and hard Arabian bread, which we had brought with us for the first meal, and rice boiled in water for the second, or dinner which was eaten in the evening. We had also a little coffee without milk for breakfast, and occasionally, but very rarely, our rice was seasoned by the addition of dried fruit, and still more rarely by the flesh of goats or mutton, which always converted the meal into a festival. Water, sometimes mixed with date raki, constituted our beverage; and if the eye was insensible to the slime and other impurities, and the palate to the bitter salts with which it was impregnated, it received the same relish from the burning thirst which hunger communicated to the simple food. As, generally speaking, a place where there was a little vegetation was selected for our evening's rest, the rambling from one solitary mimosa tree to another afforded in the last hours of the day the same amusement which under other circumstances would have been derived from inspecting a beautiful botanic garden. Our sleep, notwithstanding the hardness of our couch, was as light as the

covering which surrounded our bodies; and the first lowing of the camels, anxious for the untying of their compressed joints, never failed to awaken us to the renewal of our journey. At times a bird which had its dwelling in the prickly gum-tree would sing the reflex of the glory of the Lord, the returning light which reflected itself in the dew; or else the note of the swift Arabian grouse would sound from some adjacent rock; and while the caravan was in motion several of us who were fond of singing accompanied the tread of the camels with the sound of our voices."

We hasten to the conclusion of our author's ardent aspirations, the vicinity of Palestine.

"It is scarcely necessary for me to state the first object of my attention after my arrival at the Convent of Sinai. The old prior, venerable from the spirit of love, conducted me to the church, situated, if tradition may be trusted, on the spot where Moses beheld the flaming bush and received the heavenly commission. There was no need for the imploring glance which the old man cast upon me as he bared his feet, for I had already recalled the words which had issued from that place, 'Take thy shoes from off thy feet, for the spot whereon thou standest is holy ground.' How long I remained kneeling in the dimness of the chapel I cannot tell; it seemed like a resting of the soul after its many years of wandering, and tears may be shed, which speak not eternal suffering, but the joy of Heaven. I conceive that every traveller who ascends Mount Sinai, and enjoys as we did the prospect from its summit, will acknowledge that no other view in the world will bear the comparison. On three sides may be seen the ever-varying sea which surrounds the high lands of the Petrean peninsula; beyond, but far distant, appear the mountain ranges of the Arabian and Egyptian coast: no forest, or mountain-meadow, no murmuring brook or peaceful hamlet, soften and vulgarize the scene; all is stern, grand, and sterile; and if there is not the hurricane or the thunder-storm, there is a silence scarcely less impressive. The Desert of Sinai, with its pinnacle of rocks, is one of the unmoved and remaining mark-stones of the third day of creation, when the Eternal said 'Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.' It is a memorial of the time when the power of free life was not, and there existed but that law which assigned to the crust of the earth its formation, to the water its affixed limits.

"Nowhere can the crystalline formation of rocks be more extensively studied than here, where no products of the later days of creation cover and conceal those of the third; where sandstone and lime are nowhere to be seen, and where the seams of wacke and basalt are seen running for miles like black veins through the structure of the mountains."

The succeeding chapters are filled with

descriptions of the environs of Akaba, the mountain of Hor, and other places in or near Palestine. But we approach with our traveller the most important spot of his peregrination,

"And see illuminated by the red glare of the evening sun, the Castle of Zion, the Temple of Moriah, the city of Jerusalem itself. 'God will provide himself a lamb,' was the answer of the trusting patriarch when he approached the rock of Moriah to sacrifice his only son, and the prophecy was fulfilled in the agony of the Son of Man on Golgotha, and his last triumph on the Mount of Olives. The pilgrim who nearly two thousand years after beholds Jerusalem at a distance, may well stand still to contemplate the past and future movements of mercy and holiness which, now clear as the tear of penitence, were once seen dimly though incarnate on yonder sun-gilt mount."

We have not hitherto spoken of the atlas of forty drawings, which accompanies Dr. Schubert's work, and which has been published by M. Bernatz, who accompanied the doctor during his peregrination. This artist must be passionately fond of his profession, and several passages of the work dilate upon the inconvenience to which he exposed himself for the sake of attending to his avocation. Persons familiar with most of the spots represented, praise highly the faithfulness of the drawings.

In the foregoing review we have wished to make every allowance for the feelings of an enthusiast: but truth compels us to observe that these are often greatly exaggerated, and in several instances absolutely approach the ridiculous; as in the Hudibrastic conversation and echoes of the two shores of the Hellespont, and the bombastic apostrophe to the Sphinx.

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- ART. III.—1. *Self-culture. An Address introductory to the Franklin Lectures.* By W. E. Channing. 8vo. Boston: 1838.
2. *Record of Conversations on the Gospels, held in Mr. Alcott's School, unfolding the Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture.* 2 vols. 12mo. Boston: 1836.

It has not unfrequently been made matter of comment and sometimes even of ridiculous reproach that America is yet destitute of an antiquity. True it is that no baronial ruins frown gloomily over her soil, no feudal legends are associated with her green savannahs, no wily cardinals, no soldier prelates

are immortalized in her history. She has no codes and institutions tracing their origin to immemorial time, and yet exercising a despotic sway over the minds of her present population. It may be that this state of things is regretted even by the Americans themselves. We could fancy that amidst all their self-gratulations on the equality of rank, and their pride in an all-pervading democracy, there is still some pining for patrician ancestry; some yearning towards venerable dust; some envy of those European nations which would invest with eternal sanctity the good old *regime* that their barbarous predecessors condescended to patronize.

Others on the contrary say—"Happy America! where the spirit which announces constant development as its law is not curbed by the forms of vanished centuries; happy land! where growth is not heterodoxy, and progression impiety."

Such language might some years ago have been to a certain extent true with respect to America; we could wish that even now it may furnish a correct description of her general state. Nevertheless the tendency of the Transatlantians to adopt in many instances the prejudices and follies of older nations is only too apparent.

Simultaneously with the exhibitions of philosophic progress to which we shall hereafter have occasion to advert, manifestations of bigoted hostility have been revealed, which are but gloomy auguries of a country's mental and moral independence.

If there be one name identified more than another with American literature it is that of Dr. Channing. Well does he deserve the rank which he has acquired. Our admiration for the power which he displays in minute analysis, in the depth of thought and the grace of illustration, is accompanied with a reverential love for his moral dignity, and the constant benevolence which has invariably used for its own high purposes his diversified mental endowments.

Amongst the benefits which Dr. Channing has rendered his countrymen, there is none greater than the inward direction which he has given to the public mind.

Whilst we should be the last to advocate popular apathy towards the political aspects of the day; whilst we are bound to assert that there is a stern necessity imposed upon every member of a state to exert his influence in repressing aristocratic domination, or democratic mutiny; whilst we confess that no man ought to be indifferent to the character and tendency of those institutional laws by which he is governed—we are on the other hand bound to contend that the reform which most avails to produce a people's hap-

piness and elevation is not the result of political interposition; or of national manifestoes. True, the blood of Hampden and Russell was not idly shed. Worthy of immortal honour are they by whose righteous self-sacrifice national redemption has been purchased. But individual liberty and personal happiness belong to a higher sphere than that which is subservient to outward government. This last has but a negative power. Its province may be to restrain the exhibitions of crime. The creative power whereby intelligence and goodness are generated, is not to be identified with the operation of external circumstance. Neither loveliness of clime, nor prosperity in commerce, nor impartiality in the laws, have singly, or in the aggregate, the faculty of producing happiness. The soul and its experiences are not made up of amalgamated finite ingredients. These are but the subordinate elements which she combines at her pleasure, moulds at her will, and using them as she lists, ordains them to stand forth as her representatives—never as her rulers.

To return, however:—whilst we have been labouring only for political amelioration, whilst the reform of institutions has been the sole object of our labour, Dr. Channing has pointed out the necessity of internal improvement; an improvement which can be realized by the human being at any time and under any circumstances. In this utilitarian age it is most agreeable and refreshing to hear the evolution of the moral and mental faculties treated of as that which is eminently essential to man's practical happiness. In "Self-Culture" occurs the following passage:—

"Self-Culture is practical, or it proposes, as one of its chief ends, to fit us for action, to make us efficient in whatever we undertake, to train us to firmness of purpose, and to fruitfulness of resource in common life, and especially in emergencies, in times of difficulty, danger, and trial. But passing over this and other topics, for which I have no time, I shall confine myself to two branches of Self-Culture, which have been almost wholly overlooked in the education of the people, and which ought not to be so slighted.

"In looking at our nature, we discover among its admirable endowments, the sense or perception of beauty. We see the germ of this in every human being, and there is no power which admits greater cultivation, and why should it not be cherished in all? It deserves remark, that the provision for this principle is infinite in the universe. There is but a very minute portion of the creation which we can turn into food and clothes, or gratification for the body; but the whole creation may be used to minister

to the sense of beauty. Beauty is an all-pervading presence—it unfolds in the numberless flowers of spring—it waves in the branches of the trees and the green blades of grass—it haunts the depth of the earth and sea, and gleams out in the hues of the shell and the precious stone. And not only these minute objects but the ocean, the mountains, the clouds, the heavens, the stars, the rising and setting sun, all overflow with beauty. The universe is its temple; and those men who are alive to it cannot lift their eyes without feeling themselves encompassed by it on every side. Now this beauty is so precious, the enjoyments it gives are so refined and pure, so congenial with our tenderness and noblest feelings, and so akin to worship, that it is painful to think of the multitude of men as living in the midst of it, and living almost blind to it, as if, instead of this fair earth and glorious sky, they were tenants of a dungeon. An infinite joy is lost to the world by the want of culture of this spiritual endowment. Suppose that I were to visit a cottage, and see its walls lined with the choicest pictures of Raphael, and every spare nook filled with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, and that I were to learn that neither man, woman, nor child ever cast an eye at these miracles of art, how should I feel their privation? how should I want to open their eyes, and to help them to comprehend and feel the loveliness and grandeur which in vain courted their notice? But every husbandman is living in sight of the works of a Divine Artist; and how much would his existence be elevated, could he see the glory which shines forth in their forms, hues, proportions, and moral expression! I have spoken only of the beauty of nature, but how much of this mysterious charm is found in the elegant arts, and especially in literature? The best books have most beauty, and they win their way most surely and deeply into the soul, when arrayed in their natural and fit attire. Now no man receives the true culture of a man in whom the sensibility to the beautiful is not cherished; and I know of no condition in life from which it should be excluded. Of all luxuries, this is the cheapest and most at hand; and it seems to me to be most important to those conditions where coarse labour tends to give a grossness to the mind. From the diffusion of the sense of beauty in ancient Greece, and of the taste for music in modern Germany, we learn that the people at large may partake of refined gratifications which have hitherto been thought to be necessarily restricted to a few."

It is a good omen for the best interests of mankind that a man like Channing is heard pleading, not for better circumstances, not for fairer objects, not for legislative changes, as things which are most essential, but for awakened perceptions, and for cultivated faculties. Such philosophy is not, perhaps, entirely novel; for centuries there has been

a vague surmise flitting across the surface of society, that all that which is exterior to man would assume a different and far nobler aspect if diviner influences were introduced into his existence. Generally speaking, however, such doctrine has been considered rather as a pleasing speculation for poetical fancies, than as a lofty faith to be realized in practice. It is therefore an ennobling spectacle to behold a man of the highest talents and the profoundest thought insisting upon the adoption of that faith as a necessity of the most practical nature. It must now be declared most openly, that man has not the power to alter the current of events, but that he has the capacity to give to it a *character*. The operation of circumstance, governed by its own inevitable law, can neither pause nor vary in accordance with the conflicting desires of men. Ambition must still suffer disappointment, avarice must still endure the bereavement of its treasures: but whether ambition and avarice shall still persevere in their unquiet course depends upon the election of man himself.

Urged by the same philosophic spirit as that which actuates Channing, though with deeper experience and still higher aims, we find Mr. Alcott labouring in the American field. The labours of Mr. Alcott, as an educator, are chronicled in "The Record of a School," and developed in "The Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture." For the practical results which have followed his exertions we must refer the reader to the first-mentioned work. We have to do with him as an Author and as a Philosopher.

We have stated that the views of Mr. Alcott are deeper and his aims higher than those of Dr. Channing. To this circumstance may be traced the persecution to which Mr. Alcott has been recently subjected; Channing is just within the range of popular will. Although he travels far in advance, he is never out of sight. He appeals to the intellect. He requires, as the condition of success, persevering cultivation rather than determined sacrifice. He insists upon the improvement of what *is*, rather than upon the advent of that which *is to come*. He urges the result as a labour which man may accomplish by his own resolute industry. He points to the true goal, but he neither shows us the nearest way nor the most facile mode of travel. He bids us cherish the sense and perception of beauty:—but what beauty is; what is the source of its being; what the essential to its development, he fails to divulge.

Mr. Alcott, on the contrary, declares that the utmost improvement of a *partial* nature can never produce a worthy result; that the

most skilful training which contemplates the perfection of a nature can only accomplish its end in accordance with the law in that nature; that if it be evil and self-willed, its capacities, when unfolded to the highest degree, will partake of its baneful character. Mr. Alcott requires the higher natures to be evolved in the lower, and rightly attributes the rectification of evil to the evolution of latent good. To *create* the good is beyond the sphere of education: its highest power is to aid in the development of it. Mr. Alcott estimates genius as a talent existing in all men, inseparable from goodness as from wisdom. Conscience is the voice of genius, and obedience to conscience is the only condition under which man can be moulded into the image of his Maker. To the operation of indwelling conscience, and not to that of outward science, Mr. Alcott looks for success. He values not virtue at second-hand, he will have it from the source. Hear him declare this himself, in the introduction to an exquisite volume, entitled "Nature," published in Boston in 1836.

"Our age is retrospective. It builds the sepulchres of the fathers. It unites biographies, histories, and criticism. The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we through our eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not a history of theirs? Embosomed for a season in nature, where floods of life stream around and through us, and invite us by the powers they supply to action, why should we grope among the dry bones of the past, or put the living generation into masquerade out of its faded wardrobe? The sun shines to-day also. There is more wool and flax in the fields. There are new lands, new men, new thoughts. Let us demand our own works and laws and worship.

"Undoubtedly we have no questions to ask which are unanswerable. We must trust the perfection of the creation so far, as to believe that whatever curiosity the order of things has awakened in our minds, the order of things can satisfy. Every man's condition is a solution in hieroglyphic to those inquiries he would put. He acts it as life, before he apprehends it as truth. In like manner, nature is already, in its forms and tendencies, describing its own design. Let us interrogate the great apparition that shines so peacefully around us. Let us inquire to what end is nature?

"All science has one aim, namely, to find a theory of nature. We have theories of races and functions, but scarcely yet a remote approximation to an idea of creation. We are now so far from the road to truth, that religious teachers dispute and hate each other, and speculative men are esteemed un-

sound and frivolous. But, to a sound judgment, the most abstract truth is the most practical. Whenever a true theory appears, it will be its own evidence. Its test is, that it will explain all phenomena. Now many are thought not only unexplained but inexplicable; as language, sleep, dreams, beasts, sex.

"Philosophically considered, the universe is composed of Nature and the Soul. Strictly speaking, therefore, all that is separate from us, all which Philosophy distinguishes as the NOT ME, that is, both nature and art, all other men, and my own body, must be ranked under this name, NATURE. In enumerating the values of nature, and casting up their sum, I shall use the word in both senses;—in its common and in its philosophical import. In inquiries so general as our present one, the inaccuracy is not material; no confusion of thought will occur; NATURE, in the common sense, refers to essences unchanged by man; space, the air, the river, the leaf. Art is applied to the mixture of his will with the same things, as in a house, a canal, a statue, a picture. But his operations, taken together, are so insignificant; a little chipping, baking, patching, and washing—that in an impression so general as that of the world on the human mind, they do not vary the result."

Would to Heaven that it were not necessary to *import* into England such truthful poetry as this.

We cannot do the reader better service than to quote from "Nature" those sentences which seem to us peculiarly illustrative of Mr. Alcott's mind.

THE INFLUENCE OF SPIRIT OVER NATURE.

"Nature always wears the colours of the spirit. To a man labouring under calamity the heat of his own fire hath sadness in it. Then there is a kind of contempt of the landscape felt by him who has just lost by death a dear friend. The sky is less grand, as it shoots down over less worth in the population.

MAN IN CONNECTION WITH FACTS.

"All the facts in natural history, taken by themselves, have no value, but are barren, like a single sex. But marry it to human history, and it is full of life. Whole Floras, all Linnæus's and Buffon's volumes, are but dry catalogues of facts; but the most trivial of these facts, the habit of a plant, the organs, or work, or noise of an insect, applied to the illustration of a fact in intellectual philosophy, or in any way associated to human nature, affects us in the most lively and agreeable manner."

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY IN CITIES.

"The poet, the orator, bred in the woods, whose senses have been nourished by their fair and appealing changes, year after year,

without design and without heed, shall not lose their lesson altogether in the roar of cities, or the broil of politics. Long hereafter, amidst agitation and terror in national councils, in the hour of revolution, these solemn images shall reappear in their morning lustre, as fit symbols and words of the thoughts which the passing events shall awaken. At the call of a noble sentiment, again the woods wave, the pines murmur, the river rolls and shines, and the cattle low upon the mountains, as he saw and heard them in his infancy. And with these forces, the spells of persuasion, the keys of power, are put into his hands."

LOW USE OF NATURAL ILLUSTRATION.

"We are thus assisted by natural objects in the expression of particular meanings. But how great a language to convey such peppercorn informations! Did it need such noble races of creatures, this profusion of forms, this host of orbs in heaven, to furnish man with the dictionary and grammar of his municipal speech? Whilst we use this grand epithet to expedite the affairs of our pot and kettle, we feel that we have not yet put it to its use, neither are able. We are like travellers using the cinders of a volcano to roast their eggs."

IMAGINATION.

"Imagination may be defined to be, the use which reason makes of the material world."

SPIRIT, THE TEACHER OF MYSTERIES.

"The best read naturalist, who lends an entire and devout attention to truth, will see that there remains much to learn of his relation to the world, and that it is not to be learned by any addition or subtraction or other comparison of known quantities, but is arrived at by untaught sallies of the spirit, by a continual self-recovery, and by entire humility. He will perceive that there are far more excellent qualities in the student, than preciseness and infallibility; that a guess is often more fruitful than an indisputable, and that a dream may let us deeper into the secret of nature than a hundred concerted experiments."

ADVICE AND ANTICIPATION.

"As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions. As when the summer comes from the south, the snow-banks melt, and the face of the earth becomes green before it, so shall the advancing spirit create its ornaments, and carry with it the beauty it visits, and the song which enchants it; it shall draw beautiful faces, and warm hearts, and wise discourse, and heroic acts around its way until evil is no more seen."

From the foregoing extracts the reader will perceive that Mr. Alcott holds the high-

est manifestations of genius to be the result of great moral development. An opinion this which is more and more winning its way into the hearts of thinking men. We have long considered the intellect as a mere representative faculty. It portrays the moral nature. Intellect is, in fact, an artist who may choose the line of colouring and the style of execution, but not the character of object. When essential goodness or morality prevails in the human being, the objects to be expressed are the noblest which intellect can delineate. This last, standing in the presence of sublime originals, feels a sublime enthusiasm which never animated it in the representation of inferior archetypes. The truths to be illustrated are of so glorious a character that the painter feels compelled to exercise the highest capacities of his art. The more he gazes the more he loves. With no unholy worship he bends his gaze upon forms of light and love. He absorbs their beauty. He sits at their feet with serene devotion, and surrenders all self-activity; it appears as if he rather depicts what he is than what he sees. The true artist is ever one with the ideal which he portrays. Not a few candidates for public fame have succeeded by representing old opinions in a new form. Those who gild the common-place are generally better received than those who place on record new facts in the history of human progression. Nevertheless, it is only when original objects are illustrated by original representation that the true man of genius is revealed. Mr. Alcott agrees with the poet, who declares that

"Man's soul is mightier than the universe."

According to our author the human mind includes all exterior nature. The phenomena of creation are all representative of mental phenomena first promulgated in the human conscience. In proportion, therefore, to man's perfection is his capacity to appreciate the harmony which reigns through the universe. In excellence of character is found the solutions of those enigmas which the great Sphinx, Nature, constantly propounds. The infidel is baffled by the apparent contradictions which the world offers to his view, for the simple reason that he is himself a contradiction; the intuition of good which exists in his mind being perpetually denied by the rebellion of his intellect. Whenever religion, as a creed, is sincerely adopted, it is adopted because religion as a genuine experience is present to the mind of the believer. The infidel errs in seeking to reverse the law in creation, which requires intellectual perceptions to be dependent upon moral feelings.

One of Mr. Alcott's coadjutors is Mr.

Ralph Waldo Emerson. This gentleman, taking up the stigma which has been cast in the teeth of his countrymen, has called upon them to be no more reflections of European minds, but to seek in the recesses of their own for originating power. Such power, he affirms, is resident in every human being. He requires that books shall no longer be quoted as texts, but adopted as suggestions to the creative impulse. In this respect the tone of his mind differs widely from that of the British literary public at the present period. We worship science; he idolizes genius alone; he urges to originate; we love also to accumulate. He prizes the law; we the phenomena which represent it. With him man is noble as the oracle of spirit; with us as the lexicon of matter.

It is true that one act of creation is more glorious than a thousand acts of memory. Yet we think Mr. Emerson entertains almost too great a contempt for learning. He who is acquainted with the history and manners of all nations, would never have acquired his knowledge had he not been in a great degree actuated by genius in the prosecution of his studies. Had the facts which he had accumulated been mere barren matter of detail, never would he have had resolution to pursue so uninteresting a route. But he, out of his own stores, has imparted a loveliness to the classic region of research, and the rites of Egypt and the mythology of Greece have typified to him one aspect of the human mind, and illustrated the operation of spirit in past ages. Genius is no less essential to the reader than to the author. Perhaps, however, it is to a greater extent manifested in the latter.

We cannot conclude these remarks without lamenting that Mr. Alcott has met with some persecution in consequence of the sentiments which he has expressed. We are not surprised. To make moral excellence essential to the worthy revelations of genius—to tolerate, as a poet, no interesting *roué*, or romantic profligate, but to require purity of character as the only title to that august appellation—to exclude from mind's chivalry all who are not honourable or valiant—is a course which must necessarily be opposed by the masses whom such a prohibition affects. Dare we then express for Mr. Alcott, personally, either pity or regret? The more faithful he is, the less need has he of our sympathy or applause. Human praise is only worthy when it re-expresses divine approbation. Let the devout worshipper ascend the holy mountain, and there sacrifice to the gods. The propitious thunder shall greet his attentive ear. It matters little whether the vales below reverberate the sound.

- ART. IV.—1. *Architectonisches Album, redigirt vom Architekten-Verein zu Berlin* (Architectural Album, edited by the Architectural Society, Berlin.) Erstes, Zweites Heft. Potsdam, 1838.
2. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung.* Von C. L. F. Förster. 1836-9.
3. *Der Ritter Leo von Klenze und unsere Kunst.* Von R. Wiegmann, Architekt, Svo. Düsseldorf, 1839.
4. *Architectura Domestica.* Von A. de Chateauneuf. London, 1839.
5. *Arabeski: Rasnaya Sotchineniya.* I. Gogola. (Arabesques, or Miscellaneous Pieces, by Ivan Gogol.) 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1835.

RAILROADS and steam-engines are the order of the day : so much so that of late there has been quite a glut of publications, theoretical and practical, bearing upon those subjects. Accordingly, not only is Civil Engineering 'looking up' and reinforcing its corps daily, but those who make a profession of it, or out of it—as the case may be,—are looking up too, and at the same time begin some of them to look down upon architecture as something comparatively trivial, and requiring less mental powers. We are not going to question the importance of civil engineering as regards national industry, or the prosperity of a country : nay, without debating that point at all, we will allow that it is (so far) of greater and more obvious intrinsic value to the community ; and also that by creating and diffusing wealth it may indirectly tend to promote every branch of civilisation, and the fine arts themselves among the rest. All that we contend for is, that such studies are altogether distinct from art, and belong to an entirely different sphere.

Fully agreeing with the doctrine enunciated humorously, yet perhaps very seriously intended, by Anthus, the entertaining author of *Esskunst*, we hold that though it may in the first instance emanate from necessity, art invariably manifests itself in the superfluous, or, we might term it, the *super-necessary* ;—between which epithet and 'unnecessary' there is assuredly considerable difference. Practical science and art may therefore be said to stand in the same mutual relation as prose and poetry—the opposite poles of the positive and the imaginative. The analogy will appear strengthened when we observe that, contrary to what would seem the natural progress from the necessary to the super-necessary, poetry is generally the first form in which the intellectual development of a people displays itself ; and so also art is, if not the very first, one of the first phases of

civilisation ; in advancing beyond which, the imaginative is abandoned as something superfluous and extravagant, and art, instead of being cultivated for its own sake, is chiefly valued as administering ornamentally to what is directly useful.

Whether it be matter for regret or not, we cannot help fancying that society has advanced—or retrograded—to that stage of civilisation when, sobered down by experience, it resigns the workings of imagination as mere dreams and chimeras, and betakes itself to the positive and practical. The Middle Ages employed—perhaps wasted—their energies upon rearing cathedrals and other piles exhibiting all the prodigality of art ; the nineteenth century, infinitely more rational, is devoted to railroads, and canals, bridges and tunnels ; while art must be content with the crumbs that fall from the table of utility. Such at least is pretty nearly the state of things among ourselves : nor is it at all unnatural, because when all the elements of society in this country are decidedly prosaic, and calculation prevails in everything, it can hardly be otherwise. Not only has the bulk of the public no sympathy with art, but the small section of it which has, is too lukewarm or indolent to exert itself effectively ; added to which art numbers very few generous and devoted adherents among its own followers. The spirit of trade—which then becomes base, unworthy, and degrading—influences more or less, it is to be feared, every one of the fine arts in this country, and architecture full as much as, if not more than, the rest. As an art, this latter has been reduced almost to a system of copying ; and it has in consequence become a convenient refuge for numbers who enter upon it merely as a lucrative profession where practical cleverness and activity, and in fact any talent but for business-like plodding, may very well be dispensed with. No wonder therefore if we so frequently find all the feelings of the artist merged in those of the trader ; or so much mean personal rivalry indulged in, almost to the exclusion of all generous emulation. No wonder the public hear so many complaints of manœuvring, intriguing, and jobbing, through which works of importance have been confided to men of inferior talent, and the best opportunities comparatively thrown away. Unless, indeed, to such mismanagement, coupled with the supineness both of the profession and the public, to what must we ascribe the disadvantageous contrast exhibited by so many of our architectural undertakings in comparison with similar labours in several continental states, whose resources are so greatly inferior to our own ? It cannot be alleged that opportunities of the kind

are much more rare in this country than in any other;—or, if so, the greater care should be taken to turn them to the utmost account:—nevertheless it is indisputable that in general our public edifices are neither commensurate with the character of such a metropolis as London, nor will bear a comparison even with some which adorn several minor capitals abroad.

We should be open to reprehension were we to disguise the truth; and by over-estimating our own achievements in art, lead persons at home to suppose that we need not endeavour to surpass what we have already produced. If then we express an opinion the reverse of flattering to our national pride, it is certainly not with the view of discouraging, or of creating useless dissatisfaction, but of stimulating to greater energy for the future. Instead of attempting to console ourselves for failures, by depreciating what has been done in other countries, the wiser and more ingenuous course would be to profit by those failures and the example of others, and to exert ourselves more vigorously than ever. Architecture should be rescued from those trammels and fatal influences which have checked and stunted it at home. We do not say it is from inferiority of talent that we are unable to compete with other countries in the character of our public monuments; but if such be not the case—if with at least equal talent, and far superior means, most of our recent public works fall very short of contemporary labours abroad: there is all the more reason for suspecting that it is owing to a very defective or very pernicious system, to unpardonable want of energy in those who possess talent, or most culpable negligence, incompetency, or abuse of power on the part of those who have control over such works. In short it becomes but too evident that there must be 'a screw loose' somewhere.

It is useless attempting to disguise that such is the real state of things in this country as regards architecture. We might possibly delude ourselves into the idea that our buildings eclipse their foreign rivals; but we cannot impose upon foreigners, who, when they come over to this country, will indulge in comparisons not altogether to our advantage. Those who stay at home may remain ignorant of the insignificant general character of many of our recent churches and other public structures, but then they may also ask how it happens, if we have achieved of late any really magnificent architectural undertakings, that the merits of such are not made generally known by means of published designs. Even *Förster's Bauzeitung*, which professes to describe the chief architectural

monuments not of Germany alone, but all Europe, and which has given designs illustrating Canova's Church at Possagno, the Arco delle Pace at Milan, the Arc de l'Etoile at Paris, the Alexander column at Petersburg, and several other works of that class, has not since its commencement furnished a single example of the kind from this country, although it evidently pays great attention to what is going on here, and has from time to time described very minutely our principal railroads and similar works. The only public building of this country introduced therein is Hungerford Market; which although an edifice of considerable extent, and worth notice for some constructive details, is by no means a particularly favourable specimen of architectural design. Whether this neglect of English architectural productions is accidental or intentional, it is not calculated to extend our reputation abroad, or impress foreigners with the idea that any of our recent buildings can fairly compete with their own. Neither are we ourselves at all solicitous to vindicate the character of our own school, by affording to the architects of other countries the means of comparing and studying any of our most successful buildings. Scarcely one of our living architects has cared to publish his designs;*—that is to say, of buildings actually executed by him, though several have published collections of designs for villas, cottages, and things of that stamp,—saleable commodities, and, for the most part, manufactured like Peter Pindar's razors, merely to sell.

To say this is astonishing would be contrary to our real opinion, since it is so easily explained that scarcely anybody can be at a loss to account for it; but then what does the fact itself declare? why first, that the demand for architectural publications similar to those of Schinkel, Klenze, Moller, Ottmer, and others, is so exceedingly small as to amount to a prohibition of them where a fair remunerating profit must be looked to; and next, that none of those who have made money by their profession care to expend it in publishing examples of their best works, at

* Only two exceptions occur to us; the first is Mr. Laing, the original architect of the Custom-House, the other, Mr. Foulstone, of Plymouth; but unfortunately neither the publication of the one nor of the other is calculated to convey a favourable opinion of English taste, either as regards the subjects of their plates or the style in which they are engraved. Mr. Foulstone's Greek architecture is deplorably insipid; dull, mechanical copies of Doric or Ionic columns, without a single touch of originality or genial feeling in any one of the buildings. The best that can be said of them is, that they are a degree less miserably bald than those of Laing.

the hazard of pecuniary loss by so doing. As a matter of prudence this may pass without reproach, and it is therefore hoped that no one will take the mention as such. But it certainly does not indicate anything either of that liberal feeling, generous ambition, or ardent attachment to professional studies which ought to characterize the architect, supposing him to be an artist in the true meaning of the word. On the other hand, an architectural work that is not strictly practical, meets with very little encouragement from professional men, while one that is not in some degree a picture-book also, meets with as little from any other class of purchasers. The consequence is that scarcely any thing whatever of a purely architectural character is now brought out in this country, and the few who have any taste for works of that class are obliged to supply themselves from the continent. Perhaps we should not be exceedingly wide of the mark, were we to say that for some of the reputation they have obtained, the publications of Schinkel and others are indebted to their having no English rivals, no competitors from this country to participate with them the attention or admiration of the European public. This is the more mortifying as the time was when England had a high character upon the continent for many splendid architectural publications, and which earned for her a wide celebrity in that branch of art. At present the case is reversed. English libraries may enrich their architectural stores by the addition of foreign works; but foreigners are not likely to be overstocked with similar volumes now from us.

Not only has this branch of publication so fallen off among ourselves of late years as to be almost dwindled away altogether; but—what is not the least extraordinary part of the matter,—the decline seems to have been in no degree retarded by the establishment of the Royal Institute of British Architects; though it might have been imagined that the formation of such a society would have almost immediately given a fresh impetus to the study of architecture, and by this time at least have revived a taste for it, and diffused it more and more widely. Such, however, neither is, nor is likely to be the case. Whatever influence for good the Institute may possess, it seems to take care that it shall not extend beyond its own walls. We have been unable to learn that it has reformed a single professional abuse, or made an exertion towards doing so, except one very faint effort to correct some of the most crying sins of the present notoriously bad system of competition, on which subject a Report was drawn up; but deterred from

further proceedings by the difficulties and objections started, the advocates for reform showed their faint-heartedness, and suffered the whole matter to fall to the ground at once. One thing which we did expect rather confidently was, that the Institute would at all events establish an annual exhibition of architecture—both models and drawings—on a suitable scale; if from no other motive than to rescue their art from the step-dame clutches of the Royal Academy, and to prove to the public that it has claims of its own upon their notice; but we fear we gave them credit for more zeal and spirit than they possess. We have, indeed, been assured that the Institute have done and continue to do all that is in their power,—that means, not will, is wanting. It may be so: but as that *all* seems just tantamount to nothing, the natural conclusion is that the Institute is altogether powerless for good, and that there is not the remotest chance of its tending in any degree to promote or benefit the art for whose sake it was established.

Could we even discern an increased spirit of emulation, more application, more diligent study, and the endeavour to gain over public attention to architectural subjects and drawings, it would be something: instead of this, there has been a visible falling off in the architectural part of the Royal Academy's exhibitions for the last two or three seasons. Directly, indeed, this circumstance does not say much against the members of the Institute or those who stand highest in the profession, because very few of them ever exhibit at all; but then indirectly it says a great deal, since it affords a tolerably plain proof of their apathy, and how unwilling they are to incur any trouble or expense for the purpose either of vindicating the character of their art, or affording instruction to others. In short it looks as if there existed a far greater desire to confer a cheap kind of importance on the profession, than to advance the art itself, or make the least personal exertion or personal sacrifice to that end.

Very sorry should we be to involve all indiscriminately in such censure; yet taking the members of the profession generally, they certainly do not pursue it with any of that high and generous feeling which ought to animate the followers of art;—some of them show no motives but those of traders, and therefore a spirit more ignoble than these, whose dealings neither require nor admit of the *con-amore* principle that ought to actuate the others. To many it is an inexplicable mystery that modern art generally, with all aids and appliances, lacks

the energy and generous quality which stamped it in former ages. Artists endeavour to account for this by throwing the blame upon the public, and its want of a proper sympathy for art. This doubtless may be one among other concomitant causes; but the chief, we should say—and one as baleful as all the rest put together, lies with artists themselves; being nothing more nor less than want of that enthusiasm, that earnest devotedness to art for its own sake, without which nothing really great can be accomplished. Without enthusiasm talent will seldom amount to more than cleverness, which for a while may satisfy, and earn for its possessor a short-lived reputation more or less brilliant: but it is by no means of the vivifying influence of enthusiasm that talent becomes genius. Take away that ennobling principle, exclude the higher motives, the loftier impulses proceeding from it, and art, even when successfully pursued, becomes a splendid, honourable drudgery; perverted from an end to mere means. Undoubtedly there still remains behind a potent stimulus, and one in the opinion of the world quite sufficient to urge on to any achievement, however arduous, seeing that it is the main-spring of human actions and human energies. Nevertheless we hold it to be a fatal error—one pregnant with mischiefs, puzzling to account for, to imagine that such stimulus will suffice in art. The enthusiasm of money-getting stands in direct opposition to that other kind of enthusiasm, which is so greatly wanted, while of this there is far too much. Where ordinary self-interest becomes the motive inducing a man to attach himself to art, art becomes to him little more than a task-master, and will be beloved accordingly just in proportion to the wages obtained. In what degree these remarks apply to architects, quite as much as, if not more than to any other class of artists, we shall leave the reader to judge.

Although those who follow it professionally are by no means backward in hinting, whenever opportunity offers, that architecture is not properly encouraged—and so far they are right, because for patronage to be really beneficial to art, it must be accompanied by discernment and taste;—Do they themselves encourage, or in any way promote or advocate that acquaintance with the art,—that study of it on the part of others without which there can not exist any real taste or discernment, or any proper sympathy with it in the public? Do they endeavour to facilitate such study, either directly or indirectly? We may say at once that they certainly do not, but on the contrary too evidently set their faces against every

attempt that way tending. Persons like ourselves might naturally opine that architects would gladly promote every scheme aiming to popularize the study of their art, and to invest it with interest for the many; simply because it is for their own interest that the many should appreciate it and enjoy it, and, relishing it as intelligent, encourage it intelligently in turn. No such thing: if, indeed, sympathy could be kept within the bounds of stupid wonder, or criticism never extend beyond compliments and harmless twaddle, there would be no very great danger: but to teach people to think for themselves, and form opinions of their own; to enable them to discriminate between the plagiarist and the man of original ideas,—between the servile copyist, and the studious artist;—this would be highly imprudent and dangerous. Criticism, especially criticism based upon reasoning and argument, and which supports itself by something more than vague allegations, is, as much as possible, to be discountenanced, whether a positive check can be put to it or not. Of such criticism the majority of the profession appear to have an instinctive dread, and not without reason; as few of their works will abide its scrutiny. Some, if not the majority, consider it quite a presumption on the part of any writer not belonging to the profession, to form—or at least express any opinion. He is told that he ought to confine his opinions to his own private circle; which might just as well be said to every one who takes up his pen to communicate his ideas on any other subject. At the present day, however, most persons fancy that errors and prejudices are more likely to be exposed, and truth elicited, by promoting discussion than by stifling it. If error be propagated by one writer, let it be exposed by others. But architects, it would seem, adopt a most ungracious dog-in-the-manger principle, for they neither care to instruct the public themselves, nor that any one else should assume that office for them.

It is hardly to be supposed that such feelings and sentiments are openly expressed by the members of the profession, even among themselves: this would be too daring an avowal. Yet that such feelings are really entertained may without difficulty be gathered from a variety of circumstances, which, though when taken singly they appear inconsiderable, when put together furnish strong and conclusive evidence as to the real state of the case.

Should we, however, have been labouring under an hallucination of mind in respect to what we have just declared, we should feel happy to be undeceived, and to learn that,

let appearances be what they may, the profession are not only well disposed but even eager to promote whatever is calculated to bring architecture forward and remove the prejudices now existing against it, by showing its value merely as a liberal study and occupation of taste; and for which if it be not calculated, it unjustly usurps the title of a fine art.

Great is the honour claimed for architecture as an art,—and some have gone so far as to assert for it a right of precedency over the rest. As soon as we attempt to approach it as such, to inquire into its character and powers, to make ourselves acquainted with its peculiar language, its rules and idiom, we are either driven back as profane intruders rashly seeking to penetrate into mysteries reserved for the initiated, or are told that practical knowledge is everything: in other words, that architecture after all is not so much a fine as a mechanical art, and that much of the practice consists merely of routine and details, which have no more to do with art than has the engrossing of a deed. Such view of it is somewhat modest—not to call it an utter abandonment of the high pretensions claimed for architecture as a fine art. In this latter quality, setting aside all the rest, we presume it will not be denied that it still retains enough to entitle it to something more than a brevet rank, as one of the fine arts *by courtesy* only. Either it has the powers and attributes of a fine art, or it has not: in the former case it appeals to the sensibilities and sympathies of all, and is capable of being studied and understood accordingly, whether its mechanical and scientific operations be comprehended or otherwise. In the second case, the sooner the world is undeceived, by being told that it is exceedingly limited in its æsthetic capacity; that however important as a science and indispensable as a useful art, it has but little of either the powers or the qualities of a fine one,—the sooner this is said the better: a great deal of misconception and of consequent misunderstanding would be prevented; and by abandoning all pretensions to the name of artists, architects would at once escape the responsibility attached to such title, and the reproach of doing nothing to justify it.

When it aspires to be something more than mere building (which proposes to itself nothing beyond utility, security, and strength,)—science, knowledge, and skill become merely the auxiliary means of which architecture avails itself for some higher end,—means indispensable as such, but otherwise unimportant, and of no more account with regard to the æsthetic value of

the production accomplished through them, than the mould or the process of casting to the bronze statue so formed.

We have then a right to demand something infinitely more than the mere satisfactory. Science becomes as nothing if there be not also refined taste: it is of no avail to say that all the conditions of constructive skill, durability, convenience, economy, are fulfilled, if there be not also beauty; or that the architect has performed his task to perfection as a builder, if he has shown no power, no imagination as an artist, and his work be destitute of æsthetic charm. Architects are rather in the habit of throwing dust into the eyes; neither are they themselves particularly clear-sighted, but rather in the unfortunate condition of not being able to see the wood for the trees. The material—the matter and its forms, merely as such, are to them every thing; the æsthetic, the ideal,—the forms as expressions of beauty, as nothing. They regard the latter much as an anatomist may contemplate a beautiful human figure, as a system of bones and muscles. So far his professional knowledge seems rather to blunt the sensibility of the architect than to render it more acute, unless such unfortunate tendency be carefully guarded against by cherishing opposite feelings, and by cultivating the poetry of the art.

Perhaps we dwell upon this ungrateful topic rather too long; yet what we have said may be so far productive of good as to induce the question whether architecture as now generally practised be not greatly overvalued. This question, together with an apprehension of its consequences, might possibly rouse up the profession more effectually than anything else can do.

Turning our eyes to other countries, we must say that, as far as appearances go, architecture is pursued in a far better and more liberal spirit abroad than at home. One favourable symptom is, that infinitely greater encouragement is there given to architectural publications; which not only find a readier sale, but command greater attention. Instead of being for the most part passed over in silence or else impatiently dismissed in a few common-place paragraphs which chiefly show that the reviewer is at a loss what opinion to express, works of this class are often carefully reviewed. Nay, we have occasionally met with far more satisfactory notices of English publications of the kind in foreign journals, than in any of our own;—such for instance as Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, a work that for any signs of its existence occurring in reviews may be said to have

dropped dead from the press, while so many ephemeral works — long ago completely forgotten, have been ushered into the world with the most magnificent trumpetings. To take a more recent example, Jones's *Alhambra* has fared no better than Murphy's *Antiquities*. It must be confessed, indeed, that both are works rather of curiosity and luxury, than practical utility; still they deserve attention from criticism, and are such as every architect ought to possess. If therefore, with the ability to purchase, a professional man abstains from so doing, he must not feel surprised at being considered—not actually sordid perhaps, but guiltless of any excess of enthusiasm. Again, while Hope's *History of Architecture*, and other works of that kind have been translated into either French or German, if not both, very rarely indeed is such compliment returned by our translating anything similar from other languages. We do not speak of works whose chief interest lies in their engravings, and are not to be reproduced without very great expense, but of those which consist nearly, if not altogether, of letter-press, and would therefore be additions to the stock of our architectural literature. We need only mention the names of Stieglitz, Busching, Hundeshagen, Hirt, Rumohr, and Racknitz; and if it be said that their writings are very well known here in the original to all whose studies lie in that direction, we must beg leave to doubt the fact strongly. Coupling therefore all this with what has been previously said in the earlier part of our article, no very flattering conclusion can be drawn from it as to the feeling with which architecture is pursued in this country, in comparison with others.

The results are accordingly: therefore, however much it is matter of regret, it ceases to be one of wonder that architecture itself is not in that flourishing condition among us which it otherwise might be; nor can the inferiority be attributed to want of encouragement, if by encouragement no more is to be understood than employment and emolument. But, has not opportunity after opportunity been frittered away? and do we not still adhere to the same mischievous system, in spite of so many lessons of dearly-purchased experience? Could the blame of these failures we are doomed repeatedly to witness, be thrown either upon the inadequacy of our means, or a rigorous spirit of economy, even this would be less humiliating to our national taste, though more mortifying to our national pride. Yet this poor consolation is denied us; for if there is a good deal of parsimony, there is also no lit-

tle prodigality:—in short, a kind of paltry peddling economy, owing to which we manage to pay quite as much for what is deficient as a work of art, as with judgment and taste would have done honour to the country. A paltry stinginess is often suffered to interfere and maim a design by clipping and paring it down in parts, as though it were unimportant whether completed according to the original intention or not, and anything might be omitted at random. If the design has been properly studied at first,—and if not, it ought not to be adopted,—such a process is manifestly absurd. If desirable to render it less expensive, the proper way is to modify the whole, so that every part shall still be in due keeping, and no inconsistency of character, no deficiency of any kind be perceptible.

That a better average taste is now established among us, than that at the close of the last and commencement of the present century, we do not deny; still it falls greatly short of what it might and would be had it been allowed to go on progressively increasing in stature and in strength. Owing to the great impulse which has been given to building, since the peace, we have now, throughout the country, a show of very respectable bits of architecture—things of rather ambiguous or negative merit;—Gothic made neat, Grecian made homely, Italian softened down to insipidity. In art our ambition is of a staid, modest, and reasonable kind. Among all our recent works we have few of monumental character, that is, such as testify honourably to the power and taste of the age in which they were produced:—scarcely anything that is really imposing in point of scale, and not less imposing and dignified in style. Our classical school is mechanically correct, frigid, and mannered; we must not look to it for geniality of conception, masterly originality, or happiness of invention. What beauties it gives us are almost altogether borrowed;—transcripts of good originals as regards individual features, which are, however, seldom more than merely put together, instead of being so combined as to produce an ensemble with one and the same spirit pervading every part, a kindred feeling diffusing itself throughout. Owing to an unfortunate littleness and feebleness of manner, buildings large in themselves do not make an impression at all proportionate to their size, but are reduced to the minimum of effect. For grandeur and majesty of aspect Buckingham Palace will hardly bear comparison with that lately erected at Brunswick; and which though by no means unexceptionable, proves Ottmer to be as superior to Nash,

as Brunswick is inferior to Great Britain. What the former looks like, or rather does not look like, we all know too well; but the other has a princely air that bespeaks the residence of a sovereign.

Contrasts of this kind are likely to pass for invidious, more especially when they happen to be unfavourable to ourselves; yet the best way of preventing such is by taking a salutary lesson from them for the future, and endeavouring to be first where we now stand almost last. If, however, only to show that we wish to be impartial, and do not blindly defer to the authority of names and reputations, we shall here bestow some notice on the Königsbau, or new palace at Munich, numerous plans and other engravings of which may be seen in the *Bauzeitung* for 1837. We need scarcely disavow any prejudice against Klenze, for we have been charged with being much too favourably disposed towards him; our comments, therefore, stand a chance of being received as free from bias either way.

The principal, or indeed, only façade, namely, that forming the north side of the Max-Josephs-Platz,* extends in a perfectly unbroken line for the length of 406 feet (English). It is 65 feet high, except in the centre, where the height is increased to 95 by the addition of another order, for the extent of eleven windows, or somewhat more than half the length of the front; there being twenty-one windows or apertures in each of the other stories. So far there are the elements of grandeur—length, continuity, loftiness; and when we add to these, massiveness, both with regard to the relative proportion of solid and void, and that arising from the character of the style employed, namely, the older Florentine, it will be taken for granted that it is not at all deficient in greatness of character and the qualities allied to it. Nevertheless we are dissatisfied, less for what it is than for what it is not. Scarcely any pretension whatever is made to originality; the whole is too direct and close an imitation of the Palazzo Pitti; the character also is palpably bor-

rowed and assumed, with this additional drawback of being altogether exotic, and not at all in unison with anything else. As a monument, the original is a highly interesting and impressive work of architecture; as a study, most valuable; as a model, most unfit,—that is, for a palace in the nineteenth century. Recourse might have been had to the same style, but it ought, we conceive, to have been differently treated,—in many respects considerably modified; and required a livelier and more captivating expression imparted to it. Instead of this, the physiognomy given to the edifice is by far too repulsive and stern: simplicity has been carried to severity, uniformity pushed to monotony, and to the exclusion of play or contrast of any kind. Moreover, its close general resemblance to the Palazzo Pitti is apt to provoke a disadvantageous comparison, because after all it falls considerably short of that edifice in its mass; at the same time that it is deficient in the powerful contrast produced in the other by the greater solidity there of the lower part. We do not approve of architectural duplicates, more especially when an opportunity offers for a masterly and original production. Such opportunities are far too precious to be negligently thrown away, and ought to be turned to account by creating something that shall carry art onward, and, if possible, give it a new and invigorating impulse.

These objections are no way diminished when we discover that instead of the façade preparing us for the interior, it is quite in opposition to it; the decorations throughout the latter, both architectural and pictorial, being scrupulously, not to say affectedly, Grecian, both in style and character. By Wiegmann, Klenze has been reproached with inconsistency for having in the Glyptotheca employed vaulted ceilings and other forms of Roman architecture within a building externally professing to be purely Grecian:—this, we must say, savours rather of hypercriticism. But in the case before us there is a positive clashing of opposites, because though the apartments are in every other respect perfectly Greek in style and taste, their circular-headed windows contradict it, and disagreeably remind the spectator of the still more decided difference between the taste of the exterior and that of the interior. This, however, is a trivial blemish compared with one very serious and pervading defect; namely, that of the plan altogether, which so far from presenting any kind of beauty, any originality, contrivance, variety, contrast, or play, is exceedingly commonplace and monotonous, and as inconvenient withal as can well be

* A *situations-plan* of the whole palace and the surrounding buildings, as also a table of the public edifices at Munich, with their respective dates and architects, may be found in the article MUNICH, in the Penny Cyclopaedia. The façade of the Bibliothek, and some of Gärtner's Buildings at Munich, are given in Count E. Raczyński's "Art Moderne;" as also a coloured plate of one of the splendid painted windows in Ohlmüller's Church of St. Maria Hilf. In regard to this building Raczyński says, "Cette église est, peut-être, la construction la plus importante qui a été faite de nos jours dans le genre gothique, et une de celles qui a le mieux réussi."

imagined. It is divided on each floor into two enfilades of rooms, all rectangular, either square or oblong, without any intermediate communication, except one part where there is a narrow passage for domestics. As far as arrangement goes, not the slightest attempt has been made at effect. Not only are the principal rooms nearly of the same form, but nearly all of the same size, and so disposed as to occasion inconvenience, and exclude effect also. This will hardly be disputed when we say that the centre of the enfilade in the front of the building divides into a series of small rooms, having only a single window each; and being appropriated as the king's and queen's bed-rooms, dressing-rooms, &c., entirely cut off all communication between those on either side of them. Thus, so far from any climax being produced, all sort of focus and centralization is destroyed, and the parts are disunited and scattered. In fact the whole of this floor can be considered as consisting only of private apartments, notwithstanding that both on the king's and queen's side there is a throne-room preceded by two or three ante-chambers. With the exception of the rooms at either extremity of the front, all the others must be inaccessible to those whose immediate personal attendance on their majesties does not give them the privilege of passing and repassing as there may be occasion of doing.

As long as the apartments are or were merely in progress, and might be freely passed through by visitors, from one end of the building to the other, no inconvenience of the kind alluded to would be felt; and it was therefore most likely entirely overlooked by strangers, whose attention would be directed only to each room successively, without considering whether the whole was properly combined as a habitation. Either this pervading defect did not strike Mrs. Jameson, or she did not care even to hint at it; for in her long and somewhat particular account of the palace, there is not a syllable to lead any one to suspect that the plan is so egregiously faulty. If the dining-room is intended to be used only strictly *en famille*, no very great inconvenience may arise, though it cannot be reached from the queen's apartments otherwise than by passing through two open staircases and several very small rooms, some of them mere lobbies; neither can it be entered on the other side except through the king's throne-room, which is so far made to become a mere ante-room, or chamber of communication. The only rooms therefore which are at all fitted for the reception of general visitors at entertainments, are those above,

where the centre of the front is carried up a story higher than the rest. So far Klenze seems to have taken especial care that the classical compliment "*Quam bene non habitas*" shall be strictly applicable to his royal patron, Louis the First. In matters of this kind our superiority is so manifest, that foreign buildings of otherwise great pretension will not endure comparison with our own. For its plan, if for nothing else, Buckingham Palace may very safely challenge the *Königsbau* at Munich; not only as being free from the positive inconveniences of every kind found in the latter, but also as far better laid out for effect, as regards both facility of communication and spaciousness.*

We will not be quite sure that fresco-painting, when employed to the extent which it is throughout the Munich palace, is altogether the very best mode of decoration, or calculated to give the greatest importance to the architecture. For particular rooms and in certain situations, it may be suitable enough; but it is hardly so for sitting-rooms, where paintings upon such a scale are apt to become too obtrusive, and by their subjects forming too harsh a contrast—sometimes perhaps almost a ludicrous antithesis—to the familiar details of social life: the opposition becomes that of poetry to prose. A mere picture does not force itself so conspicuously upon the attention; it may be gazed at or not, studied or overlooked; but paintings which constitute, so to say, the local scenery of the whole space, put forth a too direct claim to notice; and though they may be interesting to the casual visitor, cease to make so much impression after constant familiarity. A great deal may certainly be said on both sides; we shall therefore only observe that as decorations for the walls of sitting-rooms, subjects in fresco ought, we conceive, to be employed with some reserve, and not suffered to occupy too great a space of surface. In this opinion we are borne out by one who must be admitted a competent authority on the subject, and who has not scrupled to

* Of Buckingham Palace plans, &c. are given in the new edition of the "Public Buildings of London." The height of the principal rooms is 25 feet, that of the picture gallery more; while in the palace at Munich the rooms are 27 feet high—which is certainly no very extraordinary difference. Nevertheless Mrs. Jameson would lead us to suppose either that the latter are much loftier, or the others much lower than they really are; for she says "George the Fourth had a predilection for low ceilings, so all the future inhabitants of the Pimlico Palace must endure suffocation." *Suffocation* indeed! if rooms twenty-five feet high are still so low as to endanger people's lives by suffocation, there would be scarcely half a dozen families in England that would escape it.

question the propriety of some of the most noted works of the kind. "The far-famed Loggie of the Vatican," says Hessemer, "which, ever since they first existed, have been extolled as the greatest models of decoration are in fact not decoration at all, but a series of paintings covering the surface of both walls and ceilings. As a whole they possess no architectural character; and if the separate pictures, allegories, &c., have very little intimate connection with each other, they have, as such, still less with their situation and with the building itself. As offering an instance of the greatest contradiction between locality and decoration, may be mentioned the works of Giulio Romano in the *Palazzo del Te* at Mantua, with regard to the pictorial but *non-decorative* merits of which I forbear to make any further comments."

After our animadversions upon the Königsbau, we can hardly be charged with being indiscriminate partisans of the "Bavarian Ictinus;" nor is it without concern we are compelled to admit that the talents of Klenze have not always been exerted in proportion to the opportunities afforded, or in correspondence with the generous ardour of his royal patron.* For the faults we have pointed out

* It has been said that we have overrated foreign talent in architecture, and shown a disposition if not actually to decry—to throw that of our own countrymen as much as possible into the shade. We have invariably spoken our sentiments honestly to the best of our judgment, without other bias or partiality than that arising from our love of the art itself, nor is it our fault if we have met with more talent in the works of some German architects than in those of the English. At all events we are but petty sinners in comparison with such a flagitious offender as Mr. Bartholomew, who in his work entitled "Specifications," not content with representing architecture to be now almost in the very lowest state of degradation in this country, both as to science and design, has favoured us with a chapter On the Present School of German, which we shall take the liberty of here transcribing entire.

"The present German school of architecture is, taken altogether, entitled to very considerable praise; its works possess much grandeur of conception, much beauty of sculptural decoration in the *very finest style of art*, blended with considerable constructive science. We have in none of our modern architecture *such exquisitely imaginative beauties*. Most of our modern buildings are *mean and bald*; some few of them possess correctness, but even of these some appear colder still than the stone of which they are built. In some points, however, our buildings are very superior to those of the Germans, for amidst the excellences of our foreign competitors' works, there is a rudeness which is totally surprising; a certain blending of the very worst principles of the very worst Gothic, at total variance with the soaring beauties of their school, which rises, in some respects, *beyond the works of the very Greeks themselves*. Without this dash of Tedesco corruption, their works would be too soaring, too *etherial to be human*. Their designs

we are not indebted to his opponent, Wiegmann: since he bestows no notice on any of Klenze's buildings, except merely *en passant*, with brief and general censure, and without entering at all into particular criticism. So far his pamphlet has disappointed us, for though the title makes no specific promise, we did expect that, whether for eulogy or the reverse, it would furnish—if not a biography, yet something like an account of the architect's professional career. Instead of this, the writer confines himself almost entirely to the consideration of Klenze's principles and theory, as illustrated in his collection of designs for churches, entitled "Christliche Bauart." Of that production we cannot trust ourselves to speak, not having the volume by us to refer to, nor now recollecting more of it—after a single inspection—than that we considered the designs of rather mediocre quality, and betraying a want of study. The specimens there given of Greek architecture as applied to that class of buildings appeared to us by no means happy models, nor calculated to instruct, as they might have done, had the motives of each subject been explained. As little are we able to say whether the severity of Wiegmann's remarks—his fastidiousness and captiousness are justified by anything he himself has done, or by greater success attending his own principles; to confess the truth, it is not very clear to us what the latter really are, or what at times he means to say. We may, however, venture to assert that several of his remarks come home to others besides Klenze, and who, equally bigotted in favour of Greek architecture, are still more cold and pedantic in their application of it; formal copyists, who do not even attempt more than a mere reflection of the antique, and that only in particular features; and while certain forms are scrupulously imitated, fidelity as to the genius and real spirit of the style affected is usually lost—perhaps held matter of no account. The consequence is that the things so produced are more or less failures—neither antique nor modern—not a skilful adaptation of both, but a harsh and disagreeable conflict of opposing elements and contradictory ideas. Little does it avail for an architect to exhibit

seem to be the result of the two opposite principles resident in men. Could we transfuse into our architecture the unpolluted, classical, and inventive beauties of the Germans, we should both warm and raise it. But we need only to copy the vices of the German school to complete the ruin of our own *diseased architecture*."

This extract shows that there is at least one English writer—and he himself an architect—who far out-Herods us in his estimate of the German school.

the most perfect Grecian portico or colonnade, if he at the same time lets us see that he has trusted to that alone;—that so far from being a necessary portion of his structure, it is a mere adjunct which, though certainly not so intended, chiefly forces us to feel its own vast superiority over all the rest; and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of making that which ought to be principal, harmonize with, or even seem worthy of what is engrafted upon it. Almost invariably do architects forget that by such adoptions they tacitly bind themselves to raise every other part in the same spirit, and to display such powers as shall excuse their appropriating the merit of others to themselves, by making it truly part and parcel of their own work.

Unless this last can be effected with ability, the antique forms will seldom be more than something hung about a modern building—extraneous parts;—not a consistent dress in which the whole is attired, but mere trimmings and appendages; intended to pass for architectural style, but oftener making it all the more manifest how deficient the building itself is in character, and destitute of all that conduces to style. Nay, if, on the one hand, columns and other Greek decorations display the great superiority of classical taste, on the other, they lose much of their original value and charm, by being associated with what but ill accords with them. Many a modern *soi-disant* Greek building reminds us of Cicero's witty question to Lentulus: "Who has tied you to that great sword?"—for with us the question might frequently be: Who has tied that plain and insignificant building to that classical portico?—It also generally happens that such feature is itself impoverished, in order that the contrast between it and the rest may not be too ridiculously glaring.

"Exquisite as is the taste," says a recent writer,* "which characterizes Grecian design, the forms to which it was applied are by far too few to meet the numerous and complex exigencies of the art at the present day; besides which, simple as the application of the style appears to be, and certainly is, if nothing more be required than to apply its mouldings and transfer its ornaments to buildings quite differently constituted, it is by no means an easy task, as experience must have convinced many ere now, to employ it successfully, and so as not merely to avoid glaring inconsistencies, but so as to produce a work that shall be of high and uniform

quality throughout. To accomplish this is a very different matter from producing a decent plagiarious compilation; for in addition to a well cultivated taste, it demands no small portion of inventive power: to say the truth, it requires nothing less than that the architect should be able to conceive his subject in the spirit of an artist of antiquity, and afterwards mature and finish it up, furnishing to it from his own mind all that is necessary for its completeness, but of which ancient examples stop short. Those, therefore, who are desirous that Greek architecture should retain its vogue among us, should aim at accomplishing this; if they cannot—if, after so long a trial of it, it be found utterly incapable of giving us any thing much better or more consistent than has hitherto been produced, and that we have already exhausted its powers of design and the combinations it admits of, they have no very great reason to be surprised should it now be laid aside for a style (*viz.* the Italian) which not only readily adapts itself to our mode of building, but derives much of its character and effect from features for which ancient architecture makes no provision, or rather obstinately rejects."

These remarks certainly deserve attention, because they are particularly directed against the besetting sin of almost all our modern Greek—not to call it pseudo-Greek architecture. It is quite objectionable enough that even at the best, the façade of a building, instead of resulting naturally from its internal distribution and circumstances of construction, is little better than a mask artfully adapted; but it becomes actually offensive and unpardonable when that mask itself is allowed to exhibit contradictions and dissonances which betray how ill the style professed to be adopted is even understood. If the simulation cannot be consistently kept up—if what is Greek and what is not Greek is so obstinate that neither can be accommodated to the other, it is better to avoid altogether the appearance of a direct imitation of the former style, and only to borrow so much from it as can be properly incorporated with the rest.*

* Were architectural composition at all taught as it ought to be in academies of art, the errors we daily witness would never be committed: yet though that branch of the study is almost the only one which properly belongs to such institutions, it is precisely that which is most neglected. Indeed, it is hardly affected or attempted to be taught at all, but left entirely to accident. When prize subjects are undertaken by the students, it is not sufficient to award premiums to the best; the merits and defects of all these ought to be made the subject of a lecture or lectures by the architectural professor, and with the drawings before him, in order to be

* See "*Studies and Examples of the Modern School of English Architecture*," p. 17.

Diametrically opposed to Klenze, who considers Grecian or Greco-Roman architecture—for he does not reject the Roman arch—to be the only style adapted for universal application, Wiegmann contends that the adherence, or the attempt to adhere, to pure Greek forms in our present and totally different system of construction, is no better than pedantic affectation; and that they ought no longer to be retained by us as models. He further asserts that there can be no such thing as a permanent and unchangeable style in architecture, and that the endeavour to revive at the present day any by-gone style whatever is an absurdity, and very much like trying to force a stream to flow back to its source. According to him, only that which is perfect matter of indifference in itself, and has nothing to do with style, can be indiscriminately adopted as suitable to all times and all occasions. In this there is a certain degree of truth, but somewhat of perverseness also; for a style based upon Greek architecture must upon the whole be allowed to run more in unison with modern taste generally, and prove more capable of application to every diversity of purpose, than any other we are acquainted with. At all events Wiegmann himself has not even attempted to point out how we are to extricate ourselves from the perplexities of his doctrine. He is not one of those who would discard Grecian in order to make way for Gothic, because he rejects the one just as much as the other. Neither do we exactly know how far he really objects to the Greek style, or under what limitations he considers its adoption allowable or even beneficial. That he admits the latter to be possible, is, however, apparent from the commendations he bestows upon Schinkel, observing:

"He is an inspired venerator of Grecian art: but instead of adhering to its externals alone—to what was more or less conventional in it, and arose out of the circumstances of the times in which it flourished—he has actually penetrated into its very spirit, and in more than one of his works has shown that the rationality and beauty arising out of construction—which stamps the works of the Greeks as superior to all others, may be made to display themselves even at the present day; and that notwithstanding the great

difference between them and the structures of antiquity in regard to many particulars of design, such works partake infinitely more of the same spirit than do the ill-understood and lifeless imitations of which Klenze has furnished us so many," viz. in his *Christliche Baukunst*.

How the above passage can be very well reconciled with the apparently unqualified rejection of Greek architecture even as a type for us moderns, is a point we must leave to Herr Wiegmann himself to explain. In admitting that it is possible to catch the true spirit and genius of Grecian architecture, and to infuse them into buildings adapted to widely different purposes from those of antiquity, he admits all that we ourselves contend for; and, in fact, so far advocates the very course we ourselves would uphold;—since few can be more strongly opposed than ourselves to that cold, formal, lifeless imitation of Greek models, which amounts to nothing more than the most servile and tasteless species of copying—slavishly correct as to certain particulars, but egregiously incorrect—absolutely licentious, in all that regards taste and feeling. We certainly should have been far better satisfied had Wiegmann explained himself so fully as to remove all apparent contradictions, and to leave no room whatever for doubt; still more, had he confined himself more strictly to architecture, instead of entering into vague metaphysical inquiries with regard to the nature and power of art generally, while he is so brief and obscure in regard to many points connected with the former, and which it is highly desirable that either he or some one else should render perfectly clear. What he chiefly proves is, not that Grecian architecture is altogether inapplicable at the present day—such doctrine being wholly at variance with the very high commendation bestowed upon Schinkel for the happiness with which he has in many instances made use of it;—but that the designs in the *Christliche Baukunst* are nearly all more or less defective, notwithstanding that they were put forth as models for the instruction of others, nor was their author at all fettered in his ideas by any of those circumstances which generally interfere in the case of actual buildings. After all, therefore, the more important question is left poised in equilibrium, as much being conceded on one hand as is denied on the other. Very little notice, again, is bestowed on the buildings actually erected by Klenze, notwithstanding that many of them—not only the *Pinacotheca* and *Neue Residenz*, but *Prince Maximilian's Palace*,* *Kriegsministe-*

distinctly pointed out and dwelt upon;—their faults or beauties as to general conception, their merits or their failings as to the treatment of particular parts, should be explained and commented on. Such direct lessons would, we conceive, be infinitely more instructive and impressive, than those which merely lay down general principles; because they would come at once to the application of principles, and furnish an opportunity of showing how far they were understood.

* In its plan this palace is many degrees superior to the *Königsbau*, yet still falls as many degrees

rium, Post Office, &c., are almost entirely in the Italian, and particularly in the Florentine style; yet whether the Munich architect's practice is on that account to be considered much more sound than his theory, we are not explicitly told, but left to guess it as well as we can. Now this indistinctness and indecision are to us highly disagreeable: if Wiegmann thought he could even demolish Klenze altogether, and give the death-blow to his theory in recommendation of Greek architecture, he should have shown himself more in earnest; and instead of saying a very great deal that amounts to nothing, should have stuck to the main point, and there battered away. If he wishes to have it understood that Klenze is little better than a charlatan in art, he should have put, or tried to put the fact beyond doubt—should have left us no middle course, but have either compelled us to adopt, or called upon us to refute his arguments.

We are, indeed, favoured with opinions as to one or two of the structures erected by Klenze at Munich; yet mere opinions are very different from argument and criticism: they may be correct or erroneous, just or unjust, but, if received at all, must be taken entirely upon trust, at least by those who have either not the means, or else not the ability, of judging for themselves. Thus, Wiegmann dispatches the Königsbau very summarily, calling it a "verballhornten Pallast Pitti;" and again, condemns the Glyptotheca as an unhappy combination of a pure Greek temple with a prison-like mass of building. If it is the absence of windows that constitutes the prison-like character complained of, the same comparison may be extended not only to the temples, but almost all the other public edifices of the ancients that are remaining; while if some other circumstance produces this effect, it might not have been amiss to explain it to us. Is Wiegmann of opinion that the wings of the façade are too low for the portico?—that, instead of rising above the rest, the portico would have appeared more of a piece with it, if merely stuck on to the building, and made to jut out from it, the whole front being kept of the same height throughout? Or, does he think that some windows both within the portico and on each side of it would have improved the whole—have mitigated the too temple-like character of the one, and the too prison-like aspect of the other? This is what he does not care to inform us; neither does he afford the least clue as to what he

considers a more harmonious combination, by referring to something else as an example of it. The most, therefore, that we can say in his excuse is, that he is kept in countenance by a great many others who seem to think that the mere expression of praise or blame is sufficient for architectural criticism.

This last remark applies far more strongly than we could wish to the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*,* where of the various buildings that have been represented and described, scarcely one has had any comments made upon it. Yet this suppression of criticism can hardly have been occasioned by overstrained delicacy, because several would have afforded opportunity for descanting upon the merits of their design. Among these are the Buchhändler Börse, at Leipsic, erected by Geutebrüch, the architect of the Augusteum, 1834-6; and Dr. Härtel's house in the same city, by Waldemar Herrmann, of Dresden. Both are in a rich Italian style; and of the two the latter has somewhat the superiority as to extent of façade, its front being 112 feet (English) in length, while that of the other is 108. Besides which it has very much the air of a public building, as there is only a principal floor with an open Corinthian loggia of five intercolumns, above the ground-floor or basement, while the loggia itself is decorated with compartments in fresco. As far as style and beauty of external architecture go, there is scarcely a private mansion in all London that can compete with it, certainly not one of recent date; for even Sutherland House is but a very plain and frigid piece of design in com-

* In some of the Numbers of this work, for the present year, there is an interesting series of papers on Gardens and Villas, by Freiherr von Welden, which is moreover remarkable on account of two very flagrant plagiarisms from English publications:—one a design copied from the second series of Goodwin's *Domestic Architecture*, which, though never executed, is pretended to be that of a house in the Isle of Anglesea; the other from a design for a villa by E. B. Lamb, in the third volume of the *Architectural Magazine*. In the plans of both are made some trifling alterations—they cannot be called improvements—but in every other respect the designs are the same, and so peculiar and striking, that once seen, they can hardly fail to be immediately recognized. As to Goodwin, he was not an overscrupulous person himself, as is evident from the exposure of his conduct with regard to that portion of his work of which the Freiherr has availed himself so very freely. As respects the other design, he does not pretend to say where it has been erected, but observes that it is considered here, in England, quite a pattern of its kind; and he therefore ought to have given its author's name;—for it is the suppression of the mention of the works whence the two designs are derived, that constitutes the worst part of the deception practised by the Freiherr.

short of excellence in point of its arrangement, in which there is neither contrivance nor effect, neither play nor variety.

parison; and both Norfolk House, in St. James's Square, and Buckingham House, Pall Mall, are absolutely homely. To say the truth, it may fairly challenge almost any one of our Clubhouses—at least of those already erected—for we must not, as yet, include the Reform Club, whose façade promises to eclipse all its neighbours. We call attention to this example all the more, because we have nothing similar at home: on the contrary, so far from any stimulus having been given of late years to architectural display in the town residences of our nobility and persons of fortune, it would rather seem that the trumpery show and flaring tawdriness of the Terraces in the Regent's Park, and other barrack-like ranges of buildings of that class, have brought the system into disrepute; and it certainly must be acknowledged that the plain and perfectly unassuming brick fronts of houses far more costly and spacious than those just alluded to, have a far more aristocratic look than the others, whose grandeur is nothing more than overgrown littleness, and meanness tricked out in the coarsest finery: truly may they be described as the very Brummagem of architecture.*

That other private town houses of a very superior character besides that of Dr. Härtel have been erected in Germany within the few last years, is shown by that belonging to Dr. Abendroth, of Hamburg, and forming one of the designs in Chateaufort's *Architectura Domestica*, where it is illustrated not only by plans and elevations, but by sections and plates of detail. Recent circumstances have rendered M. Chateaufort's name rather familiar to the English public, he having obtained the second premium in the competition for the Royal Exchange; and the taste he has displayed in the house just referred to, particularly in the staircase and some other parts of the interior, as well as in the arrangement of the rooms, and the variety of their forms, produces an agreeable though also a rather mortifying contrast to what we observe here at home. How he came to bring out his book in this country, we know not; but hope it will spirit up some of our own architects to revive the now obsolete fashion of publishing designs of buildings executed by themselves.

The last of the works placed at the head of our article deserves more notice than we can now bestow on it, although it claims notice here merely on account of a single pa-

per in it, namely that entitled *Ob' Arkhitectura*, and which certainly contains some very sensible and clever remarks well deserving the consideration of professional men. It must be confessed that the writer speaks more from feeling and from his own impressions than from his study of the art, and that he contemplates this exclusively from a poetical point of view; yet it is not on that account less deserving the attention of architects. On the contrary, it will be of service, we may hope, by dwelling in the forcible manner it does upon those qualities of design which architects themselves are apt to overlook—at least to consider comparatively unimportant and hardly worth the study necessary to secure them—namely, character and expression. "Has the spirit of architecture" (he asks) "entirely passed away in this our time, that notwithstanding the enormous sums expended upon many of them, so very few of our buildings have any pretension to rank as works of art, or exhibit proof of having been conceived in the genius, or even the taste of the styles professed to be followed?" Whether architects will be disposed to pardon the reproaches he brings against them on account of the warm enthusiasm for art which dictates these, we do not pretend to say: but he certainly does reproach them with showing themselves utterly insensible to the beauties of their own models. The art, he complains, has been reduced to little more than a trifling copying of little conventional niceties, while all fidelity as to character is, for the most part, wholly disregarded, and apparently held unworthy a moment's consideration. Scarcely ever can such a system produce any thing better than either feeble or else forced imitations of styles which are in themselves exploded, and have become to us as dead languages of the art. We do not, however, quite agree with Gogol in all his remarks: the following passage for instance is amusing at least if not instructive.

"Walter Scott was the *first* who swept away the dust from Gothic architecture and showed it to the world in all its beauty. From that time a taste for it has spread rapidly, and in England almost all the new churches are erected in that style. They are very charming (*miles*), very pleasing to the eye; but, alas! they have nothing of that true grandeur which breathes in the vast" (and he might have added, in the smallest) "edifices of former ages. Notwithstanding their pointed windows, their pinnacles and spires, they have upon the whole but very little of the genuine Gothic character, but evidently depart considerably from their models."

To the last of these observations we freely

* Were Mr. Hope to convert the range of dead wall in Duchess and Mansfield Streets, into an ornamental exterior of his galleries, not only the situation, but the nature of the building itself would be highly favourable to architectural display.

assent, but we think that the commendation bestowed upon our modern Gothic churches generally is by far too liberal; there being only a few exceptions among them of which it can be said that they are "very charming and very pleasing to the eye." Further on Gogol recommends Oriental architecture as a mine wherein many useful materials might be found, and from which many valuable hints and ideas might be derived,—much certainly, that might be ingrafted upon Gothic for domestic architecture, and particularly for interior embellishment,—that is, in the hands of an architect "gifted with the invention and the feeling of a poet." One remark of this writer which deserves especial consideration is, that while so much taste is displayed in the other ornamental arts, which, instead of being tethered to precedents, are freely allowed to exert novel combinations, all originality of detail is strictly interdicted in architecture, as nothing less than most mischievous innovation: yet surely full as much latitude might be allowed in the ornaments if not the proportions of a capital as we find in those of antique vases, which although all fashioned after one or two general types, exhibit an endless diversity in their details. It is true that not every one who calls himself an architect can be safely trusted to depart at all from established rules and models; but this perhaps is in a great measure owing to their having been trained from the very first to look upon it as their duty not to cultivate their invention and form their taste upon the best examples of Grecian or Gothic art, but to repress it altogether. At all events, however, this is no reason why the more talented should be interdicted from doing what others cannot. The Germans have less of this Neophobia in architecture than almost any other people;—Schinkel we need not name, but as another strong instance of the free scope allowed in invention we may refer to the *Architectonisches Album*, which contains designs by Stüler and Strask for the buildings proposed to be attached to the railway between St. Petersburg and Pavlovsk. The length to which our article has reached prevents our entering into any observations upon them; all therefore we add is, that in this age of railroads it is to be hoped that their "stations" and "termini" will be allowed to afford some employment for architects, and originate a class and style of buildings totally distinct from those we have at present.

ART. V.—*Akhlak-i-Jalady, from the Persian of Jany Mohammed Asaad. Practical Philosophy of the Mohammedans.* Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund. Translated by W. F. Thompson, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Service. London: 1839.

ALTHOUGH the labours of the Oriental Translation Fund have been so long before the British and Foreign public, and though the Society itself, in the years that have elapsed since its formation, has fully sustained the promise of its commencement, and brought to the European eye so many of the treasures that lay till then hidden in the obscurity of oriental languages; although the relations of Europe with the East are hourly and daily increasing both in number and importance; although the connection of these two portions of the globe has long been cemented, and on the part of Great Britain in particular most closely by ties of family or personal interest—as well as affection;—though the growing importance of eastern countries commercially and politically, stimulates alike both selfishness and philanthropy, public and private, to foster the cultivation and improvement both of the soil and inhabitants of the various realms of Asia;—though the neglect of these obvious considerations has repeatedly entailed disaster and distress upon whole bodies of individuals in Europe, if not upon its nations; and though these evils have been undeniably brought about by ignorance, not less on the one side than the other:—of the Asiatic, as to sound, enlightened principles of domestic government and foreign intercourse; of the European, as to the real character, prejudices, and peculiarities of the nations with whom he has to deal: still, despite of political existence, of personal interest, of private ties, of philanthropic objects, philosophic views, antiquarian research, religious feelings, and even, far dearest, of pecuniary gain; the British public, the most deeply interested of any in most, if not all of these questions, has shown the greatest apathy of any in proportion to its situation and facilities with all.

It can scarcely be questioned that this neglect has arisen from want of due consideration in the generality, and in sheer ignorance rather than wilful disregard of more expansive views. So long in that quarter as trade could be pushed and fortunes made by the mercantile community: so long as political alliances were anticipated and forestalled by physical force and absolute subjugation, with the statesman; so long as the scholar could confine his intellect within the narrow and insufficient bounds of classical information, the natural indolence or cupidity of each

class, for its own immediate objects, prevented the attempt and the wish to look beyond: nor is it till the usual consequences of all short-sighted policy are visited upon us with the worst severity, till China has repelled our opium and refused her teas—till from Turkey to Burmah all is trouble, violence, and injustice—till history turns, hopeless, from the pages of Greece, and the key of Egyptian hieroglyphics is broken in that rude and rusted lock—that we begin to suspect there has been something amiss. The rupee-tree of Hindostan has been shaken of its fruit, and the balances of silver syce mock the opium's wakened dream:—if we soothe the ruined Turk, we are hated by Burmah, Cabul and Persia; and the boast of classic elucidation proves but its delusive vanity. Had those three great classes of our countrymen studied with a larger and more comprehensive intellect the spirit of Eastern nations, as developed in their institutions, they would have seen that neither the commerce, the policy, nor the genius of these nations could be actuated by the same rules that form the standard of Europe.

It is the learned who are chiefly to blame: for the knowledge derivable from books is their avowed care; through them must it flow in gradual and practical wisdom to the other classes of society; and it is for this that their seminaries are endowed by the liberal, and supported and guarded by the State. The scholar, placed from certain evidences of his ability in situations of honourable competence by the institutions of his country, owes that country a positive duty in return: his ease is not consulted that it may degenerate into sloth, his library is not stored that he may close his eyes in repletion, his pockets are not filled to be merely emptied into his chest, nor is the earlier leisure of his college intended as a dormitory. The man of learning, so placed, is bound to look abroad as well as at home; the living world of literature is his proper sphere; mental activity is his duty, to himself and his countrymen; and if he fails in this, and, wrapping himself up in the fat slumbers of contented prejudice, neglects to acquire or circulate the information to which he should be devoted, he injures the charges intrusted to his care, and abuses the hospitality that feeds him; he is a false steward, an ungrateful guest.

A vulgar error has gone forth lately into the world that only a little learning is a useful thing, and shallowness is the order of the day: even the greater number of the really learned who openly oppose this dictum, act, though with some modification, upon its principle. But is it necessary, we would ask, that if a long portion of life should be

devoted to studying the wisdom of antiquity, that a still larger portion should be wasted in shutting out, or rejecting, wisdom from any other entrance? Surely he who has learned to weigh and feel the pure spirit of ancient genius, is the very fittest to weigh and appreciate the sense of other nations. Why, having studied in one point, should he exclude all the rest? Why confine himself to one or two languages when there are twenty open to him? Is there no possibility of a stimulus after manhood? no exercises, no degrees, but those for boys?

Did the statesman assist the formation of new progressions of real knowledge at home, he would not be so often mistaken as to the genius of distant nations. Fellowships might be created, endowments directed to cherish, and honours to reward the cultivators of such wide fields. But his should be, not a direct but a moral influence; his duty is to lead the public energies, not to bribe them: he might act on public opinion, and this would act on the universities.

And here would be the gain of the merchant. He would not by force or fraud violate the laws of man and God so widely and so generally, did he know that the races he scorns as barbarians have rules of conduct and justice, and would yield more profit by cultivation, care, and management, than by treachery and wrong. If sufficiently enlightened himself he would seek to enlighten others, as the surest way to attain his ends at last.

If the statesman is less obviously interested in the question, it can be only because the interests of the community are vested in him, to be maintained in preference to his own. But if his own glory and the good of his country are at heart he will duly feel the advantages to be derived from the progress of civilisation and enlightenment, not only in those lands but at home, and with himself: since by becoming, so to say, practically conversant with the habits and feelings of distant and barbarous nations, he learns to know and appreciate their position, capabilities, and wants, and is prepared to avail himself of these for the welfare of his native land, the consolidation of her strength, enlargement of her relations, the increase of her influence, and diffusion of her commerce. It is only by a thorough acquaintance with all that is around him that he learns to enter into and familiarize himself with the spirit and national feeling of every part;—a point too long neglected:—and it is only by the distribution of this information, thoroughly infused into the daily nutriment of his nation at home, that he can expect to be supported by them, as the vigilant guard and watch-post of their communal rights. Had such measures been

taken and such vigilance exerted in proportion to the growing interests of our political and commercial relations with the East, would Dost Mahommed have been rejected as an ally till he was forced or won over into enmity? would Turkey have been neglected till she sank,—or Persia affronted till roused into querulous wrath? would Central Asia have to be only now explored, to ascertain her political and commercial tendencies? would the Indus trade be but now attempting? would indigo be growing wild, and opium till lately unknown, in Ceylon? and would not Assam, if explored and cultivated some very few years sooner, have by this time afforded an ample supply of that tea, which is the sole link of China to Europe, beyond the infamy of national smuggling? These are not considerations for the minister alone; they are the vital points of that commerce on which the greatness of England depends; and private fortunes and public welfare alike demand exertions, new and ceaseless, and forbid the statesman's slumbering at his arduous post, or confining his views and energies to the narrow scale of Europe alone, unless he would cramp, embarrass, depress, and finally ruin, the merchant.

In all questions of national and other importance the Future, to be successful, should be the child of the Past; and the speculations that are to bias and control the former must be based on the experience acquired through ages of existence. The moments of the Present are but the passing steps by which life mounts from that Past, to the Future of unhorizoned and indefinite Time. If we would that this shall bring something more than barren repentance for ourselves, and a legacy of errors for our descendants to correct while they execrate, we must strive to extract the spirit of ancient and modern information, and shape it into the Ethics of political and national conduct. Yet to examine but a portion of the world is to dismember reason, and destroy half the reign and more than half the efficiency of wisdom. Where has information been narrowed that it has not become a mockery? and when has inquiry rejected a whole series of facts without turning the rest into a destructive fallacy?

If such are the data of the active world, they do not change their form in the speculative. We would ask the renowned scholars of England and Europe, and centuries upon centuries stand included in the question, How much of antiquity is really known to them—how many ascertained facts they have disinterred by their labours? The statements of Sanchoniatho are given up as a hopeless jumble; the traditions of Berossus as unsupported and unsupportable? the early

texts of Holy Writ are but the Pelion and Ossa of successive strife: the realm of Creation but a listed battle-field for the church militant of Geology! Where are the first fourteen dynasties of Egypt—and where the mocking promise of hieroglyphic revelations? Whence came the Greeks, whom we know to have sprung from the ground; though we know also that they descended from ancestors, of whom also we know—that they and we know nothing? Who were the Etruscans, and whence arose their rites? What was the early history of Rome? and how comes it better known to two modern Germans than to its actual inhabitants? Cannot 3000 years of Classics assist us to a few facts?

If then their scope is inefficient, should not learning extend its range, instead of sitting down in the Professor's chair of ignorance? Surely the eagle wings of European science had long enough been spread over the barren East, before the Chinese loadstone and printing were known to Europe: Eastern niceties of mathematical measurement, even late in our days, have been brought in to rectify, and enlarge, the calculations of the West: and an earlier effort than the recent and rational inquiry might long ago have taught Britain the ready manufacture of steel by the principles of chemistry, known in India ages before the days of Alexander! The oversight is surely a stigma upon our unquestionable intelligence, and no less unquestionable indolence and self-sufficiency.

If Science, thus improved, will still ignore all Eastern advances, is Learning to follow her example and be content to stop her career altogether? How can the heart of the scholar rest satisfied to rely, in his ignorance of antiquity, upon those classical authorities, whereof the Greek is fable, and the Roman, falsification! Both fall confessedly short of the truth he seeks, or at least affects to seek; and yet he is content to be told by one or two earliest labourers in Oriental fields that nothing there will assist him. Surely the scansion of Greek writers in Greek tragedies is not a more important inquiry than to discover how the Greeks (the Romans after them only), the Indians, and the Chinese came to have a theatre, so totally

* The tree-dwelling Kookies of Dr. Spry would not have astonished the reading world had the account of that race, published forty years ago, been better known to Europe; or the Vedahs of Ceylon, who live in the same manner, shunning all intercourse; and who, when in want of an arrow-head, &c., leave the weapon, with a leaf shaped like the intended head, by night, near the dwelling of some more civilized smith, and pay his labour by the present of a deer, left in the same manner afterwards.—See the forthcoming work on Ceylon by J. W. Bennett, F. L. S.

unknown to the Babylonian, Persian, Celt, Arab, and Turk. Yet judge for himself he will not : and so long as he can shroud his senses in the thick cloud of a dreaming mythology, the Modern will know nothing with which his favoured Ancients were unacquainted, and rests ignorant of learning lest he lose the name of learning with the ignorant.

Yet can Universities, British or Foreign, answer the difficulties, purely CLASSICAL, or connected with the Classics? And if they cannot, ought they to withhold assistance from those societies that are striving directly and indirectly for the solution of such? Is it not a conjoint object; ought it not, therefore, to be also a conjoint effort with them? Let CLASSICISM tell us,—

Who was Deucalion? Who was Ogyges?

Who were the Thracians—and their Mars?

Whence came the Gods of Greece?

How came the tale of Tereus and Philomela into Greece?

How is it that the traditions of the East constantly assimilate to the allusions in Homer?

How comes the conformity of the story of Circe with a tale of the Ceylonese?

Whence is the story of Polyphemus known in India?

Who was the musician Thamyras?

Whence came the name of the Syrens?

How came the Doric forms in the Tamul?

What is the etymology of the word PENATES?

What was, and whence originated, the primary difference of the Greek and Roman worship?

Whence comes the identity of the stories of Osiris and Hothir?

Who were the Phœnicians?

Why do Greek and Latin resemble the Sanscrit?

Did India borrow cards* from Europe?

How is it that the Egyptian crown, and Egyptian name, of Priest, are found in Ceylon—and of the Chief Priest only?

How comes the English letter, I, to be the Eastern a-ee, the Greek and German e-i? and whence the identity of these?

How are so many peculiarities and provincialisms of the English tongue purely Eastern?—the same of the French and German?

What is the origin of the name of Rome?

Why was February the ancient Persian and Roman month of purification; and Valentine's day sacred to the Indian god of matrimony?

We are well aware that the answer to various of these queries will be referred to the intercourse of the Greeks &c. with Asia: but it will require a very respectable degree of ignorance as to Eastern customs to affirm, that the more important and fundamental of these coincidences were received by the natives of the East from strangers and conquerors, and incorporated by them into their historical, grammatical, and religious systems, careful as these are to exclude everything extraneous. Did the Chinese theatre spring from that of Thespis? Or did the Tamul, confessedly as old as the Sanscrit, if not older, form its compounds to suit the phantasies of Greek fable? Did the Macedonian, or the Roman, minutely locate Scandinavian traditions, with more than their Northern detail, into particular Asiatic districts?

To hear the lame answers or more lame evasions of these questions is far from a jest, even to the most laughter-loving who thinks of the ignorance thus implied in the minds of the learned. Had Selden himself been at all an Eastern philologist, would he have hesitated to prove his supposition as to the identity of Moloch with Adramelech by the ancient Persian Adar, fire, through which the children of Moloch's worshippers had to pass? Would one great maxim of Christianity have been insisted on by some divines as singly a proof of the heavenly origin of our creed, had they known that it was included in the sayings of Confucius, 500 years before? Such deficiencies in such men!—

Who would not laugh if any such there be?

Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?

But, to go one step lower with our argument, we would notice a ludicrous error at present getting into vogue in our Schools. In former times the difference of quantity in long and short syllables was perfectly understood but never attempted, unless in scansion. It is now the common form of prose reading also. The recognition of the principle is undoubtedly correct, but the practical application altogether as erroneous. Take, for instance, the word Λῆγος formerly pronounced Lōgos, now Loggos;—is not the latter quite as bad as the first? The difference of short and long syllables is clearly the Oriental system of vowels written and unwritten. Whether we take alphabets or syllabaries this applies equally. In the Eastern form the faint vocalic sound following the first consonant, and represented in Greek by the ο short, (a substitute too for the υ or ε of Asia,) would preserve to that consonant its

* See note to page 191.

pure syllabic quantity, but not run this into the next syllable as though the word were *Log-gos*, and not *Logos*. This strange and growing error originates obviously in ignorance of the Oriental form of speech, and forgetfulness that the Greek is derived from thence. But to return:—

It is not our wish, it is not in our province, it is neither in our design nor our power, to meddle with the institutions of our Universities. For us it suffices that the fruit they have borne has been the principal means of making England what she is. When we see another country excelling her in free institutions of government, high-toned policy, and generous patriotism, and this too persevered in for centuries amidst comparative barbarism, it will then be time enough to inquire after the novel source of these moral blessings. In the mean time we shall leave state-quacks to theorize on perfectibilities that are to be as lasting as eternity, perhaps because they are as utterly incomprehensible.

But when we calmly consider existing circumstances, we must admit that politically and commercially, as well as in a literary and historical view, the knowledge of the East is hourly growing in importance to England. If then all classes are directly and indirectly concerned, it is no longer a matter of indifference that the two great Societies formed for prosecuting inquiries on this head, should be neglected by the people and the government. Hitherto they have been discouraged to the utmost; and where is the source of re-action to begin? Is it with the Universities and Learned Institutions? or with the Government? Oxford has honoured itself by the choice of professorships and professors, but how many are they that attend to them? We have heard lately of the present Bishop of Calcutta preaching everywhere in the native tongue to the natives. If this were looked on as an exemplar: if the aspirants to clerical, military, and diplomatic preferment all over the East, were to be certified that none but those who had acquired tolerably, if not distinguished themselves in, the several languages necessary for their respective stations, could be eligible for advancement,—what an impetus would it not give to the acquisition and diffusion of Oriental knowledge? Would the professorships be merely sad sinecures? Would the seniors of the University, fellows, and residents, be, as now, ignorant of and indifferent to the study?

The necessary connection of European and Asiatic studies thus brought prominently forward, the establishment of the Asiatic Society in a set of chambers in one of the

government buildings would scarcely be a matter of less national importance than the similar grant to the Royal Academy. Will the Whigs who boast to usurp the patronage of merit at the present day, fall short of that liberal act of George the Third? And were the Asiatic Society,—(which, unlike other Institutions in England, requires so large a capital, and is so confessedly unpatronized by the public; its proper supporters too living for the most part abroad in distant lands;—) were the Asiatic Society thus enabled to display its treasures and give greater publicity to its proceedings, would even the British Museum itself offer a much greater source of improvement, instruction, and interest, to the British public? The meetings of that body comprise the most entertaining matter in the shape of foreign information to be met with anywhere, and much of which never finds its way into print. The upper classes of English society, who feel the worst tedium of life, and are, like their Athenian prototypes, anxious only for some new thing, would come forward to support the desideratum with their purses, were they but sensible of its existence.

And what to the Nation would be the cost of this grant, if mooted, as we hope to see it, in Parliament! A very few thousands at the most,—hardly so much—to enable England to figure in her proper station to Europe as the great leader of Oriental investigation, as she is the great proprietor of Oriental possessions. A National grant would be a National DUTY; and not less a National GAIN, in the shape of instruction and amusement to the people. And it is a mere trifle that would do all this; the small fraction of a single item in the national expenditure. Nor could other societies complain of this; unless they could show the same paucity of exchequer with the same importance of range, as the Asiatic Society, and its Siamese twin, the Oriental Translation Fund.

While on this subject we would also recommend Parliamentary assistance, to procure admission to, and examine, the Jaina records discovered by Tod, of which we gave some notice in our last Number, (p. 80,) and now refer for particulars there, and to the end of this Article, (p. 186.) British gold and influence would conquer native reluctance; but some management will be requisite.

It is, then, the duty or advantage of the three great classes we have referred to, to cherish and foster any system of improvement, any course that tends to throw a light upon the world. Yet the objects of the Oriental Translation Fund, which are simply

these, have met with little support and assistance comparatively from either. How long is this to last? Mr. Bryce affirms that Eastern works, printed at Calcutta, are sought for more in Germany than in England. In the former, we ourselves can state, Oriental literature is far more general than in Britain. How is this? Are the Germans more rich, more wise, or only less selfish than we?

The Translation Fund is taxed to the utmost, the Asiatic Society confessedly impoverished; yet ours is certainly the richest, presumed the wisest, and, on these points, the meanest nation in the world. The cares and honours of ministerial patronage would be injurious, the wealth of collegiate communities perhaps destructive, if applied to support the cause of learning and literature beyond the precincts of Court and University!

What can result from this but depression and disarrangement, and consequent ignorance sufficiently gross to clog the very march of common reason? We have been told, for centuries, that Mahommedanism opposes literature and learning; that the Turks were the most stupid of Mahommedans; that their sacred tenets were adverse to improvement and to good government, and that, therefore, the Turks should be driven out of Europe, and the Greeks substituted in their place. So insisted THE PUBLIC! Hence sprang Navarino and the present political state of armed neutralities and confederacy.

Could the public have been persuaded that the unhappy Mahommedans do sometimes write and think, they would not have urged a crusade against Turkey for desiring not to be robbed. In this spirit the first work at the head of our article may save us yet from a league to expel the Turks from their country, because they do not read Watts' Logic and go to prayer upon Fridays. What serious argument should meet the random assertion that Mahommedanism is inimical to good government?

Mr. Thompson, of whose labours as a scholar and writer, poorly as they have been recompensed, we cannot speak too highly, well observes,

"The mere rivalry, so long and closely maintained by the Muslims, not so much with ourselves as with all the western nations, ought to be sufficient to bespeak our interest and attention, even if there were nothing else in their previous history or internal condition calculated to attract our notice. From the eighth to the sixteenth century the contest seemed to threaten the liberties of Europe. The Turkish and Egyptian dy-

nasties—mere outposts of the great body of Islām—were able, at different periods, to encounter and baffle the united forces of Christendom: and while Europeans consoled themselves with imputing to their adversaries a social barbarism and vitiation inconsistent with their political power, they tacitly belied the flattering apology by borrowing that scholastic literature, which, however worthless as an end, was valuable enough as a means, to raise the borrowers to their present state of mental and physical superiority. Of a people once so distinguished in the opposite achievements of arts and arms, are the laws and habits of action to be counted among the contemptible phenomena of history? Look at their results as compared with those of other institutions; even (at one time) of our own. Are they worthy of authentic elucidation and remark? The following is their own exposition of them; formed in the age of their greatest prosperity, and received by their then most polished people as the completest ever produced."—pp. xvi. xvii.

The following view of the circumstances that preceded the composition of the work is as new as it is instructive.

"During the infancy of the Osmanly empire, while its shocks were already felt to the remotest limits of Europe, but before it had completed the occupation of the fairest of European provinces, its energies were curbed and controlled on the east by the imposing aspect and vast resources of that great central monarchy, which, differing only in its limits and the blood of its ruling tribe, has always been paramount in the heart of Asia. In the days of which we speak it had lately been restored, with unusual splendour, by the arms of the great Timúr, and was still governed by the greatest of his descendants. The æra of Ulug Bég and Husain Abulghazy (or latter half of the fifteenth century) may indeed be considered as the Augustan age of Persian letters. Few potentates of that time but were themselves adepts in the learning they patronized. Ulug Bég was a distinguished astronomer; Abulghazy a poet and essayist of no mean rank. At the court of the latter, in particular, his excessive encouragement of the lighter literature to which he was devoted, had raised up a host of polished and enlightened writers, who seemed to make up, in elegance of expression and refinement of idea, for the want of that solidity and power, which is seldom to be found except in the train of re-action from the hardships of unmerited neglect. Over estimation proves in the end the most fatal form of discouragement.

"While the Timúrian princes of this period were struggling with each other for paramount supremacy, or devoting themselves in supineness to an ostentatious rather than a wise cultivation of their subjects' interests, a character of a far different school rose silently into power on their south-west-

ern frontier. This was Hasán Bēg, the representative of a house placed by Timūr in precarious authority over the province of Mesopotamia, and forced to depend for the maintenance of their position, not on the influence of a name, but on a perpetual and practical display of nature's best title, the ability to maintain it. * * Thus two hostile princes, one of them the reigning Mogul, were captured and put to death; and such was the resolute demeanour he maintained, and the capacity on which it was known to rest, that Abulghāzy, the succeeding emperor, dreaded to attack though unable to conciliate him. His next attempt entitles him, in some sort, to be considered as an auxiliary of the Christian cause, being directed against the Turks, then hardened by yearly contests with the Hungarian chivalry, and led by the enterprising conqueror of Constantinople, Muhammad II. In an invasion of their empire he was repulsed; but the light in which he was held as an antagonist may be inferred from the fact, that his dominions were safe from reprisals as long as he was alive to defend them: and had his reign been one of longer duration, the words of the panegyrist, who asserts his ability to become the paramount sovereign of Asia, might have been justified by the event.

"Under the auspices of this prince, and in analogy, it may be said, as regards the prevailing literature of that period, with his political position, the '*Akhlāk-i-Jalāly*' was produced: a work which, in the importance of its subject matter, and the forcible character of its treatment and language, contrasts strongly with the empty elegance of the compositions most in vogue at the court of Abulghāzy. On this too, as on other occasions, the victory of letters proved more durable than that of arms. Long after the names and fortunes of their respective patrons had been consigned to the sepulchre of history, the '*Akhlāk-i-Jalāly*' continued to afford delight and instruction to statesmen, while the polished essays of Kāshifī and Suhailī were abandoned to the imitation of boys."—p. xvii-xx.

The following passage, comparing the state of philosophy in Europe with that of Asia in past times, unites great ability and originality with great eloquence.

"The translation of this abstruse and elaborate work was undertaken principally in order to illustrate and exemplify the resources of Persian literature, with a view to their bearing upon a question of great practical importance in our Eastern possessions. Of late years it has become a favourite position with those who know not how to explain by any more modest or humane theory the social degradation of the Asiatic people, to attribute it to some radical error in their scientific systems; in other words, to a want of average capacity in the inhabitants of that half of the globe to which the supposers do not happen to belong. The consequences

they deduce are worthy of the liberality of their premises—that Asiatic learning must be extirpated root and branch, and replaced by that of Europe. Now, with such a treatise as the present in our hands, we might be excused, perhaps, if we overlooked the fallacy on which the conclusion proceeds, and chose to retort the charge of incapacity on the opposite side. Here, we might say, is a work of the fifteenth century, displaying a knowledge of the nature, and an enthusiasm in the cause of virtue, which will render it a delightful and improving study, as long as duty and inclination continue to contest the world. What European work of the same æra, as richly laden, as widely known, and as long surviving, will you venture to weigh against it? Political convulsions cut short the flattering promise of further improvement; but as long as the opportunity was given, where will you find a richer harvest?

"Such, however, is not the warfare of a minority. Until the general mind is better qualified to enter on such a discussion with the impartiality it requires, we must leave the diversities of Muhammedan literature to work their own way in public estimation, and take our stand on the surer ground of its resemblances.

"From a comparison of the present work with the authorities it professes to consult, it appears that Muhammedan philosophy is neither more nor less than Grecian philosophy in an Eastern garb; a twin offspring of that common parent from which the sciences of Europe are proud to acknowledge their derivation. Admitting that, for the last two hundred years, the period during which these latter have made their greatest advance, the former have been comparatively stationary, the two systems must still have so much in common, as to make it mere contradiction to speak of establishing either on the ruins of the other—of destroying that which, properly used, will be found to afford the best and safest means of effecting the purpose for which it is destroyed.

"But with sciences (which are near akin to institutions) the question is not merely what had better be done, but what can be done. The processes of development, to be genuine, must be voluntarily or rather spontaneously conducted. Where mental relations are formed and mental systems transferred, previous analogies must subsist in order to make them applicable; and in the instance of Greeks and Arabs we trace them in the resemblance of their early national traits. The predatory habits and generous cast of feeling—the government fluctuating between the paternal and fraternal forms—the national independence maintained for ages, in defiance of the great powers by whom they were successively assailed—the prevalence of the imaginative, the traditional, and the mysterious—the airy kingdoms of antediluvian beings—the swarms of genii retreating from the visible creation and the face of lordly man, only to lead a more congenial existence in the hidden

powers and principles of nature—the hosts of heavenly messengers ever on the wing to comfort or admonish an erring but still favoured race—the tribes of birds and animals softening and hallowing the course of life by the moral lessons fabulously associated with their habits and appearances—these, the primitive characteristics of either people, require only a little adjustment of names and instances, in order to be at once identified with a counterpart in the other. From these princely savages it is, and from that purified abstract of their principles and feelings which the laws of Muhammad present, that all the races and ages of Islām have taken their form and character. As if to maintain the analogy after as well as before the point of social organization, corresponding to the Eleusinian mysteries of the Greeks we have the Sūfyism of the Muhammedans; a transcript probably of the same doctrine, concealed by a phraseology which rendered the secret little less impenetrable than the imposing mechanism of the mystagogues. The transfusion of science from one to the other of these two people was the introduction of nothing but formulæ and processes. The rudiment—the element—the embryo—was there ungiven; ready in the one case as in the other, on the application of the requisite means, to unfold itself into progressive maturity.

“What resemblance, what analogy, has the cold and gloomy spirit of the North to offer in furtherance of a similar union—now too, when its nations have outlived the first tendencies of their rudiments—when the influence of the elements themselves seems lost and overwhelmed in the uniform pressure of intense civilisation? One, and one only—the pre-constituted affinity of their speculative systems in virtue of a common and intermediate origin. Singularly enough, then, this futile endeavour to unite the people of the East and West, by depriving the former of their intellectual treasures, turns out to be an attack against a bond of union most providentially provided already, and the only one of which the parties are readily susceptible. As Greece was the border or neutral ground upon which the opposite elements of Asiatic and European character resolved themselves into harmony, so Grecian science, the offspring of this intellectual concert, is still the moral mean or menstruum of its maintenance at other times and places. The Asiatic treatises and tongues in which this science is modelled after eastern prepossessions, instead of being extirpated as superfluous, should be cherished as the best and only vehicles of an invaluable sympathy not otherwise to be obtained.”—p. xxiv-xxvii.

The following is of some interest on the speculative philosophy of Europe.

“Another value the work may possess in the eyes of the curious, at least, inasmuch as it is a specimen—certainly a favourable

but still a specific specimen—of those scholastic treatises by which the intellect of Europe was exercised and prepared for the paramount achievements of the present age. It happens, singularly enough, that the capture of Constantinople, and the dispersion of learning among the western states, synchronize within a few years with the publication of the ‘*Akhlak-i-Jalāly*.’ So that at the very period when the earlier systems of moral philosophy were in course of communication to the confines of Europe, they were being promulgated afresh in Central Asia in the improved form given to them in the present compilation. Smile as we may at the crudity of their notions upon some points, and the extravagance of them upon others, there is an interest that must always attach to the ideal systems which have strongly influenced large portions of mankind, and our own progenitors among the number.”—pp. xxxiii. xxxiv.

The care and judgment displayed by the translator in every page of this work are the more valuable, as till now we possessed no means of fairly comparing the system of the Greeks with that of the East. We trust that Mr. Thompson is or will be enabled to prosecute such inquiries as these to the utmost, for they throw a totally novel light over the ignorance in these matters existing in Europe.

As the work must certainly take its place in every collection of philosophy and metaphysics, we need do little more than extract from it a singular anecdote, evincing the power of philosophy over a victorious prince. It is from the chapter “On the Government of Kingdoms and Observances of Kings.”—

“We are told that Hasān the Bowide, who in his day possessed the sovereignty of Herat, and was conspicuous above all the princes of his age for attachment to men of learning and wisdom, undertook a holy war with the Roman empire. In the outset of the contest victory sided with the army of the faith, and the infidels were completely defeated. On this the Romans raised a *levée en masse*, and, concentrating their forces from all the outposts, again offered battle to the army of the faith. These were then obliged to give way, and some of them were so unfortunate as to be made prisoners. When the king took his seat to examine the captives, there proved to be one among them from Herat, named Abū Nasar. On ascertaining this, the king said he would entrust him with a message which he was to carry to his emperor. Abū Nasar answered that he would do his bidding. ‘Then tell Hasān the Bowide,’ said the king, ‘that I left Constantinople with the purpose of devastating Irāk. Now, however, that I have inquired concerning his character and situation, it is clear to me that the star of his prosperity has yet to reach the zenith of its

completeness, and is still in the ascendant of its fortunes. For one whose star was sinking in the void of extinction, and the twilight of supineness and evanition, would never have about his person men of such high attainments and noted excellence as Ibn Abîd, Abû Jaafar, the treasurer Aly bin Kasim, and Abû Aly Yashâghy. The assemblage of such a galaxy in attendance on his court is sufficient proof of the firmness of his fortunes and the farther improvement of his position and renown. For this reason I leave his dominions unmolested.'—pp. 391, 393.

The importance of forming the female character is strongly dwelt upon in the chapter "Of Wives." The oriental Chapone, or Meiners, relates the following anecdote :—

"We are told in history, that Hajaj had a chamberlain, with whom, having been long acquainted, he was on very familiar terms. In the course of conversation, he happened one day to remark, that no secrets should be communicated and no confidence given to a woman. The chamberlain observed, that he had a very prudent and affectionate wife, on whom he placed the utmost confidence; because, by repeated experiment, he had assured himself of her conduct, and now considered her the treasurer of all his fortunes. 'The thing is repugnant to reason,' said Hajaj, 'and I will show you that it is.' On this he bade them bring him a thousand dinars in a bag, which he sealed up with his own signet, and delivered to the chamberlain; telling him the money was his, but he was to keep it under seal, take it home, and tell his wife he had stolen it for her from the royal treasury. Soon afterwards Hajaj made him a further present of a hand-maiden, whom he likewise brought home with him. 'Pray, oblige me,' said his wife, 'by selling this handmaiden.' The chamberlain asked how it was possible for him to sell what the king had given. At this the wife grew angry, and, coming in the middle of the night to the door of the palace where Hajaj resided, desired it might be told him that the wife of chamberlain such-an-one requested an audience. On obtaining access to the king, and after going through the preliminary compliments and protestations, she represented, that long as her husband had been attached to the royal household—bondsmen as he was to his majesty's favour, he had yet been perfidious enough to peculate upon the privy purse; an offence which her own sense of gratitude would not allow her to conceal. With this she produced the money-bag, saying it was the same her husband had stolen, and there was the prince's seal to prove it. The chamberlain was summoned, and soon made his appearance. 'This prudent, affectionate wife of yours,' said Hajaj, 'has brought me your hidden deposit; and were I not privy

to the fact, your head would fly from your shoulders, for the boys to play with, and the horses to trample under foot.'—pp. 269-271.

Before we quit the subject of Mohammedan metaphysics we must notice two passages from the work of* Sir Graves Haughton, whose general high talents, and intimate acquaintance with the Sanscrit doctrines on this subject, as shown in his elucidation of the word MAYA against Col. Vans Kennedy, we noticed long since; they give additional value to his opinions in the volume before us. It is clear, and satisfactory. Sir Graves points out a singular coincidence of terms between the schoolmen of a past age and the East :—

"Entity, implying *being-state*, or *beingness*, stands for anything that is real; and is certainly a harmless word, as long as it is not made to pass for something real by its own nature. *Quiddity*, derived from the *QUIDDITAS* of the *Schoolmen*, is deduced from *QUID*, *what?* and therefore implies *what-state*, or *what-ness*; though they used it for *Essence*; it being held, by the 'Realists' among them, that every abstract relation had a real *Essence*, through which it had its being: but Locke's reasonings having shown the absurdity of the notion, which indeed had been long questioned, the word sank into complete disuse, except occasionally to whet the wit of modern metaphysicians."—p. 56.

"The Arabs would appear to have represented this word by *MAHIYAT*; which is of very singular formation, being contrary to the general structure of their language: it implies *what-is-it-ness*. In the Sanscrit language, the word *TATTWAM*, meaning *that-state*, or *that-ness*, seems its exact representative. These analogies are curious, as showing the limited resources of the human mind, and the similarity of its mode of proceeding under any difficulties it has to surmount. *Quiddity* and *Entity*, though they have now parted company, seem to have represented the *Essence* and *Form* which we occasionally hear contrasted with one another."—p. 57.

Another instance is as follows :—

"The delusive influence of language over the mind is equally shown in Algazel, the Arabian: of him it is said, that 'he denied a necessary connection between Cause and Effect; for of two things, the affirmation of the existence of the one does not necessarily contain the affirmation of the other; and the same may be said of denial.' When Algazel

* *Prodromus*; or an Inquiry into the First Principles of Reasoning, including an Analysis of the Human Mind. By Sir Graves Chamney Haughton, K.H., M.A., F.R.S. &c. &c. London: Allen and Co. 1839.

denied a necessary connection between Cause and Effect, he quite overlooked the fact, that these two words were not merely Relations, but that they were, moreover, of that kind in which, as I have before said, Effect is the Correlation of Cause: and that, by this very circumstance, they imply one another, and consequently must be necessarily connected. Cause must, therefore, as uniformly suggest the notion of Effect, as Father does that of Child, and Husband that of Wife. But when we have convinced ourselves of this fact, it still cannot be applied to prove, as Algazel remarked, that, of 'two separate things, the affirmation of the existence of the one necessarily contains the affirmation of the other.' Algazel, therefore, was both right and wrong. He was wrong in his inference, which is the leading member of his sentence; and he was quite right in the last clause, which is that from which he drew it, though his assertion was a mere truism. His mistake arose from his not being aware, that, in the first case, he was dealing with Abstract Relations; and in the other with Realities, as is proved by his employing the words 'two separate things:' he, consequently, made the mistake that is inevitable from confounding together these opposite classes of words. Algazel's error is that of all metaphysicians. They forget that the Perception is a Thing; but that the relation in which it stands is a mere Conception."—pp. 105, 106.

We are, however, particularly struck with the arrangement "of various metaphysical categories" towards the close of the volume, to which we shall one day hope to return. The curious will in these few pages of Sir G. Haughton's work be able to compare at a glance Plato, Aristotle, Gautama, Jaina, Zoroaster, Locke, Kant, and Schelling. A tabular view of each, and concise explanatory remarks, simplify the labours of those eminent men to the commonest memory and intellect. We give but a bare outline.

PLATO.

"His five forms are as follows—

- Substance.
- Similitude.
- Diversity.
- Permanence.
- Movement.

"As commentators give a different interpretation to the five forms, the original terminology is subjoined:—

οὐσία, the principle, essence: *ταὐτόν*, the same; regarding the relation it bears to itself and other things: *ἕτερον*, the other; when one varies from another: *στasis*, while it keeps its station, or preserves a unity; *κίνησις*, motion, or that by which it exerts a power to act.—
Franklin, De Nat. Deor.

ARISTOTLE.

"His ten categories are commonly translated as follows:—

- Substance.
- Quantity.
- Quality.
- Relation.
- Place.

- Time.
- Situation.
- Possession.
- Action.
- Suffering.

(*οὐσία, πῶσον, ποῖον, πρῶτον, ποῦ, πότε, κείμεναι, ἔχειν, ποιεῖν, πάσχειν.*)

"It will not be uninteresting to compare the foregoing divisions of the academic and peripatetic schools with those of India. There is such a general affinity between them, that they could not have had an independent production, but must have stood more or less in relation of parent and offspring, whether the originality be conceded to Greece or to India. It may, however, be remarked that the Hindu systems are all complete and peculiar in themselves; and every part is in harmony with the whole, of any one system, which likewise contains principles totally unnoticed by the Greeks. * * * It bears, in short, pretty nearly the same relation to the system of Aristotle, that their Algebra (confessedly of Hindu invention) does to the state of that science in the present day.

GOTAMA

"Is the reputed founder of logic in India. The division of 'The Predicaments,' or 'Objects of Proof,' are six, according to Kanada; viz:—

- Substance. Community.
- Quality. Particularity.
- Action. Relation (intimate).

"To this arrangement other authors add a seventh, Privation or Negation. Besides these categories, others are alleged, by different authorities.

"Mind, in common with all substance (for they hold it to be such), is the substratum of eight qualities; viz:—

- Number. Disjunction.
- Quantity. Priority.
- Individuality. Subsequence.
- Conjunction. Faculty.

"This arrangement is made by Kanada.

JINA.

"The Jainas (followers of Jina), who are an ancient and a celebrated sect in India, and have so many opinions in common with the Baudddhas (followers of Baudddha), as to have been often confounded with them, hold that there are five Kârana, or Causes, which unite in the production of all events. These are as follow:—

1. Time.
2. Nature.
3. Fate or Necessity.
4. Works, or the Principle of Retributive Justice.
5. Mental Effort or Perseverance.

"The Jainas, besides the above, comprehend nature under the six following categories; viz:—

- 1. Motion.
- 2. Rest.
- 3. Vacuum.
- 4. Time.
- 5. Life.
- 6. Matter.

ZOROASTER.

“ The next system is that of the divisions of the soul, which the Parsees, or descendants of the ancient Persians, attribute to Zoroaster.

“ The soul of man, instead of a simple essence, a spark of that eternal light which animates all things, consists, according to Zoroaster, of five separate parts, each having peculiar offices ;—

- 1. The Feroher, or principle of sensation.
- 2. The Boe, or principle of intelligence.
- 3. The Rouan, the principle of practical judgment, imagination, volition.
- 4. The Akho, or principle of conscience.
- 5. The Jan, or principle of animal life.

“ When the four of these which cannot subsist in the body without the last, abandon their earthly abode, the Jan mingles with the winds, and the Akho returns to heaven with the celestial Rouhs (or spirits) ; because its office being continually to do good, and shun evil, it can have no part in the guilt of the soul, whatever it may be. The Boe, the Rouan, and the Feroher, united together, are the only principles which are

accountable for the deeds of man, and which are accordingly to be examined at the day of judgment. If good predominate, they go to heaven ; if evil, they are despatched to hell. The body is regarded as a mere instrument in the power of the Rouans, and therefore not responsible for its acts. After death, the Akho has a separate existence, as the Feroher had previous to its birth.”

LOCKE.

“ His original ideas are reducible to
Extension,
Solidity,
Mobility, or the power of being moved, which by our senses we receive from body ;
Perceptivity, or the power of perception or thinking ;
Motivity, or the power of moving, which, by reflection, we receive from our minds.
Existence,
Duration,
Number.

KANT.

“ THE MIND.
“ Sense.
“ 2 Receptivities.

Time.		Space.	
“ UNDERSTANDING.			
“ 12 <i>Categories.</i>			
“ QUANTITY.	QUALITY.	RELATION.	MODALITY.
Unity	Reality	Substance and Accident	Possibility
Multitudes	Negation	Cause and Effect	Existence
Totality	Limitation	Action and Re-action	Necessity
“ REASON.			
“ 6. <i>Ideas.</i>			
“ Absolute	Absolute	Absolute	Absolute
Totality.	Limitation.	Substance.	Necessity.
		Absolute	
		Cause.	
		Absolute	
		Concurrence.	
“ INTUITION		“ RESULTS.	IDEA
present in	CONCEPTION	absent in	out of
TIME and SPACE.	TIME and SPACE.	TIME and SPACE.	TIME and SPACE.

“ Kant thus reduces every thing to an *egoism*, of which his own mind was the centre and boundary.

“ The next division is the

UNDERSTANDING.
Quantity,
Quality,
Relation,
Modality,

respectively. Under each of these heads he places three subdivisions ; making thus in the whole twelve, according to Mr. Wigram : but fifteen according to the new complete translation of the Critick of Pure Reason : because to those under Modality we have the opposite set resulting from Negation ; that is to say,

Impossibility,
Non-existence,
Contingence.

“ These twelve (or fifteen) terms are, according to Kant, real divisions of the Understanding, which he took, like sense, to mean a real substratum of perception. They were in his view of his philosophy a sort of original types or standards, which in every thing perceived was referable, and which confer their form upon every object in Nature.

“ REASON,

according to Kant, unites the twelve Categories that exist in the Understanding, and which are themselves *out of Time and Space*, into six ideas, which are absolute ; namely

Totality,
Limitation,
Substance,
He considers Reason as a spontaneity or ac-

Necessity,
Cause,
Concurrence.

tive Faculty, free from Time and Space, in the same way as the Understanding was out of Space.

“SCHELLING.

“I. The absolute, the whole in its primary form (God), manifests himself in,

“II. Nature (the Absolute, according to its secondary forms.)

“It then produces itself in two Relative orders; viz.

The Real, The Ideal,

under the following powers:

Weight—Matter,

Truth—Science,

Light—Movement,

Goodness—Religion,

Organization—Life,

Beauty—Art.

Above, as reflected forms of the Universe, place themselves;

Man (The Microcosm).

The State.

The System of the World (the external Universe). History.”

We have thus given the leading features of the several systems in this synthetical view; but must refer our readers to Sir Graves Haughton's book itself for details, and the very acute analytical remarks he makes upon the refinements of each philosophical theory.

To those in whose opinion the advantages of education for Asia have been checked by the difficulties that have attended it in Hindostan, Dr. Bryce's volume* will be particularly welcome. The efforts of the Native Literary Society of Calcutta, founded only about fifteen years since, have been attended, it seems, with extraordinary success. It seems too, that about a thousand native pupils are now attending the Scottish superior school chiefly to become teachers. The feelings of the more enlightened natives may be gathered from the address presented by them to the society above-mentioned, and which is highly interesting.

“In the days of remote antiquity, the people of *Bharat Varsha*, or Asia, possessed a superiority over all nations in their love of knowledge, and regard for the general good. This region was also the choicest portion of the habitable globe, and the original site of the human race.

“Amongst the tribes of *Bharat Varsha*, those of Hindustan were, above all, valiant, powerful, energetic, merciful, sincere, and wise. Hindustan was the garden of empire, and the treasury of knowledge, and consequently the people were happy, independent, and addicted to honourable practices.

“Owing to various causes, however, the Hindu monarchies were destroyed, and the Hindus lost their learning; became conceited, blind with passion, dark to knowledge, and animated only to selfish considerations. In consequence, they were reduced to the

last degree of dependency and degradation; immersed in an ocean of suffering, and fallen to the lowest stage of insignificance. If we compare them now with other nations in wisdom and civilisation, our regret must be inexpressible.

“But while we are thus situated, owing to our arrogance, to many new and absurd customs that have crept in amongst us, and to our mutual disagreements, we are not the less apt to consider ourselves as happy, superior, and independent; never to think of our condition in its true light, nor to acknowledge it as it is. Consequently, any endeavour to change or improve it is out of the question.

“The chief causes of our depressed situation may, we think, be regarded as the following wants:

“That of social and mutual intercourse.

“Of mutual agreement.

“Of travel.

“Of study of different Shasters.

“Of love of knowledge.

“Of good-will to each other.

“Other causes are especially indolence, insatiable appetite for riches, and the desire of sensual enjoyment.

“Many defects in the constitution of our society are owing to the distinction of Castes, Family, Rank, and Wealth. Those who possess these in a high degree seldom visit other persons, except on occasions of business and emergency; and, on the other hand, they evince little affability towards those who are compelled to seek their presence; the intercourse, therefore, that now exists among ourselves, is confined to the interchange or solicitation of assistance, to the observance of ordinary forms and modes of insincere civility; or, in a word, it springs from motives of self-interest, and never from a feeling of affection or esteem. It is obvious, that as long as no one feels an interest in the good of others, or is actuated by any but motives of self-interest, agreement or concurrence in opinion on any subject cannot be expected; the truth remains unknown, the parties being incapable of correcting their mutual errors.”—pp. 65-67.

We give a few lines upon the Jaina system. This remarkable race, whose anti-

* A Sketch of Native Education in India, under the superintendence of the Church of Scotland; with Remarks on the Hindoos, and their Conversion to Christianity. By James Bryce, D. D. London and Edinburgh. 1839.

quity is unquestionable, and whose existence nevertheless is only now becoming popularly known in Great Britain, and principally from the works of the Rev. W. Taylor,* Col. Tod, and Mrs. Postans, deserve, we think, the closest possible investigation from scholars. Their depression is notorious, their antiquity confessed, their candour manifest, and their love of learning evident from their scrupulous preservation of all records and papers, which the Brahmins as sedulously destroy. The library of Anhulwarra, therefore, discovered by Col. Tod, (see our last number, p. 80, Art. Arabian Nights,) would probably furnish the desiderata of ancient Indian history.

"The source and root of the mythology now popular in Hindostan, is a principle of pure and simple Deism; the sect of the Jainas contains stronger traces of this original character, both in their worship and their creed, than the Bramanas. The Jainas were once a powerful people, and are now humbled and dispersed; and it is contrary to the evidence of things in other continents, that ruin and dispersion should be taken as signs of recent origin, and present prosperity as a proof of greater antiquity."—pp. 364, 365.

The following anecdotes must conclude our extracts from this volume.

"In the thirty-fifth year of Akber's reign, it was said of Sheikh Kamal Biahani, that he was endowed with the miraculous power of transporting himself instantly to a distance, so that a person who had taken leave of him on one side of the river would, upon crossing to the other, be again saluted by his voice. Akber went to see him, and begged him to communicate his skill, offering in exchange for it his whole kingdom. The Sheikh refused to instruct him. On this Akber ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and threatened to have him tossed into the river, where, if he possessed the faculty to which he pretended, he would suffer no injury; and if he was an impostor, he would be punished deservedly for his fraud. This menace alarmed the Sheikh; he confessed the whole to be a trick, practised in confederacy with his son, who was covertly stationed on the opposite side of the stream, and counterfeited his father's voice."—p. 362.

"It is now very generally acknowledged, that since Europeans began to open to the Hindu the sources of wealth and enjoyment, the trammels of caste have been observed to bear but lightly upon him; and it is felt by all who have an opportunity of judging of

the native character, that what has been so long and generally regarded as interwoven with all his feelings and prejudices, has been, to a great extent, an excrescence upon his habits, generated by the combined influence of political depression, and cunning and selfish superstition. When the influence of these has been counteracted by a happier state of things, the natural feelings and propensities of mankind have easily triumphed over *Caste*. The highest Brahmin now mingles in an intercourse with the *Feringhees*, which, less than half a century ago, would have been regarded with horror and dismay, as entailing the most indelible contamination, or subjecting to the most intolerable purifications and penances. The public assemblies, on occasions of complimentary festivity at the mansion of the Governor General, are now frequented by crowds of native gentlemen, happy to participate in the honour of an invitation; and it need scarcely be added, that what finds countenance at court, meets with abundance of imitators in the ranks of private fashion. To the houses of the wealthy Hindu, the European is now finding a reciprocally easy access; and the writer of these remarks has himself partaken in the hospitality of natives of high rank and caste, where even the sacred cow has been served up to gratify the tastes of the European guests."—pp. 170, 171.

ART. VI.—*Whist, par M. Deschappelles*.
(A Treatise on Whist, by M. Deschappelles. Second Part.—The Laws. London.) 1839.

EUREKA!—Our readers will recollect the cry of Archimedes, when quitting the bath in the pristine simplicity of his nature, he rushed through Syracuse with considerably more of philosophy than garments, to establish the truth which he had discovered at the bottom of his tub. With similar eagerness, but somewhat more of etiquette, inasmuch as the new Police Act has come into activity, we present ourselves before our readers in a sheet or half sheet, whichever offers, to establish the difference between purity and alloy; not indeed of crowns or of gold, but of that which brings in both to its noblest votaries; and which, when three or four of them are gathered together, is ever to be found in the midst.

It is indeed of that mysterious influence which inspires even the dull, and hushes the eloquent; that checks the flow of conversation, wrinkles the brow of beauty before its time, bids science pause in its career, supersedes learning, and relieves avarice of its load; that stoppers the decanter, and va-

* See Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 37, Art. Tamil Historical MSS. We are happy to see continued notices of the progress of discovery in these, by the labours of Mr. W. Taylor, in the valuable Nos. of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, a singularly interesting quarterly publication.

cates the piano; draws the glass of toast and water from the willing hand of temperance, opens the miser's purse, unites strangers in the sacred bond of brotherhood and rubbers, and separates, alas! even conjugality, by an impassable baize or velvet of 3 feet 4 inches:—it is of this influence we are now to treat.

Whist!—the very name is mystery—the sound is mystery—the etymology also is mystery. Who knows whence it came? and who can tell what it is, or where it is going? Readers whose aspirations refer to the mighty past, recall Hoyle, and General Scott, and Matthews:

“But where repose the all-Etruscan three?”

as Byron himself has asked, in vain. Hoyle eludes the explorers of antiquity through every book-stall; Scott has become obsolete; Matthews himself, though twice reprinted, is no more. *Stat nominis umbra!* for the three names form but one shade that darkens over the past—a shade silent and voiceless as that of Ajax in the same place, when the snow-falling eloquence of Ulysses could not win him over, even to shake hands.

We do not exactly know how often the spirit of whist has assumed a human form for the express benefit of Europe; but we are strongly inclined to conclude that M. Deschappelles is the identical White Horse so long expected in India, as the tenth point, or incarnation, of Brama; and who is to dispose of Knaves, and Kings and Queens, according to his pleasure, give rules for the doubtful cards, and play the deuce with his adversaries; these may sit and lose in silence, or play on to the last stake “in murmuring wrath,” as Campbell so long since poetically foresaw of them in the Pleasures of Hope.

It is idle to recall the past with its first hey-day dreams and fascinations; though even then unconscious childhood boasted its little all of skill, and youth deemed itself matured;—*Eheu, nesciens futuri!* That fancied manhood of Whist was most truly prematured, and now reads its own errors in the wisdom of Deschappelles. Genius ennobles and controls everything. Cookery bowed her haughty head before Ude, “and thanked him for a throne,” the throne which he proudly raised for her and himself in the loftiest altitudes of the human stomach; and what shall Whist and whist-players refuse to Deschappelles, who has made everything in art and nature, and a great deal that is in neither, subservient to her power?

We have indeed but a portion of the immortal performance before us; a feather at a time from the wing of the French Gabriel;

and certainly it would be no ordinary mind that could comprehend the whole of such a revelation at once. Mahomet and Deschappelles alone, received, as they assure us, the mighty secret in a few moments; and both of these were men, and with men's intellect; though mens divinior; especially chosen vessels for the great tasks they had to perform.

M. Deschappelles's present work is epic, for it begins in the middle, or at the fifth chapter, and in a high heroic strain. The Muse, it is true, is not invoked as by other bards; but as the work is written in the plural, it follows that she formed a junction with the author before he commenced operations; and this proves him to be an able tactician, like Soult and Wellington. Who indeed would sit down to Whist by himself? The invocation consequently is, for want of a better object, addressed to the reader in shape of a preface, Sublime, Moral, and Philosophical, as the Homeric Poems, and nearly trenching on the same subject—namely, the woes of the Greeks.

“This volume contains the Rules of the Game of Whist; it forms but one part of our treatise on the game, and we publish it separately, in compliance with the earnest request of our friends, and the wishes of the public. Though wholly uninfluenced by a desire either of fame or of profit, we may yet find a sufficiently powerful motive for action in the ambition of pleasing or being useful to others.

“In order that a law may be efficacious, it must be aided by two conditions: firstly, it must be understood, and secondly, it must be obeyed. The first of these conditions is attained by those definitions which point out its exact extent and limits; and the second, by that reasoning, which, by confuting objections, and by distinctly explaining its principles, ensures the universal application of the law.

“The old law of Whist, which united the two conditions in each of its articles, was extremely intricate and perplexed, and was in itself so defective, as to be totally inadequate to supply the wants of society.

“We have found it necessary to divide our work into two chapters; one consisting of the rules to be observed, and the other containing our remarks upon the rules. The former of these chapters is the more essential. As it is continually required for reference in cases of dispute, it should be well studied, and almost committed to memory. The latter may be perused more leisurely, as its spirit only is necessary to be retained.

“Thus, Chapter V. contains the text; that is the essential part, and Chapter VI. the commentaries. These two chapters are, however, inseparable from each other, and together form a complete work.

"Chapter V. is the result of twenty years' observation and progressive improvements. Here we are far from flattering ourselves that we have attained perfection. If we were to abstain from giving our work to the public, till we had made ourselves satisfied on that head, there would be no end to the delay. Something we have accomplished, by having laid down, in compliance with the wishes of amateurs, not an indigested and desultory production, but a rational, and almost complete code of rules; and by having thus prepared the way for future emendations and improvements.

"Chapter VI. is wholly explanatory, and merely a development of all the ideas contained in the former chapter; it is a long conversation, explaining a concise and peremptory law, which, without this illustration, would have frequently been unintelligible. For this latter chapter we claim the indulgence of our readers; it has been hastily written, in order that no delay should take place in the publication of the former chapter, to which it serves as a key. Here, from the nature of the subject, no elevation of style must be expected" (! !)

It is probably owing to the absence of the four first chapters of the work that various points of material consequence, to some of which we shall allude in their places, do not appear. From the precision of M. Deschappelles in all that he undertakes, and which is *ab ovo*, we are inclined to rely upon it that the first chapter of his work will contain the etymon of the name, Whist; but as this unfortunately is not before us, we shall ourselves attempt its etymology from our own researches, and leave the learned to decide.

The first and most obvious etymon of Whist, is the English phrase, What is it? of which it may fairly be deemed a contraction: for persons not knowing the game would naturally first and primarily use this form of inquiry respecting it, and the more generally if brought from abroad: hence it would form the root, and would thus by corruption become the derivative.

Another root, equally probable, is the old English verb Wist, as, knowing: signifying the skill required: and we lean to it the rather, as it especially implies a degree of uncertainty, such as attends the game even with the most experienced players. It is a perfect term, a complete description, a sentence in a word; expressing one chief requisite in the player, and intimating the distinctive attribute of the game. It is a picture-thought.

It may be that Whist is simply the word Hist, with the Eolic digamma before it, as commonly found in our academies, halls, and kitchens: and as the Latins and Etrus-

cans confounded *f*, and *v*, the word *Fist* may be of the same family; for *Hist* enforces silence, and so does *Fist* very often. It is, however, by no means clear that *Hist* in the present case signifies, Be silent; we often find whist quite the reverse. *Hist* may be only a contraction of *History*, which arranges the order of kings, queens, and their inferiors, and treats of their struggles and fortunes. The digamma is of equal service in both cases.

Perhaps, however, the English origin of the appellation is simply the verb, *Wished*, as signifying a desideratum; and thus turned into a substantive in the origin of language: or it may be from *Wish* it, used interrogatively. Do you wish it? Do you Whist? like, Do you tea? and, by periphrasis, Don't you wish you may get it?

Allied to this last in sound and sense is the English, *Visit*. People constantly visit each other to play a rubber, and cockneys especially: quasi *Wisit*. The substitution of *w*, for *v*, is common, as a digammic form, in the city of London, as in other Eastern lands. Provincialisms are not, as is generally imagined, modern home corruptions; but old and foreign dialectical varieties. We ourselves do not, however, insist that *Visit* and *Whist* are precisely the same word.

Then there is the Italian word, *Vista*, a view or perspective; figuratively, foresight, circumspection; actually, casting an eye; as over your neighbours' lands, or hands, the thing most useful in Whist. We prefer this etymon to the Latin *Vesta*, whence vestal, secluded, not to be profaned: a reading supported by the high authorities of the Police.

The Irish injunction *Whisht*, be quiet—may be thought to require consideration. It is the exact form of the word, barring only the pure *s*, but this is not the sibboleth, or touch-stone, here. At the utmost the difficulty is but a dialectical variety, *elegantiae causâ*, for the sake of elegance; just as *shoup* for soup.

Some would derive it from the German, *Wissen*, to know, in relation to abstractions: the object and tendency of Whist being to abstract the thoughts, and the money. It is further worthy of notice that this word rhymes to *Listen*, in English; which proves its adaptation to purposes of silence, even in a foreign land.

We would finally suggest that the word is Indian. *Vishen* or *Vishnou* being there the object of devotion, as Whist is here; and for the same reason; something is to be got by it. In a religious view it strengthens the hint we have previously thrown out of an

expected avatar or incarnation in Hindostan: and in the same sense, and analogically, it is confirmed by the name of the other deity, Seeva or Seev; clearly the English Sieve, which so finely and allegorically marks the circumplectent and discriminative power of this last deity. Another argument, and of even greater force, is, that since the Irish or Celtic is an eastern language, the Hindoo Vishnou seems to be the Irish Whisht now, be quiet, can't ye? * Celtic, without digamma, Esth na dioul; Be quiet, ye divil.—An analogy we earnestly recommend to the notice of Professor Schlegel.

We have gone at some length into this laborious investigation from a strict sense of duty to the reader, and from which nothing shall induce us to turn. We now resume our notice of M. Deschappelles' performance: it begins thus.

" RULES OF WHIST.

" Chapter V.—Section I.—Of Preliminary Arrangements.

"ART. 1.—A complete Whist Table is composed of six persons. The first four are chosen by lot, (see Article 6,) for the first rubber, and the two others take their turn for the succeeding ones.

"ART. 2.—If the table be not complete, new players take their turn in order of their arrival; and afterwards fill up, in their turn, whatever vacancies may occur.—(See Article 13.)

"ART. 3.—If more than six persons present themselves to form a table, the four first players are chosen by lot.—(See Article 7.)

"ART. 4.—Every one is entitled to play two rubbers, after which he must quit the table, to make room for those whose turn it is to replace him; the two players who are to leave at the expiration of the first, or opening rubber, are fixed by lot.

"ART. 5.—When the rubber is finished, if there are parties waiting to play, a table is compelled to admit two of them, but never three.

"ART. 6.—The lot is decided by a single pack of cards, each party drawing one.

"ART. 7.—It may be necessary to draw lots twice, before a table is completely made up.

"Firstly, to decide on the six persons of whom it is to be composed, and on the four who are to commence.

"And, secondly, to determine the choice of partners."

Our readers will perceive how carefully the author commences with preliminaries,

even though these are rather the regulations and observances of clubs and society in general, than absolute rules of Whist, emanating from its own essence. With so much of exactitude we are greatly surprised to find that the most essential of preliminary arrangements, that of getting the cards, is totally overlooked. "If," said Zadig, "there are no griffins, we cannot eat them." Cards are by no means mathematical axioms, and undeniable; and if they were, we must, according to the authority cited, have them before we can use them. How, therefore, M. Deschappelles could take them for granted, as he evidently does, would require a Critique of Pure Reason to discover.

We must conclude, and hope that this important consideration is fully discussed in all its bearings in the fourth or previous chapter to that with which this volume commences. We must not suspect the author of committing so great an oversight as to omit it altogether, particularly with the example of Mrs. Glasse before his eyes. In her illustrations of the art cuisinatoire, as it is termed by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, but almost as well known as her Cookery Book, this provident writer expressly insists that a hare should be caught before any further modifications of its entity are permissible, or its monads divisible ad infinitum in a stew, according to Leibnitz. Locke himself must have admitted this into his logical system; we cannot be quite sure of Condillac, but neither Hobbes nor Malebranche have objected to it, we believe. Nay so fully was the authoress in question (i. e. Dr. Hunter) impressed with the various means of providing for a family, that on another occasion, she does not, to her immortal fame, hesitate to recommend her pupils, with an honest eye to domestic economy, to *bone* a goose; advice most interesting in its practical appliance to mechanics' institutions, tailors' boards, and larders, particularly at this season of the year.

Whist is the modern Law of Nations. The Moldavian Harp, newspaper, has been recently suppressed in its native land for speaking irreverently of the Russian minister's propensity for Whist! We tremble for Lord Granville's embassy; yet as we hold cards, with the first diplomatists, to be the *sine qua non* of Whist, we earnestly beseech M. Deschappelles not to arrange his future treatise on the basis of the *uti possidetis*. "Whether you have them or not," is no indifferent matter, to those who cultivate the art of Whist, upon Cicero's recommendation, as improving their natures, and springing from Philosophy—

* See also Die Celtischen Sprachen in ihrem Verhältnisse zum Sanscrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Germanischen, Litthauischen, und Slawischen. Von Franz Bopp. Berlin, 1839. 4to. p. 89.

"Philosophia vero omnium mater artium."

"Plato calls it a GIFT; I, an INVENTION OF THE GODS," proceeds that great judge and orator.* The candid opinion of Demosthenes on the subject we never could obtain, not having been much at his soirées; but we have repeatedly noticed that he never spoke against them, even in his Philippics: why, therefore, he should have made a mystery of the matter, we cannot, for the life of us, imagine.

Such neglect, then, is the source of grievous bitterness, in the provision of cards, as of hares;

"—— de fonte LEPORUM,"

observes Lucretius expressly of the latter; but, with bowels deeply moved by translating our apophthegm into Latin heroics, he adds,

"Surgit amari aliquid,"

that is, PLAY OR PAY;—so at least the commentators at Tattersal's understand it:

"—— quod ipsis in floribus angat."

Anglice, which is a great nuisance at the clubs. Some, by the way, may insist that by "floribus" is intended "on the turf;" but we hold it clearly a poetic denomination of the trefoil,—Cleoben, Saxon, to divide, whence comes Club.

It has been suggested, however, by passages of the *Vis inertiae*, (i. e. Whist) of Des Cartes, on which we regret we cannot lay our hand at the moment, that the suit of clubs marking the trefoil, or Irish trinity of St. Patrick, and being invariably used in its plural form, exactly corresponds with the word "floribus;" which must, therefore, in this place, and by hypallage, be taken for cards; so that the reading would signify

"Which is a nuisance arising from the cards."

But M. Deschappelles has not provided them, as we see: and to have cards is not to be without them; and if we substitute, as recommended, sine for "ipsis," still what are we to do with "in," which also the full measure or metre requires. An inn is a house of entertainment; the Inn preceded the Clubs, as the text of the poet evidently shows: so that highly as we respect the Greeks, and at cards especially, we must in this case appeal from their decision to the Jockey Club, until when we need not pursue the subject.

* Such too was the constant maxim of the departed great:—we allude to William Soames, Esq. Emeritus Professor of Barrington College, Botany Bay.

In furtherance, however, of our Irish theory, we beg to observe that floribus at Donnybrook always signifies, with flourishes—i. e. with clubs—a remarkable coincidence of the Celtic with the Saxon philologists, as the learned secretary of the Society of the Camden Head so happily insists.

If the fourth chapter of M. Deschappelles' work contains the inquiry alluded to, and we hope it does, as we are seriously interested for his character; the third must necessarily turn on the source from which cards were obtained. This, we are persuaded, is no hasty and ill-advised conjecture on our part.

Nevertheless, as our readers have not this portion, we must throw out a few remarks on the subject.

It is generally believed that cards were invented for the amusement of a King of France; and that the peculiar costume of the period is preserved in the court-cards at present in use. How this may be we know not; but we suspect notwithstanding that a deeper research into the Cartesian system would have traced deeper the source of this, as of the philosophy of the Stoics, exhibited by Manilius. We would submit it may be said that both came originally from the East. The necessary union of Whist and Stoicism strongly favours this presumption; but we would fain support our opinion as to cards by a few facts apparently unknown to European lovers of the art.

Were the studious to examine with care the royal images of Kandian kings and queens in the rooms of the Asiatic Society in Grafton Street, they would perceive that the painted habiliments of the sovereigns of cards bear the strongest possible resemblance, short of absolute identity, with the dress of the sovereigns of Ceylon. There is, however, one point to which we must especially call the reader's attention: the poet's

Four hoary kings, in majesty revered,
With curling whiskers and a forked beard,

find at all points their sufficient prototypes in the lords of Kandi; but this is not quite the case with their lovely partners; for the

—— four fair queens whose hands sustain a flower;
The expressive emblem of their softer power;—

hold, in the Kandian originals—so we may be allowed to call them—an even more "expressive emblem," and still more mischievously insinuating "of their softer power;"—to wit, a FAN, a circular fan; such as is used actually in the East to close a man's eyes, and lull his senses into slumber; and which, for aught we know, may be "a

type, and a metaphor, and a parable," for similar doings elsewhere. We would fain say nothing about the management of fans in Spain. In Europe generally the change is happy, from fans to flowers; though it appears to ourselves insidious, thus placed; for obviously they are but the moralist's

"Flowers—whose wild odours breathe but agonies."

and suspicious intimations like this are libels against the amiable sex—who never reap sorrow from cards.

Farther, in India, the cradle of wisdom, as it claims to be from the earliest ages—and it certainly is little more now, and the brat is still ricketty—we know that the Tamuli have had cards from time immemorial; and they are said to be of equal antiquity with the Brahmins, who unquestionably possess them still, and claim to have invented them. Now the word Brahmin is synonymous with Div, as every scholar will admit; and as none can deny that Deorum is but another form of Divorum, it follows that the assertion of a Brahmin or Div origination is borne out by the authority of Cicero, in a passage already quoted, where he expressly observes that every art is "*inventum Deorum*;"—i. e. an invention of the Brahmins.

This opinion seems strengthened by the reference already made to the white horse of the tenth Avatar, as expected by the Brahmins. We know too that the white horse is the crest of some Teutonic races, as in Hanover, for instance—to say nothing of Kent and Horsa—and that the Germans trace, with Von Hammer and others, their origin from the East. This coincidence would satisfactorily explain why the Germans to this day, and in Hanover especially, hold the tenth card as an honour;—clearly in reference to the tenth Avatar; and it is further remarkable that everywhere the tenth point, like that tenth Avatar, closes the game. In the same spirit we do not hesitate to affirm that the Four Suits are but the four castes of the East:

The Diamonds mark the SAGES, who introduced mining and gems.

The Spades, the SOLDIERS—Sipayah; or Sipar-dar, shield-bearers. (Spanish—Espadas, swords.)

The Clubs, or flowers, the AGRICULTURISTS.

The Hearts, the DOMESTIC race—quasi, of the *heart(h)*.

Further, the time for playing, namely by lamp or candle-light,—evidently sun and stars—is a mystic type of the Sabæan idolatry and the worship of fire; which proves

the remote antiquity of card-playing. The very name of the lamp-inventor, Argand, being obviously but a corruption of Arkenk, or Arganj, the fire-breathing Div, of Oriental historians,* Ur-kand, having-Fire.

After this concise but indispensable digression, we return to Europe and M. Deschappelles.

Having duly prepared the reader for the revelations of this volume, it is not to be supposed that we would seek idly and presumptuously to raise the mystic veil that shrouds the sanctuary of science from the vulgar eye of devotees; nor that we would attempt to embrace within our narrow space and comprehension the range of its sway; nor speak lightly and irreverently of such a mystery. All we can do for the reader is to direct him to the fountain-head itself, by bringing before him a few snatches of the doctrines promulgated, accompanied with such reverential commentary as shall duly impress, without overwhelming, his bewildered senses with the importance of the awful theme.

We have already established, both by analysis and synthesis, that cards must be obtained in order to play Whist. For the advantage of clubs and their members, of pri-

* While this article was in press we have been favoured with a sight of two packs of cards in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society: and, as Truth is more strange than Fiction, one of these, consisting of TEN suits, certainly does represent the TEN avatars or incarnations of the VISTNOU, or Vishnava, sect; as was well observed by that various, acute, accurate, and sagacious scholar, Mr. Norris, the acting librarian. They are, like the others, of circular form, painted on different coloured grounds, and highly varnished and illuminated. Each suit is of ten, and two court cards,—the rider of a horse or an elephant respectively—and the pack consequently is composed of 120 cards. The suits are—

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. The Fish. | 6. The Hatchet. |
| 2. The Tortoise. | 7. The Umbrella (or Bow.) |
| 3. The Boar. | 8. The Goat. |
| 4. The Lion. | 9. The Boodh. |
| 5. The Monkey. | 10. The Horse. |

It will be seen that these are exactly the incarnations referred to above; but,—as was justly remarked by the intelligent scholar who pointed out the coincidence,—the Dwarf of the 5th Avatar is substituted by the Monkey; the Bow and Arrows of the 7th, by the Cattashal, or Umbrella, which gives precisely the same outline; and the Goat there, as often elsewhere, takes the place of the Plough. These cards then are clearly MYTHICAL.

The other pack has eight suits, of eight cards and two court cards each; eighty in all. The Parallelogram, Sword, Flower, and Vase, answer to the carreau, espada, club, and copa, of European suits; the barrel (?) the garland (?) and two kinds of chakra (quoit) complete the set. Five of the suits are white, and three red: TYPICAL of the Sage and Soldier races. The Divs were of BOTH.

We shall return seriously to this subject shortly, as the facts fully bear out the suspicions.

vate parties, of visitors of hells, and all such unsuspecting novices at cards, we lay down, by the authority of Deschappelles himself, the novel and daring but nevertheless unquestionable general proposition, that Whist requires four players. This fact, though not, it must be confessed, positively asserted by the great legislator of the game, is certainly the direct inference, indeed the absolute corollary from the four following passages :

"A complete Whist table is composed of six persons.

"The first four are chosen by lot."—Art. I. ch. v. p. 1.

"The four first players are chosen by lot."—Art. 3.

"The four persons comprising the first rubber."—Art. 14.

In the nineteen articles comprising the next (6th) chapter we find the statement confirmed, and a further point, as to the *modus operandi*, established on a fundamental basis.

"Four persons are seated at the table and the game is arranged."

This precept is invaluable.

We are inclined, however, to question the universality of the next proposition.

"Two are prepared to take their seats, with the same rights and privileges."

This seems to us the beau-ideal of play, but we fear it is often confined to Utopia : for there are persons existing, in England at least, and persons of veracity not hitherto questioned, who can depose to cases of Whist where only four persons have been present the whole evening ; and the other two, whatever might be their own progress in preparation, or the process that was to bring them within the range of Elective Affinity, have certainly not been prepared, to the eye of flesh at least, to take their seats. But the writer and "poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling," discovers

"Such are the resources of the Game of Whist as it has been established. Such is its life, its movement, and its pleasures. If to these be added the social interests alluded to in Chapter I., that ardour for the game which renders us indifferent to the person of the party filling the first vacancy at the table, provided he plays ; and who, in the midst of hopes and dangers incident to all, makes us forget all misplaced prejudice, we shall be compelled to admit that this game has been invented for the delight of man, since it affords him a no less useful than agreeable pastime."—pp. 40, 41.

On the awful consequences attendant on a simple *quatrain*, such as we have hinted at above, he with unaffected pathos exclaims,—

"Remove the parties who stand ready to take their turn, play with closed doors, and the charm is destroyed, it becomes then but a common-place game. Egoists ! pause ! if you have yet one shadow of intelligence remaining ! it is your own happiness you are about to destroy !" —p. 41.

"——— Quis, talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssei
Temperet a lachrymis."*

As the pious Eneas well observed in such extremity.

Other and older games, the "*mala majorum*," are justly denounced with dignified indignation :

"Some of them were anything but an acquisition to society : only conceive, for instance, two rows of gentlemen seated apart from the ladies, intercepting the light and air ; a game diametrically opposed to every social comfort ; at which no one individual could feel at his ease, and where every player sat in continual discord with his adversaries." —p. 56.

Whist, like mathematics, is an exact science, and here is one of its axioms :

"A cut must be at least to the depth of four cards, the number composing a trick."

This, we conclude is the "cut direct ;" less would savour of indirectness ; for "there are still other modes of cutting ;" and

"If only one card were cut, it might be suspected that it had been seen."

And the writer's predilection for jurisprudence is developed in the following remark, which we recommend to the attendant and revising barristers of Common Pleas :

"Equity is frequently concealed under a mass of legal forms, and may be easily perverted when obscured by technicalities ; but when once discovered and brought to light, it is immediately acknowledged by all parties : objections become ridiculous, and former errors are entirely obliterated." —pp. 64, 65.

The following remarks of our great moralist on the system of dealing with mankind must deeply affect all General Dealers, even to chandlers' shops :

* What Myrmidon, Dolopian, what soldier
Of stern Ulysses, tell such tales without a tear ?
Our scansion, *sub virgâ* (BIRCH), is from a recent translation of Faust.

"It is singular enough that the plan of dealing out an entire pack of cards one by one, should have been ever adopted. It is sometimes a great fatigue, and one which has been imposed on a class of persons who would willingly dispense with it, as we show by our observations on the deal. This plan, to say the truth, possesses no advantage, it even exposes the cards to be seen, on account of their being singly separated; not that we should advise any change in this mode; very far from it; we should thus raise ourselves a host of enemies; for it is a universally received practice, and looked upon as a prototype. There are even many fanatics who, rather than admit any reform in this plan, would altogether renounce the game; who would sooner destroy the idol than suffer the slightest innovation or change in the ceremonial of its worship."—p. 80.

"Is there ever a chandler here?—Because Old Daniel Dowlas (Deschappelles) axes his applause."

But the Lycurgus of Whist, as Johnson observed, "is sometimes pathetic, and sometimes sublime:"

"We cannot help cherishing the belief, that there is a sentiment of mystery attached to this mode of dealing, a sort of religious obligation, which, in order that the cards may be received in safety, and with respect, prompts us to deliver them from the hand slowly and majestically."—p. 80.

We are told, and if the inuendo is meant politically, Conservatives as we are, we cannot deny that it would be the greatest possible improvement in the Reform Act,—that

"The game of Whist might dispense with the trump; it would be a noble game even without it; but since it has been once admitted, it has rapidly advanced its pretensions; and from being a mere auxiliary, has become at length a despotic ruler. Thus we see what force and *éclat* will accomplish. We disapprove of everything in the shape of usurpation, but we cannot help recognising the power of the trump; and in making the above remarks upon that card, we have no intention of raising either doubt or suspicion of its legitimacy."—pp. 81, 82.

We own, and with tears, that the nomination of a trump is a part of the old Rotten Borough system; and should appear in Schedule A. with Gatton, Sarum, Port Wine, and everything not truly Whig. How much superior would be an Universal Suffrage, by which each player, and each expectant also, should name the trump-suit of his own heart at every deal. In one section of the Reform Club at least we should hope to see the operation facilitated by the Ballot system: and if

this election were made at every fresh lead, instead of every deal,—as with the borough-mongering faction devised by "le monstre Pitt, ennemi du genre humain," for the enslavement of mankind,—it would assimilate the more to Annual Parliaments; and then how would the Peels and Wellingtons shrink from the face of day!

The following adds a chapter, we trust, to that first volume of Moral Philosophy which is received at our universities and schools:

"There is a certain time when the prosecution of a crime, of however enormous a nature, causes tumult and confusion. 'Why have you not taken care that the cards were properly placed?' or 'why have you suffered them to be taken from your left? You are an accomplice in an act which tends to your own injury; for you had but to use your eyes, in order to avoid this error.' To this observation we received the following answer. 'I was engaged in a dispute about the last round.'—'Will not this teach you that disputes are always useless, and that they become prejudicial to your interest when they draw your attention from affairs of greater importance? Another time you will act more prudently.'

"Having said thus much, he finished by making, under the semblance of confidence, a confession which, we own, filled us with astonishment. 'I knew,' said he, 'that it was my deal, and it was from mere indifference that I allowed it to be taken from me. This discussion, in which you have made me figure so prominently, I originated, solely in order to furnish myself with an excuse, in the doubt under which I laboured, for ascertaining whether my action was permitted or not.'—pp. 82, 83.

"We conclude these remarks with the following observations:—A player has a right, if he choose, to allow his deal to be taken from him; but never, designedly, to take that of others."—p. 84.

A hint for a new nomenclature is thus given:

"To *phase* is to change. We will not swear that this word did not come to us from the moon."—p. 84.

As changing seats is no unwonted practice, would it not be singularly appropriate to speak of each player, not by his name, but his relative position at the table? such as, the beau in the third phase; the dowager in the fourth phase! This delicate allusion to change of place, or principles, might surely be extended to other than club-houses with advantage.

There is a closeness of argument united with a profundity of research in the following passage, that prepares the reader to re-

ceive implicitly the astounding novelty of the conclusion :

"An English dictionary has defined a rubber to be 'a game, revenge, and the whole.' To say the least of it, this is a truly singular definition; it is incomprehensible to us, and we should even say that it is the definition of a person who has never made one at a whist table. This, however, does not astonish us; it is of a piece with what we witness every day, and in every species of business. It is a great chance that a work is confided to one specially devoted to it. This reminds us that in the edition of 1788, of the Dictionary of the French Academy, the definition of the word 'beefsteak,' is laid down as 'A mutton chop broiled on a grid-iron;' and it is still fresh in the recollection of the public, that an exclusive but ruinous railroad undertaking has been recently confided to the management of an individual known only as a man of wit and agreeable manners in society.

"The rubber is the winning of two games out of three; every nation in which the game is played understands the term in this sense. When one game has been won on each side, a third is required to decide the rubber; if, on the contrary, the two games have been won by the same side, the rubber is finished, and a fresh one is commenced.

"This then is what is expressed by the word rubber. Nevertheless, it would seem to imply something more, otherwise we should not have introduced the word into our language, which is repugnant to the admission of synonymous terms, and which requires a rigorous reform in many of those words which it has admitted."—pp. 105, 106.

These remarks, so entirely homogeneous, and in such perfect accord and harmony, are wound into the following grand diapason, that bursts suddenly, in novelty, on the unexpected ear.

"A RUBBER MEANS TWO OUT OF THREE CONSECUTIVE GAMES."—Is it possible!

The more analytico-synthetical style of observation proceeds :

"The genius of the English would bestow on every game an existence peculiar to itself—an *identity* which would make it a distinct being, possessing faculties, and the power of developing them; one which should enjoy the privilege of its *habeas corpus*, duly classed under its proper standard, according to its importance, but always easily recognized. So much for invention. In any other country it would require an effort of the imagination to discover that which in England has been determined by a natural, but gradually improved law, which secures to every man his own sphere of action, which is averse to one individual becoming the slave of another, and which, in the exercise of freedom of opinion, extends its protection even to the brute creation.

"Ye learned compilers, who would persuade us that whist was invented by the Turks, how little are ye acquainted with the principles of the game, who would ascribe its invention to a nation of slaves!"

While the reader is recovering from the prostration of faculties induced by this Sal-monean thunder, we take the opportunity of turning over sixty pages at once, for our space warns us to be sparing, and of entreating his slow-reviving intellect to learn wisdom from the remarks we ourselves make in passing, if he has his own improvement at heart.

Whist we have classed with mathematics as an *exact* science: and the proof of it is, that it always *exacts* three tricks for a revoke. Upon this act—this sin—this crime against the first principles that bind man to society in the first ages of the world; and that threatens to rupture every link in the great chain of order, that reaches, as M. Cousin has well defined it, "upwards from human nature to the angel, and in a descending scale connects him with the brute,"—as is the case with blind beggars and their dogs:—upon this act, disorganizing and consequently demoralizing the world at large, M. Deschappelles is properly and unusually severe, destroying, as it does, what he calls the Golden Age of Whist. He devotes not less than thirty pages to the subject in one place (pp. 165 to 196), and three in another (OF THE REVOKE INSOLIDAIRE: where both parties are not responsible.) We abstain from going at length into the former point, inasmuch as it will of necessity hereafter be incorporated into the Statutes at Large; but of the latter we must say a few words.

Hints are repeatedly thrown out in the work as to making the one offending party pay the penalty for himself and his partner also—in coin. Now as a revoke not unfrequently arises from a player being in jeopardy for the stake, knowing it is the last in his pocket, how, we would ask, when he has not enough for himself, can he be made to pay his partner's share also? The point seems to involve a difficulty, and is apparently deserving of consideration.

Meantime, let us observe that a revoke, like Fate, is a necessity: such as the Greek tragedy admitted and inculcated, and Lucretius contended for. Virgil has spoken unreservedly on the very point in question; for he says,

Revocare gradum, hic labor, hoc opus est.

in his own elegant language—

Revoking—that's the job—what must be done.

And M. Deschappelles has evidently recognized the principle in his summing up:—

“To conclude—‘Necessity has no law,’ Infinity of space and time are far beyond human comprehension; but we are nevertheless forced to believe in them, because the contrary would be absurd.”

M. Deschappelles, however, has not explained whether he recognizes the revoke as a moral or a physical necessity. We consider it both. It is moral, because it saves your own money and pockets your adversary's. This requires no demonstration. And the physical it will easily become, as the following considerations show. We consider the punishment should be graduated.

The party revoking should undoubtedly pay the penalty for his partner; but, as money is out of the question, it should be by being condemned to play out the game of PATIENCE, till he has capped all the four suits, under the eye of the partner he has injured and the two adversaries he has wronged, and whose feelings must be hereby fully gratified. A second offence, however, can admit no palliation; he should then be compelled to pay; or if he really cannot, he ought to commute by—at once, before he goes on with the game, and with the least delay possible—being thrown out of the window; previously pledging himself, however, in return for this indulgence, to come up and conclude the rubber before he attempts to get his bones set.

The justly high reputation of Deschappelles precludes further commendation from us.

ART. VII.—1. *Urgata Esaias Nabi. Ascensio Isaia Vatis, opusculum pseudepigraphum, multis abhinc seculis, ut videtur, deperditum, nunc autem apud Æthiopes compertum, et cum Versione Latina Anglicanaque: a Ricardo Laurence, LL.D. Heb. Ling. Prof. Reg. (The Ascension of the Prophet Isaiah; a work attributed to himself; for many centuries lost, but at length discovered in Abyssinia.) Oxoniæ, 1819.*

2. *Das buch Henoch, in vollstandiger Uebersetzung, mit fortlaufenden Commentar, &c. (The Book of Enoch, translated entire, with a running Commentary, &c.) Von Andr. Götzl. Hoffmann, Prof. der Theologie. Jena. 2 vols. 1838.*

3. *Metsehaf Enoch Nabi. (The Book of Enoch the Prophet, an Apocryphal pro-*

duction, supposed for ages to have been lost, but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia. Now first translated from an Ethiopian MS. in the Bodleian Library. By Richard Laurence, D.D., Archbishop of Cashel. Oxford, 1838.

THERE is nothing OLD under the sun.

Presumptuous as it may at first seem to attempt this converse to the proposition of the wisest of men—he himself, we are certain, would have been the foremost to lay it down had he lived in the days of present science and discovery. While geographers and historians are exhausting research, and learning and sagacity are hourly tracking the vestiges of the past, and bringing forth from its ample womb, in the guise indeed of antiquity, facts and systems that were most certainly unknown and undreamed of by those to whom they are now attributed;—while from the wreck of ancient materials, ill-digested, and worse understood, but of boundless and still increasing accumulation, a loose mass of rubbish is collected to fill up any how the interior of the piers, set up and smoothly faced by hypothesis as the sole support of those magnificent speculations wherewith metaphysics originally, and of late logic also, have contrived to bridge over the stream of time, and bear the archæologist from shore to shore; and this without wetting even the sole of his feet in the living waters of truth, that flow continually nevertheless, but of course, far beneath his sphere;—while genius and philosophy quote authority only to deny it, and investigate the relics of early ages solely to prove by their existence that they never could have been, and to gather from their mutual consent and coherence irrefragable evidences of their inconsistencies and incongruity;—the reader, we are sure, will join with us in determining by the aid of modern illumination that antiquity is naught; and he will cheerfully give up all he has been accustomed to regard with respect and reverence—the testimony of witnesses, the declaration of the actors themselves, the narratives of their immediate descendants, the historical traditions handed down with sacred and filial reverence from age to age, the guides and the belief of those who from proximity of time and country could best appreciate them, to follow the dictum and bow before the reasoning of students, who, living centuries after the means of judging had perished, have, with a fair and impartial ignorance of extinct nations and languages, defined the Past to be simply what the Present chooses to make of it.

Some minds there are, and for this we

may thank our universities, who have not been dazzled with the glories of recent illuminations, nor blinded by that excess of light which approximates so nearly to darkness that the Eternal alone can tell any difference between them: minds that—instead of butterfly roving only from flower to flower, of coquetting with languages at the rate of one hour for each, and deriving by a photogenic process the exact and faithful impress of every science current in the same street within ten minutes—are still satisfied to believe that truth can be reached only by a patient study, that reason can be attained only by careful investigation, and that to train the intellect, like the body, for sustained labours and independent energy, long habits of care and study should be formed, enlightened by a slow experience, and exercised with a wide and deliberate judgment and a cautious investigation. They know that the gourd which sprang up in a night, though grateful in the morning, was withered in a day, and they prefer planting the slow growth of the acorn to produce the oak, than see the hurrying pumpkin borne to earth by its trashy fruit. Such minds, and such alone, can afford to be the mock of the scorner they commiserate: for in such minds alone are the conditions of strength and stability, the consciousness of native dignity that asks no shouts from the mob nor the admiring finger of the fool, but leaves to the quacks of the hour the glorifications of noisy applause: the last is the glitter of the moment;—the former is the theme of admiration, the stay of his country's institutions, and the guide, the friend, and the guardian of mankind.

From the difference between the established and the changeable in education, springs necessarily the difference between the intellects so fostered. The man who has patiently viewed the wisdom of antiquity as received both directly and indirectly through the medium of a gradual education, has at least the advantage of that derived experience which the mightiest minds of antiquity, names that have lived in renown for centuries, can afford: and when he considers how little the general course of life differs in succeeding ages, he will be all the less disposed to abandon or underrate the approved masters of wisdom, for the mere sake of voices now known only by their clamours, and names whose chance of celebrity is confined to the passing hour. The educationist, accustomed to yield a slow and cautious obedience, may sometimes err in the reluctance he feels to give up the universal attestation of centuries; but the sciolist, disregarding of the past, has no basis for the present, for in his

theory of life he shuts out experience: he places, like the Brahmin's spurious creed, his speculative world upon an elephant, and that elephant on a tortoise, in ignorance or forgetfulness that the world is poised by counteracting relations; that of these experience is the sole test in our power; and that that which is ever turning must have a defined axis, one universal centre to which every part must relate. It is not, as infant systems would teach us, a series of climates, each holding and spinning out a little system of its own; but one compact and universal globe, whose unity and homogeneity stands evidence for its single beginning.

It is with this distinct impression of Unity on our minds, and of the necessity of supporting all that sustains it if we would sustain the truth, that we now turn to examine the works before us. By one simple test shall we be satisfied to try the question of their genuineness, and apply it to the natural, as well as the historical portions of these works. We know indeed of no other test in a case where the conflicting evidences of high names and important authorities have thrown doubt into the decision of this and other as yet imperfectly understood questions. Writers of deserved eminence, and in Germany especially, have, we are aware, given their decided testimony against the unity of which we speak; but holding this their opposition to the general opinion of mankind, as arising specially from the defects of the once-lauded system of German education, we shall presently take occasion to enter into just so much of that question as may serve to elucidate the case before us.

To the learned notes and elucidations of Professor Hoffmann's Book of Enoch we feel satisfied to refer the more curious reader, because they are peculiarly adapted for the learned; and consequently, like Dr. Laurence's notes also, unfit for a popular periodical, that seeks chiefly to gratify the curiosity of the public at large; but the preliminary dissertation of the late Archbishop of Cashel, in which he notices the principal arguments of Herr Hoffman, contains every thing also that can satisfy the reader, and from this, and his text and Hoffmann's, we shall quote largely.

But we must first turn to the reputed work of the Prophet Isaiah. On this Dr. Laurence remarks:—

"It was certainly noticed by some of the early Fathers. Justin, who suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, distinctly alludes to a principal circumstance contained in it respecting the sawing of Isaiah asun-

der with a wooden saw. Having quoted many passages from the Old Testament to prove the character and mission of Christ, he expresses to his Jewish opponent his full conviction, that, if these had been rightly understood by the Jews, they would have been removed from the sacred text, as those have been relative to the death of Isaiah, who was sawn asunder with a wooden saw."—pp. 141, 142.

Tertullian also, in the same century, considered the work of some authority.

"More expressly also, as an apocryphal production, it is mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, a compilation indeed itself apocryphal, and of an uncertain date, but which, in the judgment of Cotelierius, must have been written at some period between the apostolical age and that of Epiphanius.* There it is described as a work even then of some antiquity : *ἐν τοῖς παλαιαῖς δὲ τινες συνεγράψαν βιβλία ἀπὸ κρυφῆ Μωσέως, καὶ Ἐνῶχ, καὶ Ἀδάμ, Ἡσαίου τε, &c.*"—p. 143.

Origen also, in the third century, in the Letter to Africanus, notices the story of Isaiah, confirmed by the testimony of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). He takes a similar notice also in his Commentary on St. Matthew.

In the fourth century, Epiphanius, in his account of various heresies, alludes to the work and quotes from it ; as does also Ambrose in his Commentary on the 118th Psalm ; and finally, it is mentioned in a Commentary upon St. Matthew inserted among the works of Chrysostom, and attributed by Montfaucón to the end or middle of the fifth century. After this last period, the work in question appears to have been neglected.

Dr. Laurence proceeds—

"It has been uniformly and constantly asserted by writers of every age, that the circumstance of Isaiah's being sawn asunder was corroborated by a very old tradition among the Jews. Nor is this assertion solely grounded upon a conjectural basis ; for the tradition itself is recorded in the Talmud. In the Mishna of the tract *Jebammoth*, cap. iv. sect. ult. R. Simeon Ben Azai is reported to have found in Jerusalem a volume of Genealogies, or a sort of Biographical History, illustrative of the principal subject discussed in that chapter. Upon this passage of the Mishna the Gemara remarks, that the same volume contained other matter, and then proceeds thus : 'In this [viz. the book found in Jerusalem] † it was written, that Manasseh killed Isaiah. Raba observed : Judging he judged him, and put him to

death. He said to him, Moses thy master said, 'No man can see me, and live.' (Exod. xxxiii. 20.) But thou hast said, 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up.' (Isaiah, vi. 1.) Moses thy master said, 'Who thus hath the Lord in all things, which we call upon him for.' (Deut. iv. 7.) But thou hast said, 'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found.' (Isaiah, lv. 6.) Moses thy master said, 'The number of thy days I will fulfil.' (Exod. xxiii. 26.) But thou hast said, 'I will add unto thy days fifteen years.' (Isaiah, xxxviii. 5.) Isaiah remarked : I know respecting him that he will not receive what I say to him, if I tell him to level his pride. He [Isaiah] then called upon God. [He spoke the name.] A cedar opened and swallowed him. [He was swallowed up in a cedar.] They went to the cedar, and sawed it, When (the saw) came to his mouth, he expired."—pp. 151-153.

Again we find,

"The same tradition is alluded to in an unpublished Targum upon Isaiah, preserved in the Vatican. Asseman gives the following passage from the Targum relating to it : 'And when Manasseh heard the words of the prophecy reproving him, [of his reproof,] he was filled with anger against him [Isaiah]. His guards ran after him to seize him. And he fled from before them. And a carob tree opened its mouth, and swallowed him. The workmen came and cut down the tree. And the blood of Isaiah flowed.'"—pp. 153, 154.

The notice of Justin Martyr carries the antiquity of the book, in our translator's opinion, to a period earlier than the middle of the second century ; but

"When it became altogether buried in oblivion, seems much less certain. In the celebrated night journey of Mohammed, that impostor represents himself as passing through *seven* different heavens, separated by gates one from another, and each guarded by a watchful porter ;† circumstances which might possibly have been borrowed from the 'Ascension of Isaiah.' If so, it continued to be familiarly known in the *seventh* century. But much stress perhaps will not be laid upon this coincidence, when it is considered, that formerly the belief in a plurality of heavens was at least general, if not universal, and in the precise number of *seven* (as I shall hereafter show,) was common among the Jews."—pp. 154, 155.

After this view of its high antiquity as derived from external evidence, the learned editor proceeds to explain the internal arguments that may be deduced to the same ef-

* Vid. Patres Apostolici, ed cleric. vol. i, p. 195.

† Constit. lib. vi, cap. 16.

‡ P. 49, ed. Bomb. Venet. 1521, ed. princeps.

* Catalogus Bib. Vat. MSS. tom. i. p. 452.

† Matthews' Translation of the Mishcat-ul-Macabih, vol. ii. p. 691-6 ; Abulfedæ Vita Moham. cap. xix., and Prideaux's Life of Moham. p. 50.

fect. The first of these is, that as it alludes to the proximity of the second judgment, a point alluded to by the Apostles themselves, it may have been written in the first century, as the question died away early in the second.

Further, as speaking of but one persecution, this must have been in the days of Nero ; for it is stated that

“ ‘Berial shall descend, the mighty angel, the prince of this world, which he has possessed from its creation. He shall descend from the firmament in the form of a man, an impious monarch, the murderer of his mother, in the form of him, the sovereign of the world.’ ”*—p. 157.

He was to have power three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days ; now, reckoning backward from the death of Nero, (June, 9, A. D. 68,) and considering the months as lunar and the year 68 as leap-year, the allotted day would be the 30th-October, A. D. 64, which singularly approximates to the time fixed by Mosheim as the commencement of the persecution of the Christians by that monarch.

Farther, as three hundred and thirty-two days are assigned after Nero's downfall for the coming of the Lord and his angels, the translator conceives the book must have been written before the completion of this period had falsified the prediction ; consequently, in the year 69.

Dr. Laurence also considers the work to have been written by a converted Jew, principally, it would seem, from the allusion to the seven heavens of Jewish and Rabbinical tradition, and from the name Samael, as applied to Satan : an epithet which, as not found in the Scriptures, he conceives no Christian could have ventured upon. The learned writer's conjecture may be correct, yet his arguments, we conceive, are very unsatisfactory, and we may hereafter refer to this point in connection with others : before quitting this subject, however, to make room for extracts, we shall just notice that, having shown that the work was, as he conceives, written in the year 69, Dr. Laurence draws thence an argument against the Unitarians, who affirm that the divinity of Christ was unknown till the second century, and that of the Holy Ghost still later.

As this work is curious, and by no means common, we extract rather freely from the Vision of Isaiah :

CHAP. VI.

“ 6. Now while Isaiah conversed with Hezekiah upon the subject of righteousness

and faith, they all heard a gate open, and the voice of the Spirit.

“ 10. Now while Isaiah was conversing with the Holy Spirit, and while they all listened in silence, his soul was raised above its ordinary conceptions ; nor did he perceive the men, who stood before him.

“ 11. His eyes were wide open, his mouth silent, and his mortal mind elevated above itself.

“ 12. (Yet still did he continue to breathe ;) for he beheld a vision.

“ 13. The angel, who was sent to show it, was not of this firmament, nor was he of the glorious angels of this world, but he came from the seventh heaven.

“ 14. And the people, who stood by, except the circle of the prophets, thought that holy Isaiah was taken up.

“ 15. Now the vision which he saw, was not of this world, but of the world concealed from human observation.”—pp. 114, 115.

“ 2. It happened, he said, when I prophesied, according to what you have heard, that I beheld a glorious angel, whose glory was not like that of the angels I had been accustomed to behold, but he possessed a glory and office so great, that I am unable to express it.

“ 3. I saw him when he seized me by my hand, and I said, ‘ Who art thou ? What is thy name ? And whither wilt thou cause me to ascend ? ’ For the power of conversing with him was granted to me.

“ 4. He replied : ‘ When I have taken thee up, and shown thee the vision, which I have been sent to show thee, thou shalt instantly understand who I am ; but my name thou shalt not know ;

“ 5. (For it is necessary that thou shouldst return into thy moral body) but thou shalt perceive whither I shall cause thee to ascend, because for this purpose have I been sent to thee.’

“ 9. We then ascended into the firmament, I and he, where I beheld Samael and his powers. Great slaughter was perpetrated by him, and diabolical deeds, while each contended one against another.

“ 10. For as it is above, so is it below, because a similitude of that which takes place in the firmament, exists also here on earth.

“ 13. Afterwards he caused me to ascend above the firmament into heaven ;

“ 14. Where I beheld a throne in the midst, and angels both upon the right hand and upon the left.

“ 15. Nor were any like the angels, standing on the right hand, for those standing on the right hand possessed a very great degree of splendour. And they all glorified with one voice (the throne being in the midst), glorifying the same object. After them likewise those upon the left hand, but their voice was not as the voice of those upon the right hand, nor was their splendour as the splendour of the others.

“ 18. Again he took me up into the second

* Chap. iv. 2.

heaven, the height of which was as the height from the earth to heaven and the firmament.

"19. The first heaven was distinguished by a right side and a left, by a throne in the midst, and by the splendour of angels. These things also were in the second heaven; but he who sat upon the throne in the second heaven possessed a glory greater than all.

"20. Abundant indeed was the glory of the second heaven; but the splendour of the angels there resembled not that of those who were in the first heaven.

"24. Then he took me up into the third heaven, where in like manner I beheld those, who were upon the right hand and upon the left, and where also a throne was in the midst, and one sitting upon it, but no record of this world was there commemorated.

"28. Again he took me up in the fourth heaven, the height of which from the third was greater than from the earth to the firmament.

"29. There again I saw angels, upon the right hand and upon the left, and one sitting upon a throne in the midst, and there likewise they glorified.

"30. There, too, the splendour and glory of the angels on the right hand exceeded that of those on the left.

"31. Again also the glory of him, who was sitting on the throne, exceeded that of the angels who were upon the right hand, as their glory also exceeded that of those who were below them.

"32. Then he took me up into the fifth heaven.

"33. Where again I perceived that the angels upon the right and the left side, as well as he, who sat upon the throne, possessed a greater glory than those of the fourth heaven."—pp. 116–121.

CHAP. VIII.

"1. Moreover he took me up into the ether of the sixth heaven, where, immediately as I ascended, I saw an effulgence, which I had not perceived in the fifth heaven.

"2. The angels existed in great glory.

"3. A holy splendor and a throne was also there.

"6. I further inquired of him, saying, 'Are there then no associates of angels?'

"7. He said: 'Yes; of the sixth heaven and above, in which from this time there is neither a left side, nor a throne placed in the midst; but it is connected with the potency of the seventh heaven, where dwells he, who is never named, and his Elect, whose name is unrevealed, nor are all the heavens capable of discovering it.'

"19. He now took me into the sixth heaven, where there was neither a left side, nor a throne in the midst, but all were alike in their appearance, and their splendour was equal.

"18. There all invoked the first, the Father, and his Beloved the Christ, and the Holy Spirit, all with united voice."—pp. 121–123.

CHAP. IX.

"1. Then he raised me unto the ether of the seventh heaven. Moreover I heard a voice, exclaiming; 'Whither would he ascend who dwells among strangers?' I feared and trembled.

"2. It spoke of me. And while I trembled, behold, from the same place another voice was uttered, which said, 'Let holy Isaiah be permitted to ascend hither, for here is his clothing.'

"3. Then I inquired of the angel who was with me, and said; 'Who is he that prohibiteth me? and who he that favoureth my ascent?'

"4. The angel answered; 'He who prohibited thee is he, who dwells above the splendor of the sixth heaven.'

"5. And he who turned thee back again is thy Lord God, the Lord Christ, who will be called in the world, Jesus; but his name it is impossible to understand, until he has ascended from mortality.'

"6. He then took me up into the seventh heaven, where I beheld a miraculous light and angels innumerable.

"7. There also I saw all the saints from Adam:

"8. Holy Abel, and every other saint.

"9. There, too, I beheld Enoch, and all coeval with him, who were without the clothing of the flesh: I viewed them in their heavenly clothing, resembling the angels, who were standing there in great splendor.

"10. Nevertheless they sat not upon their thrones, nor were splendid crowns upon their heads."—pp. 124, 125.

He is informed that they were to receive crowns and thrones of glory only after the descent of the Beloved:

"13. 'For the Lord shall descend into the world in the latter days, and after his descent shall be called Christ. He shall take your form, be reputed flesh, and shall be man.'

"14. 'Then shall the God of the world be revealed by his Son. Yet will they lay their hands upon him, and suspend him on a tree, not knowing who he is.'

"15. 'In like manner also shall his descent, as thou wilt perceive, be concealed from the heavens, through which he shall pass altogether unknown.'

"16. 'But after he has escaped from the angel of death, on the third day he shall rise again, and continue in the world five hundred and forty-five days.'

"21. And while I was yet talking with him, I perceived one of the angels, who were standing by, more splendid than that angel who had directed my ascent from the world.

"22. He showed me books, but not books like those of this world, and he opened them. They contained things written in them, but the writing resembled not the writing of this world. Permission being given to me, I read them. And behold the transactions of the

children of Israel were written therein.”—pp. 126, 127.

The Godhead himself is introduced, and most meagerly :

“27. Then I beheld one standing, whose glory surpassed that of all, whose glory was great and wonderful.

“28. And while I was contemplating him, all the saints and angels, whom I had seen, advanced towards him. Adam, Abel, Seth, and all the saints of old approached, worshipped, and glorified him, all with united voice. I myself also glorified with them, and my glorifying resembled theirs.

“29. Immediately all the angels approached, worshipped, and glorified.

“30. He then became changed, and appeared like an angel :

“31. When instantly that angel, who was conducting me, said, ‘Worship him;’ and I worshipped.

“32. The angel added ; ‘This is the Lord of all the glory, which thou hast beheld.’

“33. And while I was still conversing, I perceived another glorious being, who was similar to him in appearance, and whom the saints approached, worshipped, and glorified, while I myself also glorified with them ; but his glory was not transformed into a glory resembling theirs.

“34. Immediately also the angels approached and worshipped.

“35. Then I beheld the Lord and a second angel, both of whom were standing.

“36. The second, which I saw, was upon the left hand of my Lord. I asked who this was. My conductor said to me ; ‘Worship him;’ for this is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who spoke by thee and other saints.”—pp. 127, 128.

The sacred commission of the Redeemer is scarcely in a better or higher strain :

CHAP. X.

“7. Then I heard the words of the highly exalted, the Father of my Lord, speaking to my Lord, the Christ, who will hereafter be called Jesus :

“8. ‘Go,’ said he, ‘descend through all the heavens ; descend to the firmament, and the world, even to the angel, who is in hell, but who has not yet been hurled to utter perdition.

“9. ‘Assimilate thyself to the appearance of all, who are in the five heavens ;

“10. ‘To the form of the angels of the firmament, and carefully guarding thyself be assimilated, even to the angels, who are in hell.

“11. ‘Neither shall all the angels of the world know, that thou, with me, art the Lord of the seven heavens, and of their angels, nor shall they know, that thou existest with me.

“12. ‘Then when with a celestial voice I shall have convoked the angelical and splen-

did host of the heavens, and when I shall have enlarged the sixth heaven, that thou mayest judge and destroy the principalities, the angels, and the gods of the world, as well as the world, which belongs to them, then shalt thou reign.

“13. ‘For they have uttered falsehood, and said ; ‘We exist, and besides us there is no God.’”

“14. ‘Nor when from the gods of death thou shalt ascend to thy own place, shalt thou undergo a change in passing through the different heavens, but with splendour shalt thou ascend, and sit at my right hand.’”—pp. 130, 131.

In descending to, and below the fifth Heaven, the sacred form assumes the appearance of the several inhabitants of those heavens : in the third and second he gives a passport :

“29. Again he descends into the firmament, where the Prince of this world dwells, and where also he gave a passport to those upon the left side, his form resembling theirs ; who, instead of glorifying him, were contentiously destroying each other ; for there exists the power of evil and of short-lived contention.

“30. I saw likewise, when he descended, and became assimilated to the angels of the air, and appeared like one of them.

“31. But there he gave no passport, because they were plundering and assaulting each other.”—pp. 132, 133.

The eleventh and final chapter contains a vision of the Birth, Sufferings, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Redeemer, in the same style of poverty as to imagination and fervour. After this follows an apostrophe to “thee, my father Aaron, since thou hast caused this book to be written upon earth,” and the whole appositely terminates with a wish, or perhaps a prayer, that the writer’s heart may be “rendered happy with a present of venerable cloth, fine in its thread, and good in its texture, of twelve measures long, and four broad:”—which we hope was supplied.

Having given the reader all the extracts in the least deserving notice from this obviously worthless volume, we shall defer any remarks of our own till we come to the consideration of the second work on our list, and which from internal evidence is of far greater value than the preceding ;—so much so, indeed, as to render a careful examination of it necessary.

The Book of Enoch in the two last centuries was the subject of much critical and theological discussion. Having been quoted by Jude in the 14th and 15th verses of his General Epistle,—which, it must be borne in mind, also refers to other works to this

hour unknown and unvalued,—it was preserved until the eighth century, and subsequently lost, till a portion was recovered by Scaliger in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus, then unprinted. This portion he published in his notes to the Canon of Eusebius; but it was far from satisfactory, inasmuch as it did not contain the passage cited by Jude.

A suspicion existed that the work itself might still be extant in an Ethiopic version; and Ludolf examined a book in that tongue brought from Egypt by Peiresc, with the hope of obtaining it; but in vain. The tract in question was a mass of idle superstitions, such as the Ethiopic Church, so far as we know of it, has in every age encouraged, in its anxious reverence for every fragment of traditionary antiquity: but the suspicion we have referred to, and its full vindication, by Bruce's discovery of the long lost book in an Ethiopic version, bears to our mind a strong indication that the work itself was originally Ethiopic. In the Abyssinian Canon it precedes the Book of Job.

Of the three copies brought to Europe by Bruce he presented one to the royal library at Paris, another to the Bodleian of Oxford, and reserved the third for himself. From the last of these copies a summary was given by the editor of that traveller's labours;* the first was incorrectly transcribed by Woide, and translated in great part by the learned and lamented De Sacy; and has lately been again transcribed by Gesenius for a forthcoming translation; the copy in the Bodleian library forms the basis of Dr. Laurence's work.

This version reconciles the Greek fragment of Syncellus with the Ethiopic; and further testimony may be found in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Anatolius. But though the first of these three writers, and Clemens of Alexandria, refer to the book, without noticing its suspicious character, yet it is held apocryphal by the Apostolical Constitutions, Athanasius, Jerome, Augustin, and Nicephorus; uninspired and questionable by Origen; and Tertullian, who believed it to be the inspired work of Enoch himself, yet admits that it was rejected by some, and excluded from the Jewish Canon.

With this division of opinions, Dr. Laurence has justly remarked that its rejection from the Canon of the Scriptures seems an

insuperable objection; that Tertullian, attributing it to Enoch, yet thinks it may have been re-written by Noah; and that St. Paul, no less than St. Jude, has quoted heathen writers, and like him applied the word prophet to a heathen poet.

From Scaliger's opinion of the Hebraisms of the work, as obvious through the Greek translation, Dr. Laurence is encouraged to suspect that a Jew was the author; and he sustains this opinion by the fact of frequent references being made to it in the Cabbala and the Zohar, as a book carefully preserved from generation to generation. Now, since the Cabalistic writers used the Chaldee, the Doctor argues that the genuine work must have been Chaldaic, or Hebrew,—(there is some difference, in these, we think, as regards the question,)—and not a translation. This argument appears to us unsatisfactory throughout.

As to the time of the composition, the citation by Jude fixes the lowest possible date; and according to Dr. Laurence, the captivity of Babylon the highest; since it copies the words of Daniel. The converse, we think, *might* hold here. Farther, begging the question of prophecy entirely in the negative, the learned editor observes that from the 83d to the 90th chapters, an allegorical government of the Jews is carried on under 70 shepherds (or princes,) of whom Saul, David, and Solomon are distinctly alluded to—and though the sum of the three numbers given (37, 23, and 12,) amounts to seventy-two instead of seventy,—yet the first 35 (37) agrees with the number of kings of Israel and Judah until the Captivity, omitting those who reigned but a few days; the 23 next to the Babylonian, Persian and Macedonian kings, precisely that number; and the 12 last to their native princes from Matathias to Herod, to whose reign he assigns the composition of the work.

That it was written but a few years before the Christian era is also presumable from the mention of the Parthians and Medes in chapter 54, who are represented in their might. The former were unknown in history till 250 B. C. as Dr. Laurence observes, and became most known to the Western world by the successive defeats of Crassus and Antony 54 and 36 B. C.; while a distinct allusion occurs in the 54th chapter to their invasion of Judea, which was in the year 40 B. C.

We may digress a moment to observe that the *Medes* as a nation are unknown to Oriental historians, as has often been remarked: but this can scarcely be wondered at when we consider that this word is but a translation of their name, as given by Herodotus in

* Dr. Laurence dissents from the following passage of this summary, as destitute of proof:—"The narrative is bold and fabulous, but highly impressive of the sentiments and character of those speculative enthusiasts, who blended the Chaldaic philosophy with the sacred history of the Jews." We, however, consider it defective only so far as it is somewhat too confined.

the word Sphaco; Mede is the Celtic form, for Dog. But to return.

We are bound to object to Dr. Laurence's theory, that the facts he adduces occur only late in the Book of Enoch; such as the 83d and following chapters; and at earliest the 54th. Now we submit it is not at all improbable that the earlier portions of the work may bear a remoter antiquity, if only in portions; and that the arrangement or completion alone would, as it does fully, bear out the able and astute conjectures of the Archbishop of Cashel.

That traditions of importance were current in early Eastern antiquity we now know enough of it to affirm with certainty; and of the modes of their preservation not a shadow of question is left us. The interweaving such with a later production, would, as recently even, in the case of the Pseudo-Ossian, give to the later and fabricated parts the authenticity of the earlier remains, and enlist the memories and sympathies of mankind in its favour. When we consider the Sibylline oracles, Orphic verses, and Pythagorean maxims of Greece, whatever their genuineness, and the Egyptian traditional poems, the Salian hymns, the Chinese songs of Confucius, and the Tatar distichs of a similar moral nature that bear the name of Oghuz from remotest antiquity, we need not, probably, confine ourselves to the narrow basis of Dr. Laurence's argument, that Enoch's was notoriously an assumed name for a wholly modern compilation. If the Book of Wisdom, according to his argument, be not the actual work of Solomon himself, yet it proves distinctly that sayings or writings of a similar nature were attributed to that monarch, and in supposed existence; or the supposititious work would not be put forth in his name. This mode would facilitate the reception of an imposture; the opposite would do unnecessary violence to the sense of mankind. Dr. Laurence himself seems partially of this opinion when he observes in another place,

"Nor should we forget that much, perhaps most, of what we censure was grounded upon a national tradition, the antiquity of which, independent of other considerations, had rendered it respectable."

We may further remark here, that though we have not, nor can have, any positive proof on either side the argument, there is one test left, and sufficient to build up at least a presumption. The portions of the Book of Enoch that refer to the earliest ages assuredly do not contradict the received records, nor do they servilely follow them. They add, on the contrary, historical facts

apparently; if we may judge by their connection and coherence with the Scriptures. These are certainly few, and thus the more likely to be purely traditional; but it is evident that the general compiler could not distinguish the value of fact from that of visionary childishness, such as the following:

"In proof that the author could not have resided in Palestine, it is only necessary to take into consideration what is stated in the 71st chapter relative to the length of the days at various periods of the year.

"The internal evidence contained in this chapter seems decisive upon the point. For having divided the day and night into *eighteen* parts, the apocryphal Enoch distinctly represents the longest day in the year as consisting of *twelve* out of these eighteen parts.* Now the proportion of *twelve* to *eighteen* is precisely the same as *sixteen* to *four-and-twenty*; the present division into hours of the period constituting day and night. If therefore we consider in what latitude a country must be situated to have a day *sixteen* hours long, we shall immediately perceive that Palestine could not be such a country. It is indeed possible that in order to express an uniformity in the increase of the day after the vernal equinox, so as to lengthen it every month *one* portion regularly, the author might not have been particularly nice with respect to the minor divisions; but he would scarcely have *much* deviated in his result from accurate observation. We may then safely conclude that the country in which he lived must have been situated not lower than forty-five degrees north latitude, where the longest day is fifteen hours and a half, nor higher perhaps than forty-nine degrees, where the longest day is precisely sixteen hours. This will bring the country where he wrote as high up at least as the northern districts of the Caspian and Euxine seas; probably it was situated somewhere between the upper parts of both these seas.

"If the latter conjecture be well founded, the author of the Book of Enoch was perhaps one of the tribes which Shalmaneser carried away, and 'placed in Halah and in Habor, by the river Goshan, and in the cities of the *Medes*.'

"It should likewise be added, that as Media is situated on the southern and southwestern coasts of the Caspian sea, a migration of the captive Israelites, who were precluded from returning to their own country, still further northwards, for greater security and independence, seems not improbable. But it is of no importance to fix with accuracy the country in which this book was written; it is sufficient to be assured that its author indisputably resided in a climate re-

* "At that period the day is lengthened from the night, being twice as long as the night, and becomes twelve parts; but the night is shortened and becomes six parts." v. 18, 19.

mote from Judea ; and this the account given in it respecting the length of day and night, at the different seasons of the year, alone fully proves. Composed, therefore, in the assumed name and character of Enoch, and having been brought into Judea from a distant country, it could not have been well known, or quoted under any other title than that of the Book of Enoch ; and although the generality must from its incongruities have deemed its contents apocryphal, yet might there have been some, who, deceived by its external evidence and pretensions, ignorantly esteemed it to be the genuine production of the patriarch himself."

As we ourselves are strongly disposed, from the very nature of the work before us, to doubt its origin from among the Chaldeans, whose dark and gloomy spiritual system contrasts most assuredly with the calmer genius of Enoch's reputed work, so we may notice here that this gratuitous assumption of the origination among the captive tribes of Shalmaneser, however ingenious, seems adopted in the same spirit as that which assigns the compilation to a Jew. The locality from astronomical statements is fairly and ably traced to Media ; but before we can admit the second assumption, of its Jewish origin in that region, we are forced to inquire whether, since, like the Book of Isaiah, the Book of Enoch was known and suffered to perish by Jews and Christians, and was, like it, preserved by the unchanging belief and predilection of the Ethiopians alone, whether they were not the descendants of its originators ? and in fact we would inquire,

WHO WERE THE ETHIOPIANS ?

We pass from this question ; and, observing that we are no theologians, do not wish to rake up the scepticism of Lücke upon portions of the work before us : yet we must remark that when both Hoffmann and Laurence insist on the doctrine of the Trinity as manifested in this book distinctly, before the coming of our Saviour ; and when the latter eminent and pious divine urges its appearance there as more satisfactory to his mind than the deductions drawn from the Cabbala on this head ; he seems to forget that to make a confessedly spurious work exhibit the only existing indication of that sublime and awful mystery, is admitting that a system of falsehood received that illumination which was denied to the truth till long after. How could this mystery be known to the Jews, or how at least can we know that it was known to them if their works contain no proof of this at the time, and their constant denial subsequently goes far to establish their ignorance ? And can a book whose origin is more than

doubtful, and whose falsehoods are apparent, establish of itself this mighty secret denied to all else ? The Book of Enoch, it may be said, does not prove the mystery, but only the knowledge of that mystery. Yet how, if diffused among the Jews, could it escape preservation by them with the rest of their knowledge ? Would it not be at least as reasonable to conclude, admitting Dr. Lawrence's negative for the Jewish writings, that the sacred development was withheld from a stiff-necked and perverse race, and indeed from man generally till its existence was made visible to the eye ; and, instead of resting on hearsay or affirmation, however sacred, become, we may so say, tangible to sense and evidence ?—as when the Son was on earth, the Father announced him, and the Holy Spirit descended on his head.

The passage in Enoch we suspect to be the Persian theory, with some, but not much modification. The Archbishop gives the following view of it :—

" Here there is nothing Cabbalistical ; here there is no allegory ; but a plain and clear, although slight, allusion to a doctrine, which had it not formed a part of the popular creed at the time, would scarcely have been intelligible. Three Lords are enumerated ; the Lord of Spirits, the Lord the Elect one, and the Lord the other Power ; an enumeration which evidently implies the acknowledgment of three distinct persons participating in the name and in the power of the Godhead. Such, therefore, from the evidence before us, appears to have been the doctrine of the Jews respecting the divine nature antecedently to the rise and promulgation of Christianity "

But deferring for the present our observations upon this and various subjects connected with the question in a greater or less degree, we proceed to introduce the reader to the Book of Enoch itself ; first offering, however, a slight summary of its contents, as given by the late Mr. Murray, the editor of " Bruce's Travels :—

" And Enoch saw a holy vision in the heavens, which the angels revealed to him. And I heard from them every thing, and I understood what I saw. After this follows the history of the angels, of their having descended from heaven, and produced giants with the daughters of men ; of their having instructed these in the arts of war and peace, and luxury. The names of the leading spirits are mentioned, which appear to be of Hebrew original, but corrupted by Greek pronunciation. The resolution of God to destroy them is then revealed to Enoch. These topics occupy about eighteen chapters, which Mr. Bruce had translated into

English, but weary of the subject, proceeded no further. From the eighteenth to the fiftieth chapter, Enoch is led by Uriel and Raphael through a series of visions, not much connected with the preceding. He saw the burning valley of the fallen angels, the Paradise of the saints, the utmost ends of the earth, the treasures of the thunder and lightning, winds, rain, dew, and the angels who presided over these. He was led into the place of the general judgment, saw the Ancient of Days on his throne, and all the kings of the earth before him. At the fifty-second chapter, Noah is said to have been alarmed at the enormous wickedness of mankind, and, fearing vengeance, to have implored the advice of his great grandfather. Enoch told him that a flood of waters would destroy the whole race of man, and a flood of fire punish the angels, whom the deluge could not affect. Chap. LIX., the subject of the angels is resumed. Semeiza, Artukafu, Arimeen, Kakabael, Tusael, Ramiel, Dandel, and others to the amount of twenty, appear at the head of the fallen spirits, and give fresh instances of their rebellious dispositions. At Kefel LXII., Enoch gives his son Mathusala a long account of the sun, moon, stars, the year, the months, the winds, and like physical phenomena. This takes up eight chapters, after which the patriarch makes a recapitulation of what he had uttered in the former page. The remaining twenty chapters are employed on the history of the deluge, Noah's preparations for it, and the success which attended them. The destruction of all flesh, excepting his family, and the execution of divine vengeance on the angels and their followers, conclude this absurd and tedious work."—Vol. ii. pp. 424—426, note. "The reader will perceive that this account is imperfect and inaccurate, particularly that which is given of the last twenty chapters."

Some further remarks in elucidation, from the pen of the late Archbishop of Cashel, may not be unacceptable to the reader:

"As the arrangement of the chapters and verses in the two MSS. appears to be different, and to have been arbitrarily made, I have uniformly followed that of the Bodleian MS., but have noted the sections as they appear in the Paris MS., transcribed by Woide, which is more exact than the other in this respect. The Bodleian only marks them in two or three instances.

"I have remarked, p. xliii, that different parts of the book itself may have been composed at different periods; perhaps it might also be added, that they may have been different tracts; as well as tracts composed by different authors. Thus the first six chapters seem to be Enoch's annunciation of punishment to transgressors. Then commences, in chap. VII. sect. II., his narrative respecting the connection of the angels with

the daughters of men, his elevation to heaven, his vision of the Almighty, his message to the transgressing angels, his vision of heaven, hell and paradise, and his survey of the world's extremities. These details occupy four sections and thirty chapters. At Sect. VI. Chap. XXXVII. begins his second vision, which contains it is said a hundred and three parables, but of these only three are given. Parable the first extends from Chap. XXXVIII. to Chap. XLV. (Sect. VII.); parable the second from Chap. XLV. to Chap. LVI. (Sect. IX.); parable the third, from Chap. LVI. to Chap. LXIX. (Sect. XII.) But here a singular circumstance occurs: Chapters LXIV. LXV. LXVI. and the first verse of Chap. LXVII. are interposed, which contain a vision of the Deluge, by Noah, not as foretold by Enoch, but as related in the first person by Noah himself.

"The subsequent chapters, LXIX. LXX. (Sect. XII.) shortly record another vision of the Almighty. From Chap. LXXI. (Sect. XIII.) to Chap. LXXXII. (Sect. XVI) is contained, 'The Book of the Revolution of the Luminaries,' explained to Enoch by the angel Uriel. This is clearly a distinct tract, comprising a detail of astronomical observations, which he recounts to his son Mathusala.

"The remainder of the book describes dreams and visions which Enoch saw, and which he related to his son Mathusala, and concludes with instructions to his children and exhortations to righteousness."

It is necessary, however, to premise that the translation we have selected is not Dr. Laurence's, but one made from Professor Hoffmann's version, which though it cannot be more true to the sense of the original than the former, has yet the material advantage of a more scriptural turn of expression; an important point when the work is to stand in comparison with the Books of Holy Writ; and scarcely less,—we might under the existing circumstances of confessed Apocryphism, almost say, infinitely more so, if we examine as we ought the question raised as to its origination, in a critical point of view, however slightly.

We call attention especially to the opening, in itself, to our thinking, of very material importance, and so strangely omitted by both Hoffmann and De Sacy. In Laurence's original, the Bodleian MS., it does not occur; but is found in the Parisian and Bruce's own copies.

"In the name of God, the merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and of great mercy and holiness, this book is the book of Enoch the prophet. May His blessing and help be with him who loves him, for ever and ever, Amen.

CHAP. I.—"The word of the blessing of

Enoch, by which he blessed the elect and the righteous, who were to live in the time of tribulation, to the rejection of all the wicked and ungodly. Enoch a righteous man, who was with God, answered and spoke, when his eyes were open, and he saw a holy vision in the heavens. This the angels showed me. 2. From them I heard all things, and understood what I saw, that which will not be done in this generation, but in a generation which is to come at a future time, on account of the elect. 3. On their account I spoke and talked with him, who will then go forth from his mansion, the holy and mighty One, the God of this world. 4. Who will then walk upon Mount Sinai, appear with his hosts, and be revealed in the strength of his power from heaven. 5. All shall be afraid, and the watchers shall be terrified. 6. Great fear and trembling shall seize them, even to the ends of the earth, the lofty mountains shall be shaken, and the high hills depressed, and melt like a honey-comb in the fire, the earth shall be overflowed, and all which is upon it shall perish, when judgment shall come upon all, even upon the righteous. 7. But to them he will give peace, he will save the elect, and towards them be merciful. 8. So then all shall be made happy and blessed by God, and the splendour of God shall enlighten them."—pp. 1, 2.

We give, however, the second chapter containing the celebrated verses (14 and 15) of Jude both from Hoffmann and Laurence.

KAP. II.—"Siehe! er kommt mit Myriaden seiner Heiligen, Gericht über sie zu halten, zu vertilgen die Bösen und zu strafen alles Fleisch über jégliches, was die Sünder und Gottlosen gethan und begangen haben gegen ihn."

CHAP. II.—"Behold he comes with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon them, and destroy the wicked, and reprove all the carnal for everything which the sinful and ungodly have done, and committed against him."

It is remarkable that in the following denunciations of sinners the threats are moral rather than physical; more according with the earliest, or purely theocratic, system of the Jews, than with the severer punishments denounced after the Chaldean captivity.

"18. But you wait not in patience, nor perform the commands of the Lord, but you oppose and defame his greatness, and the words in your defiled mouths are malignant against his Majesty. 19. Ye withered in heart, for you there shall be no peace. 20. Therefore you shall curse your days, and the years of your lives shall pass away, incessant cursing shall be increased, and you shall obtain no mercy. 21. In those days you shall resign your peace with the eternal maledictions of all the righteous, and sin-

ners shall continually execrate you. 22. They shall execrate you with all the ungodly. 23. The elect shall possess light, joy, and peace, and they shall inherit the earth. 24. But you, ye unholy, shall be accursed."

The following detailed account will supply an important omission in traditional history. The word *Malekath* is translated Angel by both Laurence and Hoffmann, such being its modern sense unquestionably. We must point notice also to the labours of Azazyel (v. 16) and his compeers.

SECT. II.—"1. It happened after the children of men had increased in those days, that daughters were born unto them elegant and beautiful. 2. And when the angels the sons of heaven saw them, they were inflamed with love of them, and said to each other, Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget children. 3. Then Samiaza their leader said to them, I fear that you may perhaps be averse to the performance of this undertaking. 4. And that I alone shall suffer for so great a crime. 5. But they answered, and said unto him, We all swear: 6. And bind ourselves by mutual execrations, that we will not change our intention, but will perform our intended undertaking. 7. Then they all swore one another, and bound themselves by mutual execrations. Their whole number was two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared, upon the top of Mount Armon. 8. Therefore they called that mountain Armon, because they had sworn upon it, and bound themselves by mutual execrations. 9. These are the names of their chiefs, the first, Samiaza, who was their leader; the second, Arstikapha; the third, Armen; the fourth, Akibeel; the fifth, Tamiel; the sixth, Ramiel; the seventh, Danyal; the eighth, Zakiel; the ninth, Barakel; the tenth, Azazel; the eleventh, Armers; the twelfth, Bataryal; the thirteenth, Ananel; the fourteenth, Thausael; the fifteenth, Samiel; the sixteenth, Ertael; the seventeenth, Tumaël; the eighteenth, Tarel; the nineteenth, Yomyael; the twentieth, Sariel. 10. These, with all the others, in the thousand one hundred and seventieth year of the world, took to themselves wives, and they continued in their madness with them unto the flood. 11. And there were born unto them three sorts, the first were great giants, and to the giants were born Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born Elioud. 12. And they increased in their power, and taught each other and their wives sorcery and incantations. 13. Moreover, Azazel taught men to make swords, knives, shields, breastplates, the fabrication of mirrors, the workmanship of bracelets, ornaments, the use of paint, beautifying of the eyebrows, the use of stones of every valuable and select kind, and of all sorts of dyes, so that the world became altered. 14. Impiety increased, fornication multiplied, and they transgressed and cor-

rupted all their ways. 15. Samiaza taught all the sorcerers and dividers of roots. 16. Armers taught the solution of sorcery. 17. Barakel taught the observers of the stars. 18. Akibeel taught signs. 19. Tamiel taught astronomy. 20. Zakiel taught the inspection of the air. 21. Armen taught the signs of the earth. 22. Danyal taught the signs of the sun. 23. And Sariel taught the motions of the moon. 24. And the giants devoured all that the labour of men produced, until it became impossible to feed them, and after that they began to eat the flesh of men, and men began to be few on the earth, and they who remained called to heaven concerning that evil, saying, Let a remembrance of us be brought before the Most High."

Here follow judgments that accord with the Chaldaic system and the Arabian traditions, but differ from those of early Persia as we shall have occasion to observe.

SECT. IV.—"1. Then the Most High, the Great and Holy One spoke, 2. And sent Uriel to the son of Lamech, 3. Saying, Go to Noah, and say unto him in my name, Conceal thyself. 4. Then declare unto him an account of the end which is to take place, for the whole earth shall be destroyed, the waters of a flood shall come over the whole earth and all things which are in it shall be destroyed. 5. And now inform him how he may escape, and how his seed may remain on all the earth. 6. Again the Lord said to Raphael, Bind Azazel hand and foot, cast him into darkness, open the desert which is in Dudael, and thrust him in there. 7. Throw upon him rugged and pointed stones, and cover him with darkness. 8. There he shall remain for ever, cover his face, that he may not see the light. 9. And in the great day of judgment let him be cast into the fire. 10. Reanimate the earth, which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim life to it, that I may enliven it again. 11. All the sons of men shall not perish in consequence of every secret, by which the watchers have caused destruction, and which they have taught their offspring."

"13. Also the Lord said to Gabriel, Go to the giants, the reprobates, the children of whoredom, and destroy the children of whoredom, the offspring of the watchers from among men; lead them out, and move them one against another, let them perish by slaughter, for they shall not have length of days."

"15. Also the Lord said to Michael, Go, and declare his crime to Samiaza, and to the others who are with him, and who have been united with women, that they might be defiled with all their impurity, and when all their sons shall be slain, when they shall see the destruction of their beloved, bind them for seventy generations in the caverns of the earth, even to the day of judgment, and of termination, until the termination of the everlasting judgment. 16. Then shall they be taken to the lowest depths of the fire in torments, and

they shall be shut up in prison for ever and ever. 17. Immediately after this he, together with them, shall burn and perish, they shall be bound until many generations shall be fulfilled."

The reader will recall from the following narrative of the vision the poverty of the parallel passages in that of the Pseudo-Isaiah, whose genius seems to have been of the meanest order; while this of Enoch in its bold and darting but irregular splendour approximates far nearer to the inspired glories of the prophet Ezekiel.

SECT. VI.—"7. But ye shall weep and supplicate in silence. The words of the book which I wrote, 8. A vision that appeared to me. 9. Behold, in that vision, clouds and a mist invited me on, agitated stars and rays of light incited and pressed me forwards, while winds in the vision assisted my flight hastening my going on. 10. They raised me to the height of heaven, I went forward until I came to a wall built with stones of crystal, a moving flame surrounded it, which began to make me afraid. 11. I entered into this moving flame; 12. And I came near to an extensive residence, which also was built with stones of crystal, for its walls as well as its floors were stones of crystal, and the ground also was crystal, its roof had the appearance of stars violently agitated, and flashes of lightning, and among them were cherubim of fire, and their heaven was water. A flame burned round its wall, and its portal flamed with fire. When I entered into this dwelling, it was hot as fire, and cold as ice. No trace of joy or life was there; fear overcame me and a dreadful trembling seized me. 13. Violently agitated and trembling I fell on my face. In the vision I saw, 14. And behold there was another far more extensive habitation, to which every entrance before me was open, established in a moving flame. 15. So great was the appearance in every respect, in glory, in magnificence, and in magnitude, that it is impossible to describe to you either its magnificence or extent. 16. Its floor was all on fire, above were lightnings and agitated stars, while its roof displayed a flaming fire. 17. I beheld it attentively, and saw that it contained an elevated throne; 18. The appearance of which was like that of sapphire, while its circumference was like the orb of the radiant sun, and there was the voice of the cherubim. 19. From beneath this mighty throne flowed rivers of flaming fire. 20. To look upon it was impossible. 21. One great in glory sat thereon; 22. Whose robe was brighter than the sun, and whiter than snow: 23. No angel was able to press forward to view the face of Him, the Glorious, and the Effulgent, nor could any mortal behold Him; a fire was flaming around him. 24. Also a fire of great compass continued to rise up before him, so that none of those who stood around him came near

to him, among the myriads of myriads who were before him. To him holy consultation was unnecessary, yet the sanctified, who were near him, departed not far from him either by day or by night, nor were they withdrawn far from him; I also was so far gone forward with a veil before my face and trembling; Then the Lord with his mouth called me, and said, Come near hither, Enoch, at my holy word. 25. And he raised me up, and caused me to come near even to the entrance. My eye was directed to the ground."—pp. 11, 12.

We take two verses, regarding the giants.

"9. The spirits of the giants *shall be like* clouds, which shall oppress, corrupt, fall, contend, and bruise upon the earth. 10. They shall cause lamentation. No food shall they eat; and they shall be thirsty; they shall be concealed, and shall not rise up against the sons of men, and against women; for they come forth during the days of slaughter and destruction."

The reader will refer to the passage in Hesiod (Book I., lines 108 to 125*), where occurs this identical word "concealed" (*καλυψεν*) in this incidental sense, of buried, and but for a time; then becoming dæmons, that is to say, good spirits and guardians of mankind. It is remarkable that Homer's Andromache applies the epithet Dæmon precisely in this sense to Hector; and not, we submit, as generally understood, simply as a term of affection but rather as a protector.

It is obvious that Hesiod, describing the Golden Age, distinctly specifies as Men, and as "many-linguaged men," amiable, and delighting in feasts, these whom the Book of

Enoch distinguishes as Giants and oppressors: the double sense of the word Dæmon is the evident source of this discrepancy, and is as strongly marked in Greek, in Coptic, Armenian, and in Cingalese, as in English; sufficient proofs of universality, we opine, to obviate any doubt as to the identity of the race or persons viewed through the Greek or the Ethiopi-Chaldaic medium. Whence the two opposite impressions arose, it will be our business subsequently to examine.

We must remark, however, on two passages of the second verse above-quoted. "No food shall they eat; and they shall be thirsty; they shall be concealed, and shall not rise up against the sons of men, and against women."

On the latter clause "shall not rise up," De Sacy observes, that the sense seems to require, not a negative, but an affirmative; the Greek text of Syncellus undoubtedly bears out this opinion. We shall not follow out Dr. Hoffman's elaborate and unsatisfactory note, but give our own judgment; viz. that it is probably correct and idiomatic; for in other tongues, such as the Indian and the French, the particle *ne* is not negative, but, like the Greek *δε*, strongly affirmative; in the first of these languages it is entirely distinct from the *νη*, and in the second it requires *pas*, &c. to render it negative; standing otherwise in both the cases simply as a confirmative. There is no reason why it should not be so in Ethiopic; and with all deference we submit to Biblical Hebraists that the dying injunctions of David to his son Solomon, as to Barzillai and Shimei, stand in the precise category of the two clauses here under observation; and, if such was the Chaldaic form (considering with Dr. Laurence the Book of Enoch Chaldaic) it affords an additional argument for the Hebrew, and for those commentators who have rendered the two passages of Scripture in a sense according with the general feelings of David.

On the first clause we must observe that the negative of the former part, "they shall eat no food," seems to be transferable also to the second portion, "and they shall (not) be thirsty," as an understood regimen. Sacrifices to the demons or Deity were of "bull's flesh" as well as "the blood of goats," and such also we know from profane sources were the offerings of the Nabathean worship. If, however, the spirits that eat no food could yet drink, it was the precise superstition of the Greeks and the Odyssey (Δ).

We shall proceed to give the remainder of the extract, as our main remarks on the whole must be generally classed under two distinct heads.

* "When Gods alike and mortals rose to birth,
A golden race th' immortals formed on earth
Of many-linguaged men: they lived of old
When Saturn reigned in heaven, an age of gold.
Like gods they lived with calm untroubled mind;
Free from the toils and anguish of our kind:
Nor e'er decrepid age misshaped their frame,
The hand's, the foot's proportions still the same.
Strangers to ill, their lives in feasts flowed by:
Wealthy in flocks; dear to the blest on high:
Dying they sank to sleep, nor seemed to die.
Theirs was each good; the life-sustaining soil
Yielded its copious fruits, unbribed by toil:
They with abundant goods midst quiet lands
All willing shared the gatherings of their hands.

When earth's dark tomb had closed this race
around,

High Jove as dæmons raised them from the
ground.

Earth-wandering spirits they their charge began,
The ministers of good, and guards of man.
Mantled with mist of darkling air they glide,
And compass earth, and pass on every side;
And mark with earnest vigilance of eyes
Where just deeds live, or crooked wrongs arise:
Their kingly state; and, delegate from heaven,
By their vicarious hands the wealth of fields is
given."

SECT. IX.—“1. I then beheld the receptacles of all the winds, and perceived that in them were the embellishments of the whole creation, and the foundation of the earth. 2. I beheld the stone corners of the earth. 3. I also saw the four winds, which sustain the earth, and the firmament of heaven. 4. And I saw the winds working in the height of heaven, 5. Which arise in the midst of heaven and earth, and compose the pillars of heaven. 6. I saw the winds which turn the sky, which cause the orb of the sun and all the stars to set, and above the earth, I saw the winds which bear up the clouds. 7. I saw the path of the angels. 8. I perceived at the end of the earth, the expanse of the heaven above it; then I went on towards the south. 9. Where burnt both by day and night six mountains formed of glorious stones, three towards the east, and three towards the south. 10. Those which were towards the east were of a variegated stone, one of which was like pearl, and another of antimony, and those towards the south were of a red stone; the middle one reached to heaven, like the throne of God, of alabaster, the top of which was of sapphire; I also saw a sparkling fire which was over all the mountains. 11. And there I saw a place on the other side of an extended country, where waters were gathered. 12. I also saw earthly fountains deep in the fiery columns of heaven. 13. And in the columns of heaven I saw fires which descended without number, but not on high, or into the deep, and over these fountains I perceived a place which had neither the expanse of heaven above it, nor the solid ground beneath it, neither was the water above it, or aught on the side, but the place was a desert. 14. And there I saw seven stars like great flaming mountains, and like spirits praying to me. 15. Then the angel said, This place will be the prison of the stars, and of the hosts of heaven, until the termination of heaven and earth. 16. The stars which move over fire, are those who transgressed the commandment of the Lord before their time was come, for they came not in the right time, therefore he was angry with them, and bound them until the time of the termination of their crimes in the secret year.”

SECT. X.—“21. I went from there to another place and saw a mountain of fire flaming both by day and night; I went towards it, and beheld seven splendid mountains, which were all different from each other. 22. Their stones were brilliant and beautiful, all were brilliant and splendid to behold, and their surface was beautiful. Three were towards the east, and strengthened by being placed one upon another, and three were towards the south, strengthened in a similar manner, and there were deep valleys, which did not come near one another, and the seventh mountain was in the midst of them. In position they were like the seat of a throne, and odoriferous trees surrounded them. 23. There was among

them a tree of an unceasing smell, and there was none of all the sweet-scented trees which were in Eden like this in smell; for its leaf, its blossom, and its bark never withered, and its fruit was beautiful. 29. And that tree of a pleasant smell, not one of carnal odour, they shall not be able to touch until the time of the great judgment, when all shall be punished and cast off for ever; this shall be appointed for the righteous and humble, and the fruit of this tree, the tree of life, shall be given to the elect; for towards the north, life shall be planted in the holy place, towards the habitation of the everlasting King.”

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CHAP. XI.—20. From thence I went on above the tops of these mountains to some distance towards the east, and went over the Erythrean sea, and when I was advanced far beyond it, I went on above the angel Zateel, and came to the garden of righteousness, and in this garden I saw among other trees, some which were numerous and large, and which flourished there. 21. Their fragrance was good and strong, and their appearance was various and beautiful; the tree of knowledge also was there, and if any one eats of it he will obtain more wisdom. 22. It was like a sort of the tamarind tree, and bare fruit like very fine grapes, and its fragrance extended to a considerable distance. I exclaimed, How beautiful is this tree, and how pleasant is its appearance. 23. Then answered Raphael, an angel who was with me, and said, This is the tree of knowledge of which thy ancient father, and thy aged mother ate, who were before thee, and who received knowledge, when their eyes were opened they saw that they were naked, but they were driven out of the garden. 24. From thence I passed on to the ends of the earth, where I saw large beasts different from each other, and birds different in their appearances and forms, as well as with notes of different sounds. 25. To the east of these beasts I perceived the ends of the earth where heaven ceased, the gates of heaven stood open, and I saw the celestial stars come forth. I numbered them as they came forth out of the gate, and wrote them all down as they came out one after another, according to their numbers, their names altogether, their times, and their years, as the angel Uriel, who was with me, had shown them to me.”

“CHAP. XIII.—10. After this I saw the secrets of the heavens.”

“11. There also my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided when they blow over the earth, the secrets of the winds, of the dew, and of the clouds, there I perceived the place from which they came forth, and were filled with the dust of the earth. 12. There I saw the closed receptacles, out of which the winds were divided, the receptacle of hail, the receptacle of

snow, the receptacle of the clouds, and the cloud which remained in suspense over the earth before the world. 13. I also saw the receptacles of the moon, from whence they came, whither they run, their glorious return, and how one became more splendid than another, their magnificent course, their unchangeable course, their divided and undiminished course, their observance of a mutual fidelity by a decree to which they adhered, their going forth before the sun, and their attachment to their path in obedience to the command of the Lord of spirits, whose name is powerful for ever and ever."

We now come to the vision of Noah.

"CHAP. XXIII.—1. In those days Noah saw that the earth was inclined, and that destruction was near. 2. Then he lifted up his feet from there, and went to the ends of the earth, to the dwelling of his great grandfather Enoch. 3. And Noah cried with a mournful voice, Hear me, hear me, hear me, three times. And he said to him, Tell me what is doing on the earth, for the earth weakens and is violently shaken; surely I shall perish with it. 4. After this there was a great disturbance on earth, and a voice was heard from heaven. I fell upon my face, when my great grandfather Enoch came and drew near to me. 5. He said to me, Wherefore criest thou out to me with a mournful cry and lamentation? 6. A commandment has gone forth from the Lord against those who dwell on the earth, that their end may be, for they know every secret of the angels and every oppression of the devils, and all their secret power, and the power of those who commit sorcery, and the power of binding, and the power of those who pour forth molten images over all the earth. 7. They know how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how the drop increases under the earth, for lead and tin are not produced from the earth, as if that were the first fountain from which they are produced."

"19. And they shall confine those angels who disclosed impiety in that burning valley, which at first my great-grandfather Enoch showed me in the west, where there were mountains of gold and silver, and iron, and fluid metal and tin. 20. I saw that valley in which there was great disturbance, and the waters were troubled. 21. And when all this was done, from the flowing of the fire, and the disturbance which troubled them in that place, there was produced a smell of brimstone, which mixed with these waters, and the valley of the angels who seduced others, burned beneath that earth. 22. And rivers of fire flowed through that valley, to which these angels shall be condemned, who seduced the inhabitants of the earth."

The astronomical portion is curiously extravagant.

"CHAP. XXVII.—2. This is the first law
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of the luminaries; the sun and the light come by the gates of heaven which are on the east, and on the west are the western gates of heaven. 3. I saw six gates where the sun rises, and six where it sets. 4. In these gates also the moon rises and sets, and the conductors of the stars with those who conduct them; six gates were at the rising, and six at the setting of the sun. 5. All these one after another are even, and many windows are on the right and on the left side of these gates. 6. And first that great light which is called the sun goes forth, the orb of which is as the orb of heaven, and the whole is filled with shining and burning fire. 7. Where its chariot ascends, the wind blows forth. 8. The sun sets in heaven, and turns by the north to go to the east, is conveyed so as to come by that gate, and enlighten the face of heaven. 9. In the same manner it goes forth in the first month by a great gate. 10. It goes through the fourth of these six gates which are at the setting of the sun. 11. And in the fourth gate, through which the sun goes in the first month, there are twelve open windows, from which goes forth a flame, when they are opened at their proper times. 12. When the sun rises in heaven, it goes forth through this fourth gate thirty days, and descends by the fourth gate even with it in the west of heaven. 13. During that time the day is lengthened from the day, and the night shortened from the night for thirty mornings long, and then the day is longer by two parts than the night. 14. The day is exactly ten parts, and the night is eight parts. 15. The sun goes forth through the fourth gate, and sets in it, and turns to the fifth gate, which is in the east during thirty days, after which it goes forth, and sets in the fifth gate. 16. Then the day becomes longer by a second portion, so that it is eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter, and is only seven parts. 17. The sun turns to the east, and comes into the sixth gate, and rises and sets in the sixth gate thirty-one days on account of its signs. 18. At that time the day is longer than the night, being twice the night, and becomes twelve parts. 19. But the night is shortened and becomes six parts. Then the sun rises up that the day may be shortened and the night lengthened. 20. And the sun turns to the east, and comes to the sixth gate, and there it rises and sets for thirty days. 21. When thirty days are expired, the day becomes shortened one part, so that it is eleven parts, and the night is seven parts. 22. Then the sun goes from the west out of that sixth gate, and goes to the east, and goes in at the fifth gate thirty days, and sets again in the west, in the fifth gate of the west. 23. At that time the day becomes shortened two parts, and the day becomes ten parts, and the night eight parts. 24. Then the sun goes forth from the fifth gate, as it sets in the fifth gate, and rises in the fourth gate thirty-one days, on account of its signs, and sets in the west. 25. At that time the day becomes equal with the night,

and being equal, the night becomes nine parts and the day nine parts. 26. Then the sun goes from that gate, as it sets in the west, and turns to the east, and goes forth from the third gate for thirty days, and sets in the third gate. 27. At that time the night is lengthened from the day during thirty mornings, and the day is shortened from the day during thirty days, the night being exactly ten parts, and the day eight parts. 28. The sun now goes from the third gate, as it sets in the third gate in the west, and turns to the east, and goes forth by the second gate of the east for thirty days. 29. And so it sets in the second gate in the west of heaven. 30. At that time the night is eleven parts, and the day seven parts. 31. And at that time the sun goes from the second gate, as it sets in the second gate in the west, and turns towards the east by the first gate for thirty-one days. 32. And sets in the west in the first gate. 33. At that time the night is lengthened so as to double the length of the day. 34. It is exactly twelve parts, and the day six parts. 35. The sun has arrived at its elevation, and a second time makes its progress from that elevation. 36. It comes into that gate for thirty days, and sets in the opposite part of heaven in the west. 37. All that time the night is shortened in its length one part, and becomes eleven parts. 38. And the day seven parts. 39. Then the sun turns and comes into the second gate of the east. 40. And it turns by these heights, thirty days rising and setting. 41. At that time the night is shortened in its length, it becomes ten parts and the day eight parts; then the sun goes from that second gate, and sets in the west, and it turns to the east, and rises in the east in the third gate thirty-one days, and sets in the west of heaven. 42. At that time the night becomes diminished, it is nine parts, and the day is nine parts, and the night is equal with the day. The year is exactly three hundred and sixty-four days. 43. The lengthening of the day and the night, and the shortening of the day and the night, are made to differ from each other by the progress of the sun. 44. By reason of this progress the day is lengthened from the day, and the night shortened from the night."

"CHAP. XXXIII.—5. Concerning the progress of the sun in heaven, it goes in and out of each gate for thirty days, with the leaders of the thousand classes of the stars, with four days which are added, and divide the four quarters of the year which they conduct, and come with the four days."

We proceed to Enoch's dream, of Israel in Egypt.

"CHAP. XXXVI.—The Lord of the sheep descended from his elevated mansion, and went to them, and beheld them. 31. And he called that sheep, who had recently forsaken the wolves, and told him to declare to the wolves, that they were not to touch the

sheep. 32. And that sheep went to the wolves with the word of the Lord, and another sheep met him and went with him. 33. They both together came to the dwelling of the wolves, and spake with them, and declared to them, that from thenceforward they should not touch the sheep. 34. And afterward I saw that the wolves with all their power were very severe against the sheep, but they cried, and their Lord came to the sheep. 35. He began to strike the wolves, who began to lament, but the sheep were quiet, and from that time they cried no more. 36. And I saw the sheep until they went out from the wolves, but the eyes of the wolves were blind, for they went forth and followed the sheep with all their power, but the Lord of the sheep went with them, and conducted them. 37. And all his sheep followed him. 38. And his countenance was splendid and terrific, and his aspect was glorious, yet the wolves began to follow the sheep until they came near them in a sea of water.

"CHAP. XXXVII.—1. Then that sea of water went back, the water stood hither and thither before their face. 2. And while their Lord conducted them, he placed himself between them and the wolves. 3. The wolves however saw not the sheep, but went into the midst of the sea of water, and they followed the sheep and ran after them in the sea of water. 4. But when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned themselves to fly from before his face. 5. Then the water of the sea turned again quickly, according to its nature, for it went forth, and rose up, until it covered the wolves, and I saw that all the wolves perished, and were drowned, that followed the sheep. 6. But the sheep went away from this water, and tarried in a desert, in which there was neither water nor grass, and they began to open their eyes, and to see."

Having brought the facts themselves before the reader, we shall now proceed to reason upon them, consecutively, and as nearly as possible in the order in which we have presented them to his view. Hence, it is obvious that, proceeding in a slow, cautious, and, to the best of our means, a searching inquiry, we shall not adopt the favourite continental system of a novel race for every difficulty, nor a separate source for every coincidence. We hold with Unity and Identity:—as to Nature and Man.

It is clear that, since the works of Nature are uniform, and her system in every age of which we can speak with certainty, the same, that there can be no question as to the correctness or incorrectness of a book whose statements are in direct contradiction to her works. We mean not, as in the case of miracles, such works as are in themselves confessed exceptions to the general system:

no such allusion is called for by the volume of Enoch before us: nor can we go into the examination of the visions; there are no means of judging as to these. But when, as in the passages we have last quoted, we find the assertor and claimant of divine revelation giving us a minute detail not only of the etherial and angelic portions of his visions but also astronomical statements; relations of that which yearly and hourly occurs to our own senses in the precise mode in which they presented themselves to our forefathers in the age, whatever it might be, when this book was written:—when we find a detailed notification of the places or receptacles for the winds; their operation as supporting earth and sustaining heaven; their composing pillars, and turning the sky, causing sun-rise and sun-set: when we are told of the **STONE CORNERS** of the earth, of the place or ends of this, where heaven ceased, and the gates of heaven stood open: when we hear of the receptacles of dew, snow, hail, and clouds; and,—to pass over much that might assume the mystery of inspiration,—are required to believe that there are actual and specific gates, through which the sun and the moon regularly pass, and that by such passage it is that the day and night are divided:—when we are asked to believe these things on the faith of the Prophet, yet by the light of science know that not one of these things is true, but on the contrary, however ingenious for an ignorant age or nation, utterly false in themselves and impossible from the system that actually exists;—we know at once what to determine of the work and the writer, and set down both for impostures. They who believe in the inspiration of the book—and such there are to this day even in Europe and England—may tell us that the terms we object to are used in the same sense in the Scriptures; that they are mere figurative expressions, only to be received as such, and not to be taken in their literal sense. But the answer is obvious. There are no such details in Scripture: there are, it is true, the terms; but used so as never to have suggested to any living mind the literal, purely literal sense alone. The gates of the East, the windows of heaven, the tabernacle of the sun, &c. are but passing allusions; forms, not so much of speech as of thought, rendering its images obvious to human perception; and no more: never investing them with tangible properties of shape and substance; never adducing them as actual facts from which no interpretation can shrink; still less insisting on them as the media of processes, upholding, dividing, suspending, revolving, going in and coming

out, of creation; as the very secrets disclosed by Deity, yet positively false and impossible!

The book, then, that affirms falsehood for revelation is in itself false, and the Pseudo-Prophet false also. It is clear that he laid hold of metaphorical terms in their literal sense alone; that he sought to win belief by adopting their phrase, and reverence by exceeding their statements: he has wantonly attempted to pass off the dreams of an ignorant fancy for the marvels of Omniscience, and has succeeded and can succeed only with the most ignorant and besotted of any age. The Hebrew Record, or to speak more correctly, we suspect, its translators, have used, in the absence of science, the language of visible nature: the phenomena of heaven and earth are described as they appear to the eye; and the object of that revelation was Religion, not Philosophy. The very language of the original bears out, everywhere to our thinking, even the very last advances of science: But here is an attempt to combine religious, if such it can be called, with scientific information; and the failure of ONE, is of BOTH. The claims of the two therefore differ, not in degree, but in essence: Fact is Falsehood if the Book of Enoch is true. Nay, so meagre, hard, and impossible are these narratives that they absolutely require even essential alteration before,—and that is seldom,—they can be used for poetry. Little known, and less prized, they have scarcely afforded beyond a single theme for genius, though they are undoubtedly the origin of Zillah's beautiful dream in the World before the Flood, where Javan had

“ Danced with the breezes in the bowers of morn;
Slept in the valley where new moons are born;
Rode with the planets, in their silver cars,
Round the blue world inhabited by stars:”

and furnished perhaps the idea of

“ The Giant King who led the Hosts of Cain.”

But passing this idle claim to inspiration with the contempt it deserves, it does not the less follow that the historical ground-work may have, as it would indeed seem to have, portions of truth. The actual traditions of early ages appear in fact to have been incorporated with the more fanciful flights of imagination by the author; and though it is utterly impossible to determine to what personage the former really belong, yet, borne out and supported as they are by other, unquestionably ancient and various, tradition, and giving and receiving confirmation, both as to circumstances and etymologies, con-

jointly with Biblical, Rabbinical, Greek, Arabian, Persian, and other writers, it cannot be wonderful that, though banished from the canons of Faith and Religion, they were looked on as in portions entitled to Belief and respect, as the maxims and memorials of a patriarchal age; and this by the Fathers referred to, men of ample learning and imbued most justly with a high reverence for antiquity; and who, in its true spirit, felt that the vaticinations of the Bard, under whatever denomination considered, were in their best parts absolute records of the genius and feeling of the age they represented, and true if only in that tone, though not, even in that tone, generally fatidical.

For the coincidence with other narratives, and the, so to say, intersitial particulars, we may refer our readers to the various collections of tradition to which we have already alluded, and to the volume itself; more especially with the notes of Professor Hoffmann. We need scarcely do more than point attention to the fact of the preservation of the name EGREGORI, itself unexplained, but clearly meeting, Philologically and Historically, the etymon of *אגרי* *agri*; *אגורי* *gori*; Field-Dwellers; and, only l, for r, *Agricolæ*, or Husbandmen; the children of Cain, the wanderer: the violent, or robber, of Josephus—the Aghre, or Ogre, of the Persians; hideous, terrible giant.

Cain built the city of Hanoah, or Enoch; and from the roofs, as signifying houses, (like the Latin, *tectus*, &c.) contradistinguished from the race who lived in tents—the Scythians, says Justin, had no home nor roof—we would draw the etymology of the unknown locality, Gog; whose only meaning is found in the Arabic as, a roof.

We shall touch upon this outcast so far as to observe that Nod, (which with the vocalic prefix would be really Eastern Land, or, Land of the Sun,) seems in an early and unsettled orthography to be simply a Settled Habitation or residence: (so *נוד* to dwell or rest) It is formed of the *N*, in Hebrew and Egyptian signifying Continuance, and *Ad*, *ath*, or *ith*; earth, house, or, residence, in Hebrew, Welch, and Irish: the *d*, and *t*, letters of one organ, being always interchanged.

The word *נוד* *n, v, d*: (Navad or Navath) Eastward; of the race who in the 4th chapter of Genesis originated science and arts, too closely resembles not to strike by its analogy with the Nabathi, or race who in profane history advance precisely the same claim; and whom Ovid, the most traditionally learned of Roman Poets, distinctly locates in the East, when *Eurus*,*

“ Eastward, to Nabathæan realms retired,
And Persian steeped, by morning’s sun-beams
fired.”

In declaring our belief that the Beni Alohim were the sons of the Mighty of the Earth, or race of Cain, and that they offered violence to the Benoth Adam, or Daughters of ADAM through Seth, the unfallen, peor, or PURE race,—PEERI of Persian and Arab tradition,—for such was their real fate from the Divs or Bramins, we come near towards identifying these last with the Nabatheans. It will be noticed that the Jewish traditions hold the violent race as MEN, and not sons of God, angels; and that the Ethiopic calls the intruders Malekath, a name synonymous with Kings in the two languages it most closely resembles; Hebrew and Arabic; and by this name the race of Cain ever distinguished themselves—Kai-an(ides), the descendants of Cain or King (Kai). We find too that the chief leader, Samiasa, taught sorcery; others astronomy, astrology, characters or writing, and calculation; and that Azaziel introduced weapons, ornaments, jewels, painting and dyes. In fact all the useful arts attributed by the Persians to their early kings were communicated to the sons of Adam by this Giant or Angel race; they taught, says Ferdousi of the Deevs, writing and thirty languages: like the “many-languaged men” of the golden age in Hesiod.

The Greek poet’s Giants of the golden age turned to Dæmons, or Guardian Spirits, after death; and the second or silver age was engulfed and overwhelmed by the wrath of Jove (*ἔκρυψε*), when the brazen age of violence and war succeeded. Were not these correspondent, without their poetic shrouds, to the sorcerer giants or angels, their giant sons, and the Nephilim? All these, the Deev, and the Peeri, suffered divine wrath; and the fate of the angels in the Pseudo-Enoch confined in caverns, and thrown into Dudaël, are the Arabic and Persian version of the tale.

The coincidences of all this portion of history, or fable—if such we must call it—is remarkable—too much so to be the result of accident, and approaches too nearly even in point of locality to suffer a doubt as to the Unity of their sources. If identical fables, so closely approximating to history professed, could be originated from totally distinct sources, it would be far more wonderful than if there was a common basis of truth for all: and as we at least are taught to believe that all mankind sprang from one source, we are the less disposed to hesitate in crediting that if they did so spring, their

* *Eurus ad Auroram, Nabatheaque regna recessit
Persidaque, et radiis juba subdita matutinis.*

earliest history, however variously disfigured since, must have so agreed.

To connect the Ethiopians with this inquiry will lead us to the question already asked in a former part of this article—Who were the Ethiopians?

Dr. Laurence conceives that their Book of Enoch was originally Chaldaic, from various facts, and from the circumstance of the preference for the number seven. We may observe that this number was much more common with the Persians: to all that the Chaldeans held sacred in this, the others added innumera- bly, and held to, even through the persecution of the Magi, greatly exaggerated as we believe the relation of this to have been. We judge of this last point from Masoudi; and of the adherence, not only from his description of Al Sheez, which the Magi spared, though in the midst of their own Aderbijan, but also from the Pehlivi poem of Wamik and Azra, such as it has at length descended to us. A short specimen will suffice:—

“‘The world of Fire seven wondrous forms displays;
Seven are its sources, which seven rays engender:
Seven are its shrines; seven worship-rites, seven ways;
Seven fuels feed, seven tongues proclaim its splendour.’”

These seven tongues reside in the sun and stars, storms, plants, gems, stones, man and reason. And there are seven blooms:—

“‘The first ray, beaming from the blooming bow,
Dazzles the gazing eye with flowery light:
The second kindles in the living glow
Of glittering gems and iron-stone blushing bright.
Thus sparkling sun-beams in the diamond see:—
Youth is the blossom-time of brute and man,
When life is but ideal mystery;
The loveliest, if restrained by virtue’s ban,
And cautious, empty show and guileful art to scan.

“‘And even as Nature through her kingdom blooms,
So bloom the starry-train, the day, the year:
The day, when morning’s blushing dawn relumes;
The year, when Spring’s first deepening tints appear.
The stars, through evening haze, when æther drinks
The floating glow around their orbits thrown,
That on the gazer soft and softer sinks;—
Are blossoms of a world thus glorious shown,
But, chilled through years at length, to ice is gradual grown.

“‘The stars are but the bloom-dust of the flower
That blossom in one bright, collected glow:
So, in the holiest heart, in holiest hour,
Feelings, like stars, combine in sacred flow
Friendship and gratitude, and praise, and prayer;
And love—the fairest of all blossoms fair
The past, the present, or the future know.’”

We have shown that the Book of Enoch partakes largely of Persian mysticism and tradition. Enoch, said the Sabians, was the first who wrote with a pen. His work, neglected elsewhere, was found among the Ethiopians; and a tradition, or suspicion, long before its discovery, attributed, as we have seen, its preservation to them. Would they have clung to it as a foreign tradition? Would not they, who alone adore the Prophet Enoch, be the sect amongst whom it was most likely to originate? We know that the Ethiopic or Abyssinian church was from Alexandria: we know, or at least have ample room to believe, that the Kabbala was not Jewish, but Oriental and Alexandrian: we are told by Nicephorus that the Abyssinians spoke Chaldaic, or the language of Assyria, and called themselves Assyrians by origin; hence Jude probably found their book in that land. Their classic tongue, the Gheez, is but a medium of Hebrew and Arabic; that is to say, the certain cognate of both. How then could Dr. Laurence assign their sacred book to a Jew, and carry it up to a descendant of Salmaneser’s captives, because the locality suits Media?

As to Scaliger’s argument of the phraseology being Hebrew, it might clearly seem so, when read in Greek, and as a question between this and Hebrew: but we think, so far as we can presume to judge, that the style is not more Hebrew than Ethiopic; and there is one word, at least, which has

puzzled both Laurence and Hoffman, and which certainly is neither Greek, as the latter suspects, nor Hebrew, as perhaps the Archbishop and Scaliger would both admit, were they living. We allude to the word *Ikisat*, over which Gabriel presides, with Paradise, and the Cherubim; (chap. 20.) and of which Hoffman conjectures that "perhaps it stands in the Hebrew text as הכסא, the throne." (!)

We would say, however, that it bears affinity to the Hebrew הכי, as set apart, separated; and to the Greek ΕΚΑΣ and its correlatives, as denoting extension: and with the numeral *sat*, seven, forms the words Seven Climates, (divisions, spaces,) that is to say, the World. Both the words are old Persian, and the first approximates equally to the Hebrew and Arabic. We may add, in confirmation of our opinion, that what the Chaldeans and Arabs style the Seven Earths, was the Seven Climates of Middle Asia; and that the latter, who have borrowed and deteriorated almost every article of their faith from thence, corroborate the probability by a story of a huge angel, whose duty it is to support the seven earths.

Our space warns us to be brief: if, then, we find the Priest race of Persia existing in the time of Tahmuraz* accompanying that conqueror into Assyria; and know, as we have shown, (No. 35, Persia,) that these were not then Fire Worshipers altogether, but Sabæans also: if we remember the blameless life of these, and that certain of the Scythians, as they are loosely called, answer, in the description of Justin and others, to the narrative of Herodotus respecting the Marcobii; if we view the denomination of Abii, as not from Βίος; (signifying "vitam, victum;")—more probably, arcus, a bow?) but a Græcism of the real name; if we know that the Ethiopians, reputed by Homer, Apollonius, Herodotus, Arrian, and Eusebius, as living in India and Africa, also occupied Arabia to the South—the land of the Sabæans, with Saba, Sabeta, Sabteca, Seba; and the land of Asyr in Yemen, up to Sabe, in Petraea; and that Moses sojourning in Madian—the Medes (Madyi, Magi,) made more than one inroad towards Egypt—married amongst them a Cushite or Ethiopian woman; if we recollect that the Sphaco, or Dog, of the Medes is the Sabaco, or Dog, of the Ethiopians; if we remember that Dr. Laurence has placed the author's locality in Media; if we notice that the Sabæans of Tahmuraz's time, were by Ferdousi called Chal-dees; † and if, discarding the idle phantasy

that the Ethiopians received their proper name from the Greeks, either as black or long-lived, (and what, in such case, was their proper name?) if we reject, with Heeren, the form of αἰ and the verb αἰθω, to burn; (and ψ) and if, contrary to this his opinion, we do not forget that, in old Persian as in Hebrew, the commencing consonant takes a previous vowel sound; if we look, however loosely, at the position of the Haniuchi near the Euxine;—we may then rest satisfied to believe the Ethiopian an Asiatic; his country Media at least, if not further East; his appellation Athacæ, (of Ptolemy.) Attegui of the Caspian; his creed, Sabæan; his honouring Abel, and blameless sacrifices, husbandry; his feasting and association with the gods, according to Homer, borne out by the race of the Golden Age and their occupations, in Hesiod; and his name;—not αἰθιο-ος and Greek, but native and E-thi-ouphis, THE MIGHTY SACRED ONES of the earliest Caucasian range.

ART. VIII.—*Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly, ou récit des principaux événements qui ont eu lieu de l'an 1823 à l'an 1833*, par M. Félix Mengin; précédée d'une Introduction sur l'Arabie, par M. Jomard; accompagnée de la Relation du Voyage de Mohammed-Aly au Fazoul. Paris. 1839.

SINCE the publication of our last political lucubrations, in July, 1839, the positions which European policy was then assuming in the East have been successively established, and the questions that divided the Western world set comparatively at rest—for a time. In the various complications of the general political system, the immense number of considerations and interests which it embraces forbids necessarily the hope of any fixed repose; but since the object of all diplomatic exertion is avowedly the establishment of respective national interests, and the extension of respective national influence, in other countries; we may be permitted to observe, that it is not so much the end as the means employed, that conduces to the permanency of the one, and the weight and the respectability of the other.

It is not always, and in isolated cases especially, that success can be deemed a sure criterion of merit, or wisdom; any more than failure a necessary proof of ineptitude. Yet both are, to a certain degree, the almost inevitable indications of a certain tal-

* See F. Q. R. No. 43, Art. Statuary.

† Is this the same root as the Gaelic CULDEES?

ent, or a certain incapacity ; for it is rarely that accident can fairly be charged with all the results of a given course. And from these results alone can we fairly estimate how far the means were proportioned to the end proposed in the first instance ; and how far the presence or absence of judgment, decision, activity, and all other requisites, was developed in the emergencies that attended the progress of the action.

The British world of pseudo-politicians has just been thrown into ecstasies of rapture, no less than surprise, at the complete success that has attended the recent attempt upon Afghanistan : and so intense is the delight and so loud the gratulations consequent thereon, that the merits of the question itself seem never to have roused one moment's thought.

We ourselves can easily pardon and sympathize with a success, not only so glorious, but, from the quarter whence it comes, altogether so unexpected. Let us not be misunderstood : we do not mean to say that the triumphs of British armies and courage in the East was beyond anticipation, so far as the gallant troops and their leaders were concerned. Enough of experience in the history of India had shown that such a result was at all times calculable ; and still more in a country where the terror of British power had so strongly spread, that the British agent, Col. Wade, had long since, as we formerly stated, distinctly declared that a single British Commissioner could pass freely and unmolested through the country.

This feeling on the part of the natives must not be altogether attributed to alarm : it is on record that the disposition of the people and their now deposed ruler was decidedly, and long since, in favour of an English alliance. With what other prospect, indeed, could the advantages of this be compared, when our own Power was at the gates of Afghanistan for protection and succour ; and all its danger was from Powers at a distance, or else from a feeble, vacillating, and ill-combined rivalry of states or rather factions, nearer its own home.

That the policy of Great Britain in Hindostan had been of late years such as to introduce distrust instead of confidence, and induce enmity in the place of friendship and reliance, few will, we think, be hardy enough to deny ; the rejection of Dost Mohammed's offers of amity with British India on the basis of a trifling pecuniary aid to enable him to maintain his ground against foreign attempts ; and the incertitude, and ignorance, and doubt as to events formally communicated by British residents abroad to the Governor-General, (see No. 46,) which made inactivity pass for fear,

and gave to the ever-changeable policy of the East a motive for distrust and an inducement to hostility, have been stated by us on a previous occasion and confirmed by the Parliamentary papers, the very official reports of the parties concerned. That after such weakness and blindness, both at home and in the East, to say nothing of the great Eastern question as it is termed, any thing like success should ever have attended any measure emanating from such men, is assuredly a source of the most unqualified surprise, and a theme for the sincerest gratulation. They built a wall expressly to run their heads against, and it has fallen upon the adversary ; they dug carefully a wide pit for their own feet, and bound their own eyes for fear they might escape it ; but before they could have time to immerge into it to their own hearts' content, lo, the enemy is found at its bottom !

How much soever we may felicitate ourselves upon this auspicious event, it is nevertheless requisite to distinguish between the glory of the result and the triumph of those who claim the credit of it. No one, we say again, ever could doubt the skill and courage of the gallant army employed, or could question that if success was possible it was sure of achievement. But every one, it is now evident, did very strongly despair of anything like a fortunate issue to the affair in the hands of the ministry that was to guide and conduct it ; and whose preliminary arrangements were such as to have set all calculation at defiance, and all right reason and political justice and foresight in direct opposition to themselves. With the time and the expense requisite for raising a large force in Bengal, and for disbanding it so soon as raised, a really powerful and active adversary would have taken the hint, and stopped all means of aggressive inroad against himself in the narrow defiles that form the gates of Afghanistan. A force friendly to the Cabul chief, and far inferior in number to the smaller army of Hindostan ;—to that we mean which was raised for actual service, and by no means comparable to the Calcutta force so suddenly organized, and so expensively, to allay the sudden and groundless alarms of the Governor General at his own previous ineptitude, and to atone for his neglects ;—a small but friendly force, despatched at far less cost, and in better season, might have entered Afghanistan as auxiliaries, and by an honourable and not extravagant outlay, have secured the guardianship of the formidable passes : but while Lord Auckland insisted, as on the 20th January, 1838, that “the startling communications”

of Sir A. Burnes were of "little importance," BECAUSE they "only marked the desire of the Russian government to push at least their influence to the Indian frontier,"—"Don't be uneasy, it is only I, the wolf;" said that truly harmless personage to Red-Riding-Hood's grandmama:—it is certainly pleasant to find that, warned by the fate of his venerated prototype, our excellent functionary did not in his simplicity answer, "Pull the bobbin, and the latch will come up:" and, though we cannot very easily divine why a matter of such "little importance" should have so suddenly produced so great a stir, it is fortunate perhaps for us that this effect was produced at last, even though on a scale of exaggeration proportioned to the foregoing supineness. So strong, in fact, were the sympathies of ease between the ministries of Calcutta and Great Britain, that while Lord Auckland was satisfying himself that it was only the lion in the lobby, and questioning the propriety of letting him in if he liked it, perhaps to try if he could turn him out afterwards, Lord Palmerston was assuring the House of Commons that he had neither teeth nor claws, and would not bite or scratch even if he could. The change that took place in "the spirit of the dreams" of these two alert diplomatists is no less remarkable, nor its simultaneousness; for about the time that Lord Aberdeen and Sir A. Burnes were being assured that there was no doubt or fear whatever,—not even for the trifling territory of Hindostan—the couriers of the two ministries were crossing each other on the road with despatches of prompt exertion and open hostility! Under such vigilance, and recalling, as all did necessarily, the utter failure of all Whig martial attempts, from Buenos Ayres to Irun, could any one, we repeat, avoid feeling both pleasure and astonishment that any thing in such hands could have succeeded? But after all, was the triumph the ministers', or the army's? The imbecile in Joe Miller boasted that his wife was with child at last—"What then?" said his neighbours, "No one accused your wife."

If the conduct of the government of India was utter blindness, and saved only from disaster by the conduct of the gallant army, is this a theme for triumph? Yet, be it so—but is it a proof that success was deserved by the government, and that their conduct merits, or has acquired, the confidence of any other government so as to place reliance on it? Look at the position of the Five Powers; the good understanding and joint action of whom was so unhesitatingly predicated some time since, and whose only agreement seems to be, not to trust each other. Had any-

thing like wisdom been observed in the conduct of England under the Whigs, would not the Whig government have obtained some tokens of confidence from that Russia which was filled with the sincerest desire to act only in honourable concert with Great Britain!—as we for years had been recommended to believe—if we could. Should we not have seen some fruits of that "fructifying" policy which made English interests subservient to those of France, and by which we were told she would learn to consider us in general fraternization with herself? Yet what is the result? Russia after trying to the utmost her own game in Turkey, foiled by the position of the combined fleets, turns now to use her weight with us only so far as it serves for a counterpoise to France; and France, combining her ships with ours in jealousy of Russia, throws her weight into the scale of Egypt because she would rival our commerce!

Nor less to be considered in this conjuncture is the extreme confidence of our ancient ally, Turkey. Notwithstanding his glorious campaign in the East, she has never, that we are aware of, named Lord Auckland her Grand Vizier; nor appointed the English Knight-Commander of Irun, on the score of his recent campaigns, to retrieve the fortunes of Nazib. Nay, in spite of the wisdom that brought about the strangely felicitous successes of that gallant warrior in the Peninsula, and which, as surpassing all that ever had been hoped from him, was rewarded with the insignia of triumph at home, since it was thought, by some gentle Musidora, that—

—————"The time would come
He need not fly;"

in spite of all this, and of the auspicious commencement of a six months' delay in settling her rights and claims, the Boy-Sultan of Turkey, who at least has read the history of Belgium, has at length resolved not to rule over a land fertile of protocols, even though these should extend over a space double the territory in dispute at present; and he has, in consequence, adopted the resolution of settling his own affairs, at least internally. All this does not show that the recent success is the measure of merit, as regards our ministry, in the eyes of foreigners at least.

The position of Turkey is such, undoubtedly, as to require the strongest measures for her safety; and if she is to enter into the rank of nations, as a breakwater against undue influence in any quarter of the West over the East, it is necessary that her present institutions should be cherished and fostered, and that the state of her internal relations should not be injured by any thing like vio-

lence from without. She is rising from a severe prostration; but perhaps, like Antæus, has gathered strength even in her fall. She knows now in what her weakness consists, and to what means she must look to recruit her exhausted energies. She has discovered that war, even if successful, is not strength; and that this must be obtained by good government on all points of her domestic administration at least. Of her present political position we need say little now beyond quoting the sagacious remarks of a traveller, Mr. Elliott, who more than two years ago perceived its stationary precariousness, when acted on by the fatal policy of England and the other powers. His remarks, no slight proof of their soundness and wisdom, apply to this passing hour as closely as to the time they were written.

"There never was a reign, except that in which the empire was founded, so fraught with important consequences to Turkey as is this. The existing lustrum is charged with her destinies; and Europe, Asia, and Africa await the result with anxious expectation. On the one hand, her resources are almost unlimited; with a population of upwards of twenty millions, a soil teeming with fertility, and an extent of country capable of supporting triple and quadruple its present numbers; there is no degree of eminence known among nations which she might not attain. On the other, obstacles apparently insuperable intervene; the pride of the people must yet be further humbled before they will believe that they have aught to learn; their religion, or its peculiar character opposing every species of reform, must be changed; security of property, clearly defined laws, the administration of justice with equity, sound financial regulations, the selection of public functionaries duly educated and qualified for their respective offices, and a wise international policy, must be substituted for the errors of a system of government based on a false theology.

"But, to effect all this, time is required. For the meanwhile, the empire is hurried to destruction by the pressure from without. Circumstances have forced her into painful contact with the insatiable ambition of the czars, the timid cautiousness of England, the vacillating system of France, and the cold calculating policy of Austria. All these have exercised and still exercise a baneful influence on the divan, which is driven to and fro by fears and menaces, distracted by contentions, and harassed by intrigues. Torn by so many conflicting interests, Turkey would long since have fallen into the hands of one or other of the European powers, had not their reciprocal jealousies rendered it impossible for any one to take possession of her without encountering the cannons of its rivals.

"The present is an interval of strife with

expectation, in which all are watching each, and *one* is baffling all. England parades her fleets in the Mediterranean, displays the prowess of her vessels at the forts of the Dardanelles, and then speedily recalls them, too keenly sensitive of the consequences of a crisis which may be postponed but cannot be averted, and too little alive to the impression communicated by the retrograde movement of her ships, which were wont never to speak but in thunder, and never to thunder but in victory. France, infected with a similar spirit, acts on the principles of the *juste milieu*, and her ambassador is instructed to keep well with all parties; while, availing herself of the relaxation of the rigorous institutions of Islam, and the sultan's inability to humble his vassals, she disperses her travelling politicians through the country, covers the sea with her steamers, and lays the foundation of a new empire in Africa.

"Nor is Austria indifferent. The keen eye of Metternich, whose policy is to maintain for the present, at all hazards, the peace of Europe, already pierces the flimsy veil which unmeaning protocols and cobweb treaties have thrown over the fate of Turkey; and though he be silent, his silence is that of thought, not of sleep. But while others are waiting, Russia is preparing. The colossal Muscovite, having habituated Stamboul to the view of her eagles, has fallen back on her frontier; '*alieni appetens, sui profusus*,' she scatters her gold with a lavish hand; promises and threats are for a season substituted for cannons and Cossacks, and diplomacy is leaving but little for the sword to accomplish; the counsels of the divans are led by her intrigues; her partisans increase in the very family of the sultan; and she awaits with intense anxiety a crisis from which she has every thing to gain, and nothing to lose.

"In the meantime, Turkey, the object of political desire, stands trembling and alone, wooed and deserted by all; with too little ability to protect herself, to fall into the arms that first opened to receive her; alternately sought and rejected by each. But from the inauspicious day in which she crouched under the wing of the Russian eagle, her doom was sealed; the crescent then set to rise no more above the political horizon; and the old Moslim empire of the Ottomans, as established on the principles of the Koran, was at an end. The subject for consideration is not now whether the existence of that can be prolonged. It has already ceased to be. But another question, transcendent in interest, is proposed to the powers of Europe—Shall Turkey continue an independent kingdom? It is clear that she can no longer entrench herself behind the barricade which Mohammedanism erects against the march of intelligence and improvement; she can no longer insult the rest of Europe by an assumption of superiority in inverse ratio to her claim; but if she will consent to remodel her institutions, to receive the impress of European civilisa-

tion, and to admit into her dying embers a new principle of political life, her nationality may yet be prolonged. France and England seem conscious of this truth; and, if their policy be sound, they will exert their influence to regenerate her. Russia is equally aware of it, and hence she strives to retain both government and institutions in a state of inefficiency and decay. The drama is drawing to a close. The denouement is the fate of Turkey!"

The miserable state of trade regulations in Turkey hitherto have been often dwelt upon; but a familiar exposition will enable the reader to understand it more distinctly.

The whole system of government was destitute of order and certainty, and open to the grossest abuses: a fact of which the perpetual changes in the financial department might afford an example. For instance, the tax paid on imports and exports was frequently changed; and sometimes raised on a given commodity, within a month, twenty or thirty per cent. Had it been fixed, however high the rate, merchants could have calculated accordingly; but repeated alterations involved them in inextricable difficulties. A man wishing to purchase corn for exportation, might have been charged two paras a-pound the week before at the Custom-House. If, acting on this, however, he made his bargain, fixed his own price, and prepared to export it, he might find a charge of from four to six paras per pound levied on his exportation. It often occurred that an individual was called upon to pay double the sum required from him but a short time before for the same kind of goods, and also, that he was further compelled to pay the subsequent increased tax on the goods he had previously exported, under a pretext that the Firmaun was then in existence, though not publicly issued. Such severity was used in these cases, that a man trading only on commission, and whose accounts with his employer had been balanced, and their transactions ended, was compelled to suffer this injustice. His remonstrances were of no avail: the revenue was to be collected at any rate; and the helpless agent had to pay for the uncertainty of the commercial regulations.

With these facts before us we cannot wonder that a wise policy has attempted to render even the present state of political uncertainty, affording as it does a breathing-time for Turkey, available for her internal improvement.

"HATTI SHERIFF, READ BY RESCHID PACHA ON NOVEMBER 3, 1839, IN PRESENCE OF ALL THE MINISTERS, ULEMAS, PACHAS, AND DEPUTATIONS OF NATIONS, SECTS, AND RACES SUBJECT TO THE SULTAN.

"All the world knows that in the first times of the Ottoman monarchy, the precepts of the Koran, and the laws of the empire, were a rule ever honoured; in consequence of which the empire increased in force and grandeur, and all its subjects, without exception, acquired a greater degree of ease and prosperity. But since a century and a half, a succession of accidents, and different causes, have led to people's ceasing to conform to the sacred code of laws, and to the rules which flow from it. Thus the internal prosperity and force became changed to weakness and poverty. An empire loses its stability in ceasing to observe its laws.

"These considerations are always present to our mind; and since the day of our accession to the throne, the thoughts of the public good, of the amelioration of the provinces, and the alleviation of the people's burdens, have occupied me solely. If one considers the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of their soil, the aptitude and intelligence of their inhabitants, one remains convinced that, by seeking out efficacious remedies, these may be obtained and put in practice within the space of a few years. So that, full of confidence in the succour of the Most High, and relying on the intercession of the Prophet, we judge fit to seek by new institutions to procure for the provinces of the empire the benefits of a good administration. These institutions relate principally to three things, which are—1st. Guarantees which ensure to our subjects the security of honour and fortune. 2d. A regular mode of fixing and levying imposts. 3d. A regular mode of levying soldiers, and fixing the duration of their service.

"Are not, in fact, life and honour the most precious benefits which exist? What man, no matter how averse to violence be his character, could refrain from recurring to violence if his life and honour be threatened? If, on the contrary, these be secured, a man will not quit the paths of loyalty and fidelity. If such security be absent, every man remains cold to the voice of either prince or country. No one thinks of the public fortune, being too anxious about his own.

"It is most important to fix the rate of taxes. The state is obliged to have recourse to them for the defence of its territories. Fortunately for the people, some time back they have been delivered from the vexatious system of monopolies—those bad sources of revenue. As bad a source of revenue still subsists, in the venal concession of offices. By this system, the civil and local administration of each region is delivered up to the arbitrary will of one man; that is, to the most violent and greedy passions—for if such farmer of the revenue be not super-excellent, he can have no guide but his interest. It is henceforth requisite that each Ottoman subject should pay a certain sum of taxes, proportioned to his fortune and faculties. It is also requisite that special laws should fix and limit the expenses of the military and naval force.

"Although the defence of the country is an important and universal duty, and although all classes of the population must furnish soldiers for the purpose, still there ought to be laws to fix the contingent of each locality, and limit to four or five years the term of military service. It is an injustice in itself, as well as dealing a mortal blow to agriculture, to take away more hands from districts than they can fairly spare; and it is depopulating the country, and reducing soldiers to despair, to retain them all their life in service.

"Without such laws as these, of which the necessity is felt, there can be neither empire, nor force, nor riches, nor happiness, nor tranquillity. All these blessings may be expected from new laws. Henceforth, moreover, every accused person shall be publicly tried, according to the Divine law, after act and examination; and no power shall secretly or otherwise cause any one to perish by poison or by any other means, until a regular judgment has been passed. No one shall hurt another's honour; and each shall possess his property with liberty, and in fear of no one. The innocent heirs of a condemned person shall inherit his property, nor shall the goods of the criminal be confiscated.

"These Imperial concessions extend to all our subjects, of every religion, without exception. Perfect security is accorded to all the inhabitants of the empire in life, honour, and fortune, as wills the text of our law.

"With regard to the other points, which must be regulated by enlightened opinions, our Council of Justice, augmented by new members, and by the adjunction of the ministers and nobility of the empire, shall assemble in order to prepare laws for the security of life and fortune, and the regulation of imposts. Each person in these assemblies will state freely his ideas, and offer his advice.

"The laws respecting military service shall be debated in a military council, at the palace of the Seraskier. When the law is prepared, we will give it our sanction, and write a heading with the Imperial hand.

"These institutions aiming to cause religion and government to flourish, we will permit nothing contrary to our promise. We will have these laws placed in the Chamber of the Prophet's Mantle, and will then swear to them in the presence of the ulemas and the grandees, making grandees and ulemas also swear. Whoever shall infringe these laws shall be punished with the legal penalty; and a penal code shall be drawn up for the purpose.

"All venality and traffic of offices shall be abolished, as the great cause of the decadence of the empire.

"These dispositions, being a revocation of old usages, shall be published at Constantinople, and throughout our empire, and communicated officially to the ambassadors resident there.

"May the High God keep you in his

guard, and malediction on those who shall act contrary to these institutions."

How much some such system was needed, we need only prove by the authority of Marshal Marmont, who examined the state of Turkey with a soldier's eye, as it existed in the time of Sultan Mahmoud. He observes,

"An administration calculated to create and husband resources does not exist in Turkey, and is no longer suited to her. The elements required are absolutely wanting: these are a mass of enlightened individuals, with enlarged and steady views, and unwavering resolutions; but this country probably contains not one such being. Every thing would require to be remodelled at the same moment, for all is under the influence of ignorance and corruption; and whatever Mahmoud may desire in this respect, he is not fated to attain his object, of which he has but a vague and undefined conception. The weakness and misery of his dominions must therefore increase, and the internal disorders that will arise on the first unexpected outbreak, will cause the destruction of a state whose real existence is confined to a single city, and its name will be erased from the list of European nations."

Of the army also the Marshal gives a very minute account.

"The lot of the Turkish soldiers is a very happy one. They are better fed than any other troops in Europe, having an abundance of provisions, of excellent quality, and partaking of meat once, and of soup twice a day. Their magazines are filled with stores, and the regiments have large reserves. The pay of each soldier is twenty piastres per month; the whole of which he receives, as there is a prohibition against withholding from him any part of that sum. In short, everything has been effected that could promote the welfare of the soldier.

"If no fault can be found on the score of the 'materiel,' much is to be said against the 'personnel' of this force. On the arrival of Achmet Pacha, we repaired to the exercising ground. Four battalions were in line, and after inspecting them they manœuvred before me. Nothing could be worse than this exhibition; indeed these men ought not to be looked upon as troops, but merely as a mass of people, bearing the stamp of misery and humiliation: and they are evidently depressed by a knowledge of their own weakness. They all seem to have a willingness about them, but feel ashamed of their occupation; and from the private to the colonel, not an individual amongst them has any conception of his duty. Moreover, the men are diminutive in stature and wretched in appearance: many of them are too young for service, and we are led to inquire what has become of that noble

Turkish people, the lofty, proud, majestic, handsome race of former days, for now we find no trace of them in the existing troops.

"I have endeavoured to discover why they have not hitherto succeeded better with the new system, and I thus account for the failure. The Sultan was desirous of organizing troops according to the European mode, and his ambition was to form an army on the instant. He accordingly raised at once a great number of regiments; but the instructors being merely individuals of an inferior station of life, without capacity or talent, who had been led to Constantinople by the circumstances which attend revolutions, were unfitted to accomplish the object in view.

"The new organization commenced simultaneously in all the corps; and the same description of person was universally employed in endeavouring to carry it into effect. In none of the grades had any man confidence either in himself or in others, and no one therefore had a right to the command, which should always be derived from some superior claim. It is only as a consequence of such a principle that men are ever found disposed to yield obedience. In the troops of all the other powers of Europe there are two admitted titles to precedence: birth and merit. The former has its basis on a higher social grade, which, by giving opportunities for better education, leads to the expansion of the mind; the latter, on the experience and information resulting from previous service. In Turkey there are no gradations in the social order, and the son of the water-carrier is on a par with the Vizier's child, having often the same education. Hence there is no admitted superiority in those invested with power, and the previous equality indisposes others to obey authority obtained through mere caprice.

"As to the right derived from mere experience, there can be none where all are novices.

"Such were the radical defects that prevailed in the formation of the Turkish army.—The remedy would be to reduce things to their elements, and to recommence by establishing, in public opinion, a respect for talent and capacity, in order to obtain that obedience and confidence in superiors, without which an army cannot exist; for it is such confidence that produces discipline and order, and creates the moral power requisite to give unity, compactness, and energy to the whole.

"If, instead of attempting to raise an army, as it were, by a mere decree, the Sultan had been content with forming a single battalion, and had obtained the services of thirty or forty really good officers, and a chief capable of comprehending the importance of his duties, it is probable that, in two years, he would have succeeded in producing a battalion to serve as a model for the rest, and this result once obtained, the Sultan would have possessed the elements re-

quired. At the end of six months, or at the utmost of one year, by adding to the number of those first enrolled, and dividing the whole into two battalions, he might have formed a complete regiment, for the men of the first levy would, in the eyes of the recruits, have appeared as old and instructed soldiers. It is obvious that in ten years he would thus have obtained an army. Whereas, according to the system followed, such a result is improbable, for an union of men like the present cannot be said to merit this title.

"When Peter the Great wished to form his troops in Russia, he adopted the principle that I have above described, and he pushed its details even to excess."—p. 61-65.

The capabilities of the Turks for seamen are by no means so generally known, as the former custom of employing Greeks was supposed to indicate both a distaste and an incapacity of the Osmanlees for the sailor's arduous life. It would appear that this is by no means correct. Marshal Marmont states,

"I was much surprised at the wonderful expertness of the crew of the *Mahmoudie*, composed exclusively of Turks. By command of the Capudan Pacha, they performed the small-arm and great-gun exercise, manned the yards, went aloft and came down by the stays, the whole being done with a celerity and precision that could not have been surpassed by the smartest French sailors. On expressing my admiration to the Capudan Pacha, he replied, 'It is by dint of pains-taking and punishment, that I have brought things to this state, for there is not one of these fine fellows who has not received five hundred blows with the stick.' It would appear that a severity of corporal punishment is suited to the Turkish character, for these men are thoroughly drilled in their exercise, and well disciplined; and as there were at the period of my inspection only eight invalids in this crew of 1200 sailors, we may infer that in the system adopted there is nothing injurious to health.

"The Capudan Pacha is evidently a man of energy and resolution, and he is the only one of that stamp with whom I met at Constantinople.

"If severe punishments, and measures of violence bordering on brutality, succeed with Turkish seamen, the same treatment might be equally efficacious with the army, and some military chief, resembling the Capudan Pacha in character, might follow it and render an inestimable service to his country."—pp. 70, 71.

Much of the foregoing extracts, however, may be considered as painted somewhat too strongly by the gallant Frenchman. We subjoin, therefore, the general remarks of his trans-

lator, Sir Frederick Smith, of the Engineers,* whose high talents, acknowledged judgment, and experience on these subjects, united with great professional skill, and a thorough knowledge of the countries he surveys, entitle his opinion to the highest consideration. We quote from his remarks at the end of the volume, as a corrective to the observations of M. Marmont; and only regret that they are so concise as to suit rather with the writer's modesty, than his merits and facilities for deciding.

"When on the other hand it is advanced that Russia is already too extensive to be strong, and that further extension would produce nothing but weakness, it does not appear to us that the case is fairly stated. Many of her late acquisitions may be regarded as purely territorial, and while they have added nothing to the wealth of the empire, they have probably diminished for a time its strength, because considered politically as well as mechanically, force is produced by concentration. But the true way of looking at the recent acquisitions of Russia, is to regard them as means for the attainment of some great end. They are like the approaches of a skilful engineer, in the attack of a fortified place, and Turkey may be considered as an outwork, which, when captured, will not only be valuable in itself, but lead to further success."—p. 137.

"It is well known that Russia has long been desirous of possessing a harbour in the Mediterranean, both for commercial and warlike purposes. Smyrna is the one that would most promote the commercial advancement of Russia; and unless the policy of the other great powers is speedily changed towards the Ottoman Empire, not only will Turkey in Europe, but Turkey in Asia, fall under the dominion of Russia, and as a matter of course she will then become possessed of Smyrna; one of the finest ports in the world.

"The question which therefore appears to us to be now of more importance than any other connected with foreign affairs, that can engage the attention of the British statesman, is how to save the Turkish Empire. There may be doubts as to the real feelings of the Sultan towards England and towards Russia, and also as to his seeing through the veil of pretended friendship, with which the latter seeks to hide her ambitious projects. These are speculations, however, into which it is unnecessary to enter, for it is known that in the councils of the Grand Signior, there are men who, although they may still feel mortified at having been abandoned by England and France, when both were

applied to for that succour which the Russians were glad to afford, yet are aware that if they could rely on the firmness of England, it is to her, to their old and natural ally, to whom they should attach themselves. For the Turks cannot fail to perceive, in whatever manner the question may be mystified, that the essential difference between the protection or alliance of Russia, and that of England, is, that while it is the manifest interest of the former to annex Turkey as an integral portion of her dominions, it is more clearly the interest of England to secure the independence of Turkey, and to give her all the energy and force of which she is susceptible.

"That Russia possesses great influence in Turkey is unquestioned, but it is an influence created not by affection, or by a sense of obligation, but by that dread of power which a feeble state must ever entertain of a strong and grasping neighbour.

"Whatever may be their dread of the Russians at the present moment, the Turks entertain no fear of being able to defy them if time and a fair opportunity for organization were allowed. For they have not forgotten that the best troops of Russia, commanded by her ablest generals, took two campaigns to pass the Balkans, and lost in the operation the greater part of their force;* neither are they unobservant of the impotent attempts of Russia to subdue a handful of Circassians; and it is believed that though the Turks are aware that their soldiers are not on a par with those of Russia, they conceive themselves in no degree inferior to the Russians as sailors.

"We may therefore conclude that the Turks are ready to avail themselves of any fair pretext for throwing off the Russian yoke, and that they would naturally look to England rather than to any other power for assistance.

"The regeneration of Turkey can only be effected by her acquiring such a physical force, as will enable her to become independent of Russia, and by her adopting such a system of civil government as will give security to life and property, and promote agriculture and commerce.

"When the occupiers of the land shall have a certainty, that no demand will be made beyond such a fixed tax, as will leave them a fair remuneration for their labour, agriculture will necessarily flourish; and in order to produce this certainty, little else appears to be requisite beyond the regular payment, from the public revenues, of the district pachas, with all their subordinates, and the establishment of severe penalties on any functionary, who may make exactions from the people."—p. 320-323.

* The Present State of the Turkish Empire, by Marshal Marmont, Duc de Raguse. Translated, with Notes and Observations on the Relations of England with Turkey and Russia, by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick Smith, K. H., of the Corps of Royal Engineers. London. 1839.

* The Russian army marched with a force of 150,000 men, and what from disease, the sword, the consequences of a bad commissariat, the necessity of leaving troops to garrison fortified places on their line of march, only thirty thousand are said to have reached Adrianople.

"The Turkish navy would probably have soon recovered from the effects of its defeat at Navarino, had it not been for the separation of Greece, for it was from that country that the crews of the Turkish ships were generally obtained. But we may hope from the specimen afforded by the crew of the *Mahmoudie*, which consisted entirely of Turks, and whose extraordinary expertness excited the astonishment of Marshal Marmont, that the whole of the Turkish fleet might by proper discipline become equally efficient, and that by the aid of experienced English officers, it might soon be made a match for the Russian fleet."—p. 324.

"The French system of field movements was the one selected for the Turkish infantry, and officers who had retired from the French service were appointed to be the instructors. This selection was very unfortunate, as the French system seems to be much less suited to the character and peculiarities of the Turkish people, than either that of the English, or of the Prussians."—pp. 327, 328.

"In Turkey there is but one class, and in that the sons of the Vizier, and those of the carriers of water, have the same education. As a consequence of this state of things not only the private soldiers, but also the superior officers, are taken from among the mass of the people, the latter being selected sometimes in consequence of their higher attainments, but more frequently according to the caprice of those in authority. Here is one great cause of the present defective state of the Turkish army; and if it be an evil to appoint incompetent persons to situations of responsibility, it is no less so to remove the deserving from such posts from mere caprice and prejudice. This, however, is so frequently the case in the Turkish service, that the officers never feel secure in their positions, and therefore neither acquire confidence in themselves, nor obtain the respect of their men. So long as this mode of treating the officers may continue, the Turkish army can never attain to any great degree of excellence. The first step towards placing it on a proper footing, will therefore be to educate the officers, and to give them a certainty of retaining their rank during good conduct. This can only be done by the adoption of a sound and rational military code, in which, amongst other enactments, it should be declared that an officer will not be liable, under any pretence, to be removed, or otherwise degraded or punished, excepting by the award of a court of his peers; and that the highest authority shall have no power to increase the sentence of this court.

"A school of mutual instruction, on the Lancasterian system, has been established for the army, from which much good may be expected to result, but in order to give greater value to this institution, the students should be divided into classes. By this means young men of very decided talent

might be advanced to a superior class, to be educated for the duties of officers; and during their progress through this higher class, they would, owing to their acquirements, ensure the respect of the body from whom they had been separated.

"By thus obtaining an educated class of men for the rank of officers, by paying them well, and by making promotion in their inferior regimental grades depend entirely upon merit, and in the superior regimental stations on seniority, a great step towards the formation of a respectable army would be taken. It is therefore to be hoped that should the English government possess or hereafter acquire influence with the Porte, it will be exercised in bringing about this improvement.

"It would be undoubtedly a work of time to give the superior officers of the Turkish army a knowledge of the art of war on a grand scale, but this would be less necessary if a close alliance were entered into between England and Turkey, for in that case the latter would have the assistance of the best officers of the former power. The object of present importance is, therefore, the training of the men, and if adequately provided with intelligent instructors from the British service, there can be no question, that in six months the Turkish infantry might be put into good fighting order. It is not contended that in this space of time they could be taught to manœuvre with all the precision or the celerity of the English, the Prussian or the French army; but from the aptitude of the Turks for acquiring a knowledge of military details, we may feel assured that they would be rendered expert in the use of the musket, and capable of performing with sufficient accuracy those movements which are usually required in the day of battle.

"The Turkish cavalry have adopted the system of field movements of the French cavalry. This has been very judicious, because in the French service steadiness and order are considered as essential for the cavalry, as they are deemed unimportant for the infantry, and therefore the system of the former is well suited to the Turks.

"The horses of the Turkish cavalry are strong and active, and, though not large; they have more bone than Arab horses, and are admirably calculated for light cavalry."

"The artillery are the best soldiers in the Turkish army, and notwithstanding the defective nature of the carriages, they work their guns with great dexterity."—p. 332.

From the extracts made by us, and the perusal of the *Hatti Sheriff*, it will be seen that the Turkish ministry are sufficiently able and informed as to the most pressing necessities of the country; and that in this respect they agree perfectly with the works we have quoted. The security of honour and fortune, which leaves nothing to chance

or despotic caprice, as it insures the possession of one's position in the state, renders him also more careful not to infringe the rights of others, lest he be judged by the world to have deservedly hazarded his own. This creation of two fixed principles, the one internal, of moderation, and the other external, of public opinion, is the sure pledge of what is most wanted in Turkey, namely, moral reform—by which every man shall feel his own value, and that of the rest.

Closely connected with this is the regulation of the mode of levying imposts; for it teaches the nation at large not only what are their own rights and those of the government, but also inculcates habits of provision and foresight, and teaches each individual that, by apportioning a small share to the necessities of the state, he thereby secures the enjoyment of the remainder at his own choice, instead of so secreting it as to make the very means of a Moslem's expenses a subject of mystery to the whole world of scrutinizing pachas and inquisitive travellers. When a man in office has a fixed duty, he can always tell how to discharge it, and has a pleasure in its proper fulfilment; but when acts such as the raising men or levying money are to be performed, and by no recognized principle, is it wonderful that passion and interest will always prevail? and when each needy governor knows that he too is liable to be fleeced by his superior, a system of distrust and general spoliation is generated which more than all else demoralizes a nation.

On the navy and army it will be little needful for us to make any remarks beyond the hints thrown out in Sir Frederick Smith's volume; but if the general tone of the nation is raised, their's also will be elevated in proportion, and not, as in the case of the Janissaries, at the expense of the community at large.

With these primary reformatations, the Turks can well afford to wait awhile for the charms of music and wine, and even the more intellectual luxury of painting. But this will probably follow soon. The formation of a Council of State, which has actually taken place, and which decides by majority, and not, as before, by power or favouritism alone, upon the measures to be adopted and laid before the Sultan: in which council too each member has the right to deliver his opinion uninterrupted, and on each clause of a law as presented, and after a previous opportunity afforded him of examination of details by a printed report distributed to all the persons composing the council, on the plan of the French Coun-

cil, is a bold step towards real liberty. From the recent corrupt state of the Turkish Court, the reporters of the council will doubtless be closely watched.

We have heard it objected that no electoral law has yet been promulgated or announced. But this, to our thinking, is a proof of wisdom. What could the Turks, by far the greater part of whom have no conception of a system of government of any kind, make of the power to choose a member of a public chamber? Education must become far more general, even among the middling classes of that empire, than at present, before they could be entrusted with a gift so powerful and so dangerous. The natural indolence of the Turk must be thrown off, his general indifference to externals beyond his own immediate circle abandoned, and habits of care and activity, and a taste for public business, created in their stead, before he could avail himself advantageously of the boon. It is, we conceive, more prudent as well as more graceful to let Royalty divest herself by degrees of the attributes of long accustomed despotism.

In regarding the general position of Turkey, the transition is necessary to the great vassal, if not rival, of her existing power. So much has been said in every shape of praise or vituperation of this extraordinary man that we need add but a few remarks on that head to what we stated in a previous number.

It is true that the personal talent of Mehemet Ali, and his riches, have exerted the greatest influence upon all who have approached him. It is nevertheless unquestionable that his severities to the natives of Egypt and Syria, have been of the most direful character. The incessant insurrections of Syria, once more, as we are writing, in full revolt, answer for her impatience, and we have been ourselves told by more than one traveller into the interior, and have seen it in the MS. narratives of others, that the most fearful tyranny is exercised in provinces remote from his immediate sway, and less under the eye of Europeans: and that in Egypt especially the most fearful scenes were of every day occurrence. Assuredly the Egyptians even of the present time deserve the character they obtained centuries ago, of indifference to kindness and indeed to everything but fear: yet a humane legislature would not push to the utmost atrocities that make nature shudder, whatever the object of his endeavours. In many cases gratitude, in others policy, prevents the publication of his cruelties; and travellers who expect again to revisit the dominions of Mehemet Ali are careful to suppress anything

that may tend to deteriorate his reputation in Europe, as they themselves would suffer by it. After these remarks we proceed to a short narrative that speaks in favour of the keen-sighted policy of the Pacha, as shown in his rise ; a subject that cannot, however often repeated, become uninteresting at the present day.

The politics of people in the East are ill understood in Europe. We imagine them to have designs, when they are but caprices ; plans, when they are but passions ; and to look to a future, when to-day and to-morrow embrace the whole foresight. We have perceived in the aggression of Mehemet Ali, a premeditated and long progressive ambition ; it was but the seduction of fortune, which, from one step to another, led him almost involuntarily to shake the throne of his master, and to conquer half his empire ; a fresh opportunity may carry him still farther.

The quarrel originated in the following manner :—Abdallah, Pacha of Acre, a young inconsiderate man, raised to the pachalik by a caprice of favour or hazard, had revolted against the Grand Seignior ; being overcome, he had solicited the protection of the Pacha of Egypt, who secured his pardon from the Divan. Abdallah, soon forgetting the gratitude which he owed to Mehemet, refused to execute certain conditions sworn to in the period of his misfortunes. Ibrahim marched to coerce him ; he found at Acre an unexpected resistance ; his anger was roused ; he demanded from his father fresh troops, which were sent, and they were also repulsed. Mehemet Ali grew tired and recalled his son ; but Ibrahim resisted, and declared his intention of dying under the walls of Acre, or of reducing it to the power of his father. He at length broke open the gates of the town, at a great sacrifice of men. Abdallah, being taken prisoner, prepared himself for death ; Ibrahim sent for him to his tent, and having addressed to him a few bitter sarcasms, dispatched him to Alexandria. Instead of the bow-string or the sabre, Mehemet Ali sent him his own horse, made him enter in triumph, seated him by his side on the divan, complimented him on his valour and fidelity to the sultan, and gave him a palace, slaves and large revenues.

Abdallah deserved this treatment for his bravery. Shut up in Acre with 3000 Turks, he resisted for a year the whole of the Egyptian land and sea forces. The fortune of Ibrahim, like that of Napoleon, vacillated before this rock. If the Grand Signior, in vain solicited by Abdallah, had sent him a few thousand men at the proper time, or

had even sent to the Syrian coasts two or three of those fine frigates which were uselessly lying at anchor before the pavilions of the Bosphorus, Ibrahim had been repulsed ; he would have retreated into Egypt, convinced of the impotency of his rage. But the Porte was faithful to its system of fatalism ; it permitted the ruin of its pacha to be accomplished. The bulwark of Syria was overthrown, and the Divan awoke not from its torpor before it was too late. However, Mehemet Ali wrote to his general to return ; but he, a man of courage and enterprise, determined to test to the uttermost the weakness of the sultan and his own fortune. He advanced. Two brilliant victories, weakly disputed, that of Homs in Syria, and that of Konia in Asia Minor, rendered him absolute master of Arabia, of Syria, and of all those kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, which at present compose Caramania. The Porte might yet have cut off his retreat, and, disembarking troops in his rear, have retaken possession of the towns and provinces where he could not leave sufficient garrisons ; a body of 6000 men thrown into the defiles of Taurus and Syria had imprisoned Ibrahim amidst his victories, and made prey of him and his army. The Turkish fleet was infinitely more numerous than that of Ibrahim, or rather the Porte had an immense and magnificent fleet ; Ibrahim had only two or three frigates. But from the commencement of the campaign, Kalil-Pacha, a young man of elegant manners, the favourite of the sultan, and named by him Capitan-Pacha (High Admiral), had retired from the seas before the small force of the Egyptian ; he had actually quitted the harbour of Rhodes, and sailed to shut himself up in the road of Marmorizza, upon the coast of Caramania, at the bottom of the Gulf of Macri. Once entered with his ships into this port, the entrance of which is singularly narrow, Ibrahim, with two vessels, could prevent him coming out. He, in fact, came out no more, and all winter, when the military operations were the most important and decisive on the coasts of Syria, Ibrahim's fleet alone appeared in those seas, and carried him, without obstacle, reinforcements and munitions of war. Still, however, Kalil-Pacha was neither a traitor nor a coward ; but thus go the affairs of a people who remain lethargic when all is in motion around them. The fortune of nations lies in their genius ; the genius of the Ottomans now trembles before that of the weakest of their pachas. The rest of the campaign, which recalls that of Alexander, is well known. Ibrahim is incontestibly a hero, and Mehemet-Ali a great man ; but all their fortune rests upon their

own two heads ; take away these two men, and there is no more an Egypt or an Arab empire, there are no longer Maccabees for Islamism, and the East will return to the West, by that invincible law of nature which gives empire to intelligence.

After our previous remarks it will be amusing to trace the opposite opinions of Marshal Marmont and our own acute and sagacious traveller, Mr. Elliott. The former observes

“The creation of the power of Mehemet Ali is in itself a dismemberment of Turkey, with which the new state forms a remarkable contrast, and although this is not the moment for a full consideration of the subject, yet I feel bound to offer a few remarks upon it. All the requisites for organization, of which Turkey is deficient, have suddenly sprung up in Egypt, and are earnestly and unremittingly employed towards the attainment of the desired object. Mehemet Ali is accused of being covetous, and of exposing the people to be plundered by his officers ; but by no other course than that adopted could he procure the funds required for his operations. I speak neither of the justice nor philanthropy of the question, but of its policy. The Viceroy has already made great progress in his undertaking, by establishing a system of obedience, and a perfect police, in the extensive country under his control ; his name is respected, and such is the opinion entertained of him, that opposition to his will never enters the mind even of those who were previously the most inclined to independence, or rebellion. This is the foundation of regular order ; for the first step in civilisation is to produce submission.

“The second important act of Mehemet Ali was the change he originated in the agriculture of Egypt, by inducing the ‘Fellahs’ to adopt a system from which crops of infinitely greater value have resulted. If success continue to attend his various improvements, and if the works he has commenced answer his expectations, there will be a further increase of revenue, although even now seven times the amount this country yielded to the French troops at the period they occupied it. Manufactures, suited to the natural circumstances of Egypt, have been established, and are prospering ; they suffice for the necessities of the government and the wants of the people, and compete with those of other nations in the European markets.

“Those who take a contracted view of the present position of this country might be led to conclude that the Pacha alone profited by these riches, because the bulk of the inhabitants are not supposed to derive any immediate or tangible benefit from them ; but it should be remembered, that the Arabs are desirous of rising in the scale of nations, by becoming independent of Turkey ; and that as the wealth acquired by their ruler,

and applied to promote his political power, is in furtherance of this object, the people are so far positive participators in the improved condition of the state. When the necessities of Mehemet Ali shall have been satisfied—when his enterprises shall have ceased to require the immense expenditure they now demand—when articles of commerce shall have increased in value—and when the Pacha shall purchase what he now requires as imposts—there will be an improvement in the condition of the whole community, who will be disposed to assist in supporting his government. Mehemet Ali has accomplished another great object in establishing an efficient force. He now possesses an army, the formation of which presented extraordinary difficulties, for the extreme repugnance of the natives of the East to a regular military service, and their prejudices on this head, are well known ; yet he has overcome all these obstacles by acting discreetly, and by adopting such preliminary measures as were calculated to insure success ; satisfactory results have been already obtained, and he is following a course that must lead to their extension and improvement. Officers are instructed, in the various schools, for all branches of his service ; and the confidence he reposes in a clever man, who is the foundation-stone of the edifice he is rearing, is a guarantee that, in a very few years, his army will bear a comparison with those of Europe. The means at Mehemet Ali’s disposal, for the establishment of his naval force, were limited, and the materials of which it was composed, as well as the national circumstances at the time of its formation, were unfavourable to its success ; nevertheless it is as formidable as the exigencies of his situation require, and being well appointed and efficient, it holds out a promise of performing valuable services.

“The basis of a durable power has thus been effectually laid, since this government has not only sufficient internal force and energy to establish and maintain order and create resources, but possesses such means of enterprise and defence as are calculated to protect it from aggression, acquire the respect of other nations, and secure its independence. In the accomplishment of this great work, Mehemet Ali has had the assistance of a compact and homogeneous population, full of intelligence, remarkable for its self-respect, strongly predisposed to enthusiasm, laborious though excitable, sober, contented, and obedient. In short, the people are ready to promote the interests of their country, and susceptible of any form or impression they may be required to take. The condition of the Christian population of Syria is favourable to the advance and stability of the new power, being assembled in the same district, well disciplined, sufficiently numerous to be useful but not to dream of independence, and so much in dread of Turkish tyranny as to be willing to draw tighter the bonds which connect it with the

government of Egypt. By attention to the interests of this people, it may be incorporated with the Arab state, and add materially to its strength."—pp. 101–106.

He adds, however,

"We should bear in mind that Mehemet Ali, through whose genius Egypt has acquired her present consequence, is far advanced in life, and that whatever may be the military talent of his son, he has hitherto given no proof of political sagacity, or of his fitness to govern an independent state. We should equally remember that Mahmoud has only one son, who is represented to be in a delicate state of health; nor should we forget that Mahmoud and this son are supposed to be the last male descendants of the blood of Othman. The death of the Sultan, or of the Egyptian viceroy, can therefore hardly fail to give rise to some important change, for which England should be prepared."—p. 306.

Mr. Elliott, to whose general accuracy and sound judgment we cannot confess too many obligations, and whose sphere of research has been wider than falls to the lot of the many, compares the position of Egypt and Syria under the Pacha's rule with that of Hindostan under our own.

"There may be, and doubtless are, some errors of legislation; but the difficulties to be overcome are at least sufficient to account for them; and perfection is not to be expected. Before the cultivator can be blamed, an estimate must be formed of the capacities of the field whereon he has had to labour; it must be ascertained whether the soil on which he has been compelled to rear his seed be adapted to it; and whether it could possibly have been made to yield a richer harvest. In like manner, if we would appreciate the skill and resources of those who have been called to redeem from the waste and to raise to a state of cultivation the vast political plains of Hindostan, we must first analyze the character of the people submitted to their rule; and then, if we judge rightly, we shall award them no ordinary meed of praise for the happiness and prosperity resulting to their subjects, and be very far from censuring them for the absence of that which no human legislation could have supplied. Here failure is attributable rather to the materials than to the workman: a more paternal or judicious government never held sway in the east, or one which afforded, on the whole, a degree of satisfaction bearing any proportion to that yielded by the British.

"It is one thing to find fault; it is another to point out a remedy, or to adduce a single case in which different means would have ensured better success. The conflicting interests of the various tribes under our government, and the dissimilarity of European

and Asiatic modes of thought and action render the difficulty of legislation for India very great; and this difficulty is much enhanced by the constitution of an authority which, instead of being independent and supreme, is itself subject to a higher power. When, it may be fairly asked, has any government so circumstanced succeeded equally well? A political paradox has been realized by the admirable administration of this *imperium in imperio*; and, whatever the defects it shares with every thing that is human—and they are many—it is not too much to say that few can be found, even among their adversaries, who will deny to the governors of that vast empire an anxious desire to promote the welfare of their subjects, or who will hesitate to admit that they have conferred on them unspeakable advantages.

"When the traveller compares the existing condition of India and Syria, the one with its Mussulman and Christian thousands, the other with its Mussulman and Pagan millions; when he sees the cruelties, injustice, and oppression of the government, with the lawlessness, and political and moral degradation of the people, under the Egyptian viceroy; and contrasts them with the mildness and justice of English rule, and the security and happiness of British Indians; he will not only wonder at what has been done for our Eastern possessions, but he will estimate more justly the blessings conferred on them by liberation from a Moslim yoke and the substitution of Christian sway.

"Notwithstanding much that is plausible, the policy of Mohammed Ali is assuredly a shortsighted one. He acts as if his sole object were, without consulting the interests of his people, or of his son and successor, to accumulate as much as possible during the year or two that may remain of a life already extended beyond the age of man. All classes of his subjects are alike disgusted. The Moslims think he does not pay them due regard as followers of Mohammed; they resent his encroachments on their privilege to beat and kill all 'Christian dogs;' and they are still more dissatisfied with his system of conscription, which has desolated the country. When a demand arises for soldiers, he not only decimates, but actually appropriates the entire adult male population of villages. In many of those through which we passed not a single male between eight years of age and the decrepitude of old age was to be seen; and the women forgetting their natural dread of the eye of man, the restrictions of their religion, and the shame incurred by such an exposure, ran out to make inquiries of us which none could answer. They asked, beating their breasts and giving vent to the bitterness of grief, in loud and lamentable cries, 'Shall we ever see our husbands, brothers, and sons, so cruelly snatched from us? Is our village condemned to desolation for some unknown crime? Are our crops doomed to rot on the ground? And are the powers of nature to be henceforth exercised in vain on untilled

fields?' In other places where the conscription has been less rigorously enforced, the men frequently addressed us in the language of alternate hope and despair. 'Why do not the Franks come to take possession of our country? We know they will conquer it soon. We are waiting for them. Why do they tarry so long?'

"While such is the discontent among Moslems, the rayahs, alas! have no greater cause to love their tyrant. What can be expected by others from the father who is merciless to his own? If ambition and self-interest united to a personal indifference towards all religions, have secured for the professors of Christianity some little consideration, that consideration is limited by the principle from which it emanates; and the moment it clashes with the oppressor's selfish views, the Christian is forgotten to be human, and treated like his fellow labourers on the soil, the ox and the ass. Thus extortion knows no limits. The peasants are left with the minimum of food and clothes requisite for life; and the first cry of 'Give, give,' which is answered by total destitution, is urged and re-urged with the thong of the bastinado. Elsewhere the curse is enforced, 'labour and the sweat of the brow;' in Syria it is labour, and starvation, and nudity, and a sweat of the blood."

"In England, Mohammed Ali and Ibrahim Pasha are spoken of as enlightened men, fond of Europeans and anxious to introduce civilisation among their degraded subjects; but a few days in Syria will convince an unbiassed mind that they are not truly enlightened, and that their apparent partiality for Franks is merely the result of a discovery that they can turn their superior knowledge to a selfish account. That they would by no means communicate to their people any light or benefit which may unfit them for being passive slaves, is proved by their obstinately maintaining, in spite of the remonstrances of England and the reiterated mandates of the Porte, a system of monopoly which is ruining Egypt and Syria, by compelling the natives to labour without wages, and by assigning to the pasha the hard-earned fruits of their industry. It is thus that the Macedonian slave has filled the coffers of the viceroy of Egypt; and from conduct such as this an estimate may be formed of his disinterested and enlightened mind. *Ex uno disce omnes!*"

The value of Syria is greatly enhanced to the two great contending parties by the recent discovery of coal in the mountains. The facilities thus afforded to steam communication with Europe are increased by the projected railroad from Kornal to Beyrout, a journey of eight hours, now performed on mules. Mr. Elliott gives the following idea of the value of the discovery.

"The discovery of coal in the mountains will increase the value of the iron in Leba-

non and Anti-Lebanon; and a furnace is about to be erected for smelting the ore. There is little doubt that iron works were carried on in this quarter by the Romans, as large quantities of scoria or slag are occasionally discovered at a distance from the mines, and generally near forests of ever-green oak, the wood of which was probably used for smelting, as the ore thus prepared is superior to that subjected to coal fires, because the metal becomes partially carbonated, and is therefore with less difficulty converted into steel, a purer carbonate of iron. It is a knowledge of this fact, with the consequent preference of wood for the purpose, that makes the Swedish iron peculiarly valuable; especially that of the mine of Dannemora, near Upsala, which is the best produced in Europe."

We have thought it right to bring this new acquisition pointedly before the reader, because it marks the commercial value of a country rising every day in importance in the political world. It is sufficiently known that Mehemet Ali has claimed not only Syria, but Adana and Tarsus also, as part of his projected sovereignty. We must give a few moments to this question.

To the first proposition of the Pacha for assured independence the answer of the four great powers was, their resolve to maintain the status quo. Mehemet gave way, but in appearance only. He had long been aware of the favourite proverb of Coumourgi, to hunt the hare in a waggon, and was resolved to run down his object steadily, though slowly. The intrigues and jealousies of the Turkish ministers offered him an advantage of which he was not slow in availing himself, and, having a large body of admirers and partisans at Constantinople, he easily contrived that their wishes should assume an audible tone, and that this should be carried to the impatient ears of Sultan Mahmoud. A few tamperings with Arabia and Mecca, the holy seat, and consequently the seat of religious influence over Islam; a gross insult offered to the deputation thence, and without reference to the Sultan as paramount Lord, precipitated a war,—by the exasperated orders of the latter, and the insults purposely offered to his troops by the Egyptians. That war lasted but a day;—the day that gave SYRIA, or INDEPENDENCE, or BOTH, to the Pacha of Egypt. His own skill had won the game, and foiled not only his master, but all the western powers at a single stroke. Well might he laugh at their beards.

His great point achieved, the Pacha was on velvet. Whatever occurred, he must keep some advantages—France was on his side, territorially from Algiers: England was

with him, commercially from the Suez communication: Russia upheld him, as weakening Turkey: and Austria, with her pendulous movement, would swing back to a certainty from beyond a given point, since she could not advance alone, and cling to her central principle of isolation from strife since the status quo was impossible.

We, as long since as June last, declared our conviction that a division of the Ottoman empire so far as Egypt was concerned, was necessitated by the mutual jealousies of Europe. The trade of the East must of necessity pass through two channels over land, if at all, to satisfy the eager and powerful nations of the West. As carriers, Turkey and Egypt would both be gainers, but the latter chiefly; and if allowed with her commercial aggrandizement and her hold in Arabia, to add Syria to it also, she must soon become more potent than her paramount. Yet this was a delicate question for Egypt; she actually held to Adana, with Tarsus, by right of conquest, as well as by investiture of the Porte as a vassal. But on the other hand, as a vassal she could not legitimate conquest, unless by absolute force; and this Europe was half resolved to prevent. France, through Syria, could gain direct access to the southern part of Asiatic Turkey, for commercial or military views, as suited best her own interests hereafter, and might open herself a road to Persia. If she could ever possess, or even influence, Egypt, this could be done far more easily, and attract far less jealousy and opposition, than when that possession or influence would affect Syria also. England, aware that Egypt might become the Turkey of France, was the more interested as to Syria; her harbours, it is true, were indifferent in the extreme; but steam supplied some, and the most material, defects. Syria was rising into hourly increased importance by the dispositions of Persia towards her ally Turkey; and the movements of the Egyptian force near Bahrein and Bassora showed the immense importance of a direct communication with the south and eastern portion of the Ottoman dominions; with Bagdad and with Armenia also. Russia, whose utmost views of aggrandizement southwards her most vehement impugnors confine, for the present, to Europe, or Asia Minor at farthest, could care little for the secondary province of Syria; at least not till Greece and its marine were her own. But to Turkey, Syria was vital; for its revenue and for its position:—maritimately, as flanking her Anatolian coasts and equalizing with Egypt the possession of the Levant; and militarily and politically, as the direct avenue from thence

to her important Pachaliks of the south, against which the Persian was already preparing a novel, or dreaming of reviving an ancient, claim; towards which also Egypt was advancing with the army of Hussein Bey; and which further, and in itself, was, in the absence or privation of Syria, but an indirect route to Arabia, of which the Ottoman's hold was at best but slender, and would soon cease from the vicinity and superior influence of Egypt.

A portion of Syria, perhaps as far as Jerusalem, might possibly, we conceive, be conceded to Egypt, so far merely as to ensure a ready access to Petræa; but a line much beyond this would cut off too much of Arabian communication to be submitted to by Turkey, unless in the last extremities: and while the Pacha is reducing the Red-sea coast, the station of Britain, near its extremity, at Aden, is not only a commercial and military position for the latter, as regards herself, but also a counter-check to Egypt in favour of Turkey; and a support in the same sense to the Imaum of Muscat.

While Egypt is too really master of Arabia to require the strengthening her position by possessing Syria, whose inhabitants detest her sway; and Turkey is too little master of that large peninsula not to need the preservation of her domains in integrity in that quarter, what can be thought of any serious claim of Egypt on Adana? Tarsus and the defiles of Cilicia are the southern gates of Constantinople: is the Turk to surrender the keeping of this into hands already more powerful than his own? The master of that position is the real lord of Asia Minor; and if yielded, the Pacha becomes the lord paramount, and the Sultan his vassal; or that of Russia. The reader who will consult Wylde's map of these countries and to Birmah, as coloured from their actual possessors, will at once recognize the truth; and perceive how the privation of the whole territory now in dispute isolated Turkey from her natural rights and from her allies, and that now it leaves her a territory as long and straggling, and as weak, as Italy; the ready prey consequently of any one of her neighbours or even subjects; the Russian, the Koord, the Persian, the Arab, and the Egyptian: all may not have the power now; but, the point once conceded, who shall preserve for her even the rich Pachalik of Bagdad?

If however the Syrian soil revert to its lawful proprietor, the possession of Cyprus is no less material for Turkey; for it is the maritime key of Syria and Adana, and in truth, of the whole southern coast of Asia Minor.

The harbours of Cyprus are the harbours of Syria in reality ; and the coasts of the former answering to the angle of both Adana and Itchil northward, and Syria to west, command the sea communication of both, and consequently guarantee the safety of the whole range from Asia Minor to Bagdad, from the West. This rich and lovely island is therefore most important to Turkey and Syria. If the cession of it is great for Egypt, so too is the Ottoman's cession to the Pacha of recognized independencies ; from a vassal to a king.

In the course of negotiations we have heard of a proposition on the part of Russia for consenting to wave her far-famed treaties with the Porte, if Britain would consent to the exclusion of all foreign ships of war from the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. We cannot believe that any such proposition could be seriously entertained, or as has been said of this, by the British Ministry ; for we have no hesitation in saying that an assent to these terms ought to bring any English Minister to the Block : and this not only for treason but incapacity. In truth, the loss of such a head would be of no less advantage to the owner than to the nation. The Black Sea, possessed by two powers, is an open sea ; and if Russia, England, and Turkey, were all to consent to the principle, not only would this be a waiver by Britain of her direct imprescriptible rights, immediate interests, and actual Eastern dominions, but a gratuitous folly into the bargain. Russia and Turkey conjoining to close the Dardanelles would be a practical exclusion for all nations ; but England in consenting would give up Greece to Russia. And for what ? The treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi has but two years of further duration ; and what, in the worst case, is the value of this ? But it cannot be forgotten that France promptly protested against that treaty, to the bitter mortification of the Russian government, as betrayed in their pert and indecent reply, which no one can have forgotten. Sir Frederick Smith's admirable remarks on the Dardanelles finally dispose of the silly bugbear which the Marquis of Londonderry has the merit of first exposing ; (see F. Q. R. Nos. XLIII and XLV.) but if England were weak enough to yield all interest in Circassia, and North Persia and the Caspian, she could not give away the rights of any nation but her own. France, that under Louis XIV. rejected at the treaty of Breda, even the name of British for the channel between the two countries, has formally reserved her rights, and would reserve them even without it. No nation without its own consent can be excluded from an open sea, like the Euxine.

The present expedition to Khiva, the first fruits of our vaunted Indian activity, show at least that Russia has no apprehensions near the Euxine. The really large force, 24,000 men, assigned to the expedition, is, however, not at all too large for its ostensible object alone ; and we have shown in a former number (XLIII.) that the Tatar tribes are no despicable enemies in their own land ; concerned too as they are in the plunder of the Russian caravans and the general insecurity of that part of the world. The male population of Khiva, as of all Tatary, may be fairly reckoned at four-sixths capable of bearing arms ; and the formidable steppes in the route are not be passed against those tireless enemies with any but a very large force. The necessities of Russian trade have compelled the measure undoubtedly ; waning as it was before that of England in Central Asia : (see our No. for April last,) it is still considerable. A single large caravan from Russia exports into Tatary goods to the value of £180,000 sterling, and consisting of iron, glass, cochineal, cotton, and sugar. Of this one-half the amount is actually Russian ; the rest in transit from Germany, France, and England ; in the order of their values. Smaller and more frequent caravans take about a sixth of the foregoing. The chief European nations therefore are interested in the suppression of the system of Tatar plunder.

The influence of Austria has been confessed by Russia in the increased means of communication she is making with the former by roads, rail-roads, and canals ; while her intercourse with Prussia is sternly watched by a cordon ; for the dread of Prussian principles, and these are lax enough, weighs heavy with the autocrat. We are no friends to Prussian manœuvres, as our Journal has proved ; and the recent correspondence between Lord Palmerston and the Baron Bulow justifies all our doubts of that insidious Power, of which even the partizans of the English ministry are now convinced. Prussia therefore is become jealous of Russia ; and would fain participate in the two Eastern questions, Egypt and Asia. The news of the expedition to Khiva has caused a great sensation at Berlin.

But as to the interest taken by England in this expedition we must devote a space. It may be no more than it professes to be ; a chastisement necessitated by the Tatars ; but can any one doubt that the moral influence of this movement, as well as the political, is meant to counteract that of Britain upon Cabool ? The duty once performed, the Russian troops are, according to the

formal proclamation, to return to their stations; as Russia has no design of aggrandisement nor conquest.

"But now every means of persuasion has been exhausted. The rights of Russia, the security of her trade, the tranquillity of her subjects, and the dignity of her state, call for decisive measures, and the emperor has judged it to be high time to send a body of troops to Chiva to put an end to robbery and exaction, to deliver those Russians who are detained in slavery, to make the inhabitants of Chiva esteem and respect the Russian name, and finally to strengthen in that part of Asia the **LAWFUL INFLUENCE TO WHICH RUSSIA HAS A RIGHT (!)** and which alone can ensure the maintenance of peace.

"This is the purpose of the present expedition, and as soon as it shall be attained, and an order of things, conformable to the interests of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states, shall be established on a permanent footing, the body of troops, which has received orders to march on Chiva, will return to the frontiers of the empire."

But who can answer for this? Like the Vicar of Wakefield with Ephraim Jenkinson, we think we have heard all this before. But supposing it to be really a march of conquest, and subjugation under the name of alliance,—for stay there the Russians cannot;—who can blame them? Have we not only furnished them with an answer to reclamations and remonstrances, but with a pretext too, if indeed they ever wanted one? Has not our ominous activity courted them into this effective, though indirect, counter movement? a cheaper and easier, as well as more efficient poise of moral influence over the wastes of Tataria, than all that war could effectuate against ourselves, and fairly disposing of all our dear-bought magnificences and our still more dearly to be bought experience hereafter in the East.

"The lawful influence to which Russia has a right in that part of Asia," is evidently, and almost avowedly, set forth as an intelligible hint to Europe and Asia also; and to the 24,000 men put in movement for the purpose of sustaining that influence may be added a reserve, if circumstances require it, of 20,000 more from the army of Caucasus, as we are expected to believe. We certainly believe nothing of the kind. The first-named force on paper may be reduced one-fourth effectively; and its columns, from the very nature of the country it has to pass through, consisting of salt and sand deserts, will be wide-scattering, and chiefly for want of water; but that a second force nearly equal to the former could be spared from the Caucasian range at this moment is in itself ridiculous; and they who spread

the report—it is no more—do not inform us how it is to be provisioned. We can positively affirm that there are no means for this in their actual location, and we entirely doubt the practicability of this as they advance in the present state of the neighbouring countries. If the Khan of Khiva adopts the Tatar warfare altogether, and is resolute, he will by no means become an easy conquest. But as to maintaining themselves in the conquered country against the enmity of the native races, it is a chimera that could be engendered by ignorance alone, and which can be exceeded only by the silly dream of bringing the aforesaid Tatars to invade our empire of Hindostan from "their traditionary accounts of the wealth of Delhi!" Children like pretty stories.

But all this additional preparation, or rather the noise of it, is part of the policy of Russia; and is but a continuation of those paper, and newspaper, movements by which Europe is kept in constant activity,—so far at least as the ears are concerned,—and forced into ceaseless recollections of the Czar. This great monarch has, as Mr. Bremner well observed, his hobby-horse; and if he likes to advertise his power, his promptitude, his armies, and their efficiencies, it is a very good thing for the foreign journals that are favoured with his care. We ourselves cannot help thinking that a weekly advertisement in the Times would do the work more efficiently, could that bold newspaper once win the Autocrat's affections. In the mean time, how dearly must we prize the fond and gratuitous affection of the French press, that is always so feelingly alive to the danger that threatens our Eastern possessions, and so active in pointing out every movement that might endanger it—save their own.

But in spite of all alarms now at the navigation of the Oxus extending to within a few days' march of Cabul, and which we suppose was much the same a month or two since, and before the Russian expedition advanced to Khiva; and notwithstanding it is now discovered that the advance by this route upon India is more easy than by Herat; leaving Russia to choose which she may of these brilliant novelties, our only recommendation would be that the British government at home should forbid the exportation of these French speculations to Hindostan. Think how the mighty soul of the Governor-General of India would be consternated at the awful intelligence! Imagine the usurper-general of Asia suddenly discovering that boats can float in a river 700 miles distant from his government! Why the horror of aggression that

fills that excellent man's mind would lead him at once to seize Persia, Tatar, and Thibet at least, in order to prove to the world the valour and disinterestedness of England. There is no reason on earth why Khorassan should not be overrun, and there are abundant claimants for the Persian crown. It is well the reigning Shah, who was to dine at the Government-House in Calcutta, change the cathedral into a mesjid, convert Bishop Wilson into a good Sheah, and restore the magi—has struck his colours to the great and "dangerous Archimage," in good time to save his own throne. But if a river is so alarming because it holds water, what must be a desert, that contains sand? Might not a gust of wind from the north-west bring columns of this to overlay the fertile plains of Bengal, and choke the rice-lands of Patna, overwhelm the dawks or letter-carriers from presidency to presidency, and sweep Lord Auckland's elephant train, like Bruce's camels, into the air? Surely these are sufficient dangers to warrant our marching upon Khorassan and the Caspian; and, since the object is to avoid unnecessary contact with Russia, take the Khan of Khiva under our protection and build a fleet upon the Aral. Lord Minto, we know, cannot spare even a yawl or jolly-boat from the imposing majesty of the British navy; but perhaps the Thames Yacht-Club would aid him in this emergency, and there is store of cannons and dandies about the reaches of Chelsea and Calcutta.

Count Bjornstjerna, to whose able work we long since introduced the reader, and who has done our journal the honour of adopting the arguments in Number XLIII, for October, 1838, in his work published the following spring,* and condensing them, with his confessed judgment and high military skill, into his six **CONCLUSIONS**, amongst the vast mass of additional and inestimable matter in that volume, has shown that it would require, even were all the means obtained, full four campaigns for Russia to invade Hindostan, and then only so far as the territories of Runjeet Sing; and even in this case that the force must be small and unprovided with artillery! The wisdom and necessity there-

fore of our Cabul expedition are manifest: and now that it is won, who is to keep it?

The affection shown by the Affghans for Britain formerly has changed, since the glorious expedition sent expressly for their good and to restore their idol Soojah, into something very like hatred, as our soldiers know to their cost by the desperate assassinations perpetrated. Will Soojah require to be maintained by British troops? and are all his quarrels to become ours? What are the communications of that country? and how is a chain of posts to be preserved at ten-fold expense every year against a hostile or at best marauding race of mountaineers, filling every pass and aware of all the fastnesses? The desperate game of Russia in Circassia and Caucasus is to be brought home to India! and this too while its resources are lessened by the loss of the fatal opium trade, which of late years the British government in India has **OPENLY ENCOURAGED** for the sake of its revenue. The addition of Cabul to British protection will be a serious thorn in the side of the Indian government at all points, and its difficulties of communication will doubtless necessitate the occupation of a part of the Punjab by the British, as a line of open ground from Delhi and Loodiana, possibly through Lahore, Jubalpoore, Horreah, and Bhira, into Affghanistan. Already it is discovered at Calcutta that the son of Runjeet needs our assistance; and it is therefore likely that he will obtain it, and no less likely that he will have to pay for it. All this is as it should be; no doubt. But where is it to stop? We answer, When nothing more can be got, and not till then. The modern Alexander is as scrupulous as his prototype, and will stay his career only when he cannot move. But with all his activity and vigilance beyond our territories, he could not see Karnoul within it; with all its fearful preparations, very sagely anticipating Russia and Dost Mahommed and the Shah in full march upon Bengal! What natives could have used the apparatus provided? Neither Indian, nor Affghan, nor Persian: only Russia—who never dreamed of it.

* A weekly journal of the highest character has made in September last a serious mistake, evidently by oversight, on this head; predating the Count's work by 12 months, as its own pages show. Compare its statement at page 606, col. 2. with the "*Note by the translator*," page 589, col. 2. Our information at the time was supplied by an actual spectator of the siege of Herat: and all his communications, and our judgments, have been fully justified by events.—Ed. F. Q. R.

We think enough has been said to show that the accusations of folly, precipitancy, injustice, and inconsideration in the government of India, have not been in the least affected by the gallant conduct of the British army in Affghanistan. If this is the chosen garden of Eden, we trust that its present noble occupant will not be thrust out of it from his longing for the forbidden fruit; and should he, by any fortuitous felicity, approximate at any time to the tree of knowledge, it is to be hoped that the leaves, however

desirable for his friends at home, may not form a ledger, or more properly a waste-book, of his expenses for the defence, as well as for the acquisition of the new territory.

The policy that England has been so sagely pursuing of late years in the East, is now producing returns such as might be expected from the sagacity of those new adventurers in the art of government. The Anglo-Indian administration has of late years, with characteristic honour and honesty, contrived to render the opium-trade, with all its iniquities, a source of support to the state,* and for this object have given it such direct encouragement as to make itself an absolute patron and partner in the crime and the profits. This source of revenue has been absolutely recognized by Parliament also at home; and when this nefarious violation of the laws of man and God was terminated by the resolution of the Chinese government, the instruments were left to suffer the loss they have deservedly incurred; but the Whig panders to those horrible, the most horrible, passions that degrade creation, play the fox as of old, and clear the wall at the goat's expense.

So petty rogues submit to fate.

But the question is no longer a matter of profit and loss; it is a reckoning of blood; and the slaughter of hundreds may, and probably must, atone for the gross blindness and shameful negligence of the British government. The India Company's trade was terminated; and though it was obvious to any but ministerial eyes that with the removal of a systematic and reserved form of mercantile intercourse many irregularities must ensue from the novices let loose into the China trade, no really effective, careful measure was ever devised to substitute the past restriction; the beautiful theory of a free trade was to be adopted, and China would imitate what Europe had spurned; China, the unchanging of every age! What signified the future to a ministry who held their seats by the day, and worked by the piece? Precaution would have been a clear tempting of Providence on the part of that pious man who has suffered Buenos Ayres, and Chili, and Mexico, and Turkey, and Egypt, and Russia, and Prussia, and France, and China, to do their will at their own pleasure, and leisure—while he has had his. The externals of policy he sagely considered irrelevant, and confined his attention solely to home.

* See a concise and valuable article on the Opium Trade in the present No. of the *Oriental Herald*.

"Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,*
Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro;
Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber;
Multi illum pueri, multæ optavêre puellæ."

For the alleged insults, injuries, and degradations inflicted on British character and interests, if such they be, the British Parliament is bound to require explanation. The opium sufferers are turned off unceremoniously; and Britain must, we suppose, lose all the money incurred by our glorious successes over a miserable handful of frightened and powerless, though brave Ghaznevites and Affghans.

But how are we to prevent this new war with China? The moral force of a few vessels might have saved much, if not all, of recent outrages; but that very minister of the admiralty whose partizans charge neglect on the former English ministry, because, at a time when English energies were taxed to the utmost, and upwards of six hundred vessels were on service in every quarter of the globe, some could not be spared for the service of Spain—and this during an unexampled war—while a host of Whigs, with six vessels in active service, threw Turkey into the arms of Russia, because England could not spare another ship—this very minister, in peace, with not a tenth part of the above-mentioned force required, (as it is stated at least,) has left half Europe, all America, and China, to shift for themselves, without protection even from a single frigate! Of such imbecility what can be the result? And will Britain trust him as her minister of marine for another hour?

A war with China is not a jest; a fleet may cut off supplies and injure trade to a certain extent—not beyond it. The miserable junk-men and floating population of that country are outcasts by its laws. Their wrongs are merely their own: but if we are to make a serious impression on the Chinese government, it must be on land also: and how is this to be effected? Armies of some hundred thousand men each, though vanquishable in pitched battles, are troublesome by their very numbers, and their passive courage—their constancy in defeat. If we trade with the Chinese under their existing laws, what security is there that homicide may not again occur? If we desire to alter this, how is it to be done? Are we to join

* For the unlearned reader's gratification we endeavour to imitate the original of Catullus.

"So blooms in sheltered glades the unconscious Flower;
Reared mid soft airs, hot sun, and cooling shower;
Unharm'd by Shares; to vulgar Herds unknown;
Whom boys admire; and Maids have made their own."

the dethroned dynasty, with its millions of followers, and drive the Tatar usurpers from Peking!

The mischiefs of neglect already committed externally are known. A more serious point we now bring under consideration. It has been public and notorious, that experiments of a most formidable character, as to projectiles, have been made; that in England this has gone so far as to necessitate a great change in our defensive system. This has been confessed by those best calculated to judge; has been examined into scientifically, by official order, years ago. Certificates, couched in terms it would be difficult to surpass, have declared that the invention is far beyond any effort of imagination; that the existence of Great Britain depends on it; that the fate of the navy must go with it wherever it is carried by the inventor; royal sanction has been given; the royal signature pledged, and for years, to the individual. Every thing that words could promise, or incredulity require, has been exacted—and every proof demanded has been given, till doubt was converted into admiring consternation.

Why is this power, against which all resistance, even that of the strongest fortifications, is impossible, still unobtained for the country?

Is it to be allowed to go to other nations, for them to turn it at once against a country they envy, and would fain destroy? Where lies the obstruction then? Is it really in that one sole quarter where inactivity and imbecility have been so often, and so justly, charged of late? The Whigs boast of economy; and the saving consequent on adopting this invention is admitted to amount to millions; enough to pension off all those who might suffer by the change, and still produce a vast diminution of expenditure to the nation, as well as secure it against all contingencies for the future. Why then is all this thrown aside? Is it that the services of the present head of the Admiralty are so valuable, that even millions, annually saved, would not console the nation for his single loss!

CRITICAL SKETCHES.

ART. IX.—*Encyclopédie des échecs, ou résumé comparatif en tableaux synoptiques des meilleurs ouvrages écrits sur ce jeu par les auteurs français et étrangers, tant anciens que modernes, mis à l'usage de toutes les nations par le langage universel des chiffres.* Par M. Alexandre. Paris and London.

THIS, certainly, even as far as extent is concerned, is the largest, best, and completest work on that noble and ancient game. M. Alexandre's idea cannot be called other than original. He has extracted, by ten years of labour, the systems of the most celebrated players, and now lays them, in a synoptical form, before the student. Such is the plan of the work, and its practical utility is so tangible that we need not dilate on it farther: the labour of these crowded tables to the author is almost incalculable; and yet the book, with its long rows of numbers, letters, and signs, apparently so complicated, will not take half an hour to unriddle and understand completely. The author, moreover, has given an introductory game, in which this array of signs is thoroughly explained. The work is indispensable to every amateur of this pleasing science; and we have but to add, that among the subscribers to it are the most illustrious names of both France and England.

ART. X.—*Picturesque Architecture of Paris.* Folio. Boys, London.

THIS singularly beautiful work exhibits a series of plates, combining all the delicacy and effect of colours with the cheapness of lithographic impressions. The art is novel, and appears, at one step, to have reached a very high degree of perfection. The exactitude, finish, and beauty of the plates are exquisite, and invaluable to the amateur's portfolio.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

CHINA.

We have, in a previous Number, referred to the similarity existing between the Chinese Drama and our modern Italian Opera. A passage we met with in "Laou-Seng-Urh, or An Heir in his Old Age," translated from a Chinese Drama, confirms this view :—

"In comedy the dialogue is carried on in the common colloquial language, but in the higher order of historical and tragical plays the tone of voice is elevated considerably above its natural pitch, and continued throughout in a kind of whining monotony, having some resemblance to, but wanting the modulation and cadences of, the recitative in the Italian Opera ; as in this, too, the sentiments of grief, joy, love, hatred, revenge, &c., are, in the Chinese dramas, usually thrown into lyric poetry, and sung in soft or boisterous airs, according to the sentiment expressed and the situation of the actor : they are also accompanied with loud music, the performers being placed at the back part of the stage.*

"Whatever may be the merits or defects of the Chinese Drama, it is unquestionably *their own invention*. The only nation from whence they could have borrowed any thing is that of Hindostan, from whence they imported the religion of Budh."

There are pieces, the songs of which are difficult to be understood, especially by Europeans, because they are full of allusions to things unknown to us, and of figures of speech which we have much ado to comprehend ; for the Chinese have their poetry as we have ours. The airs or tunes belonging to the songs are but few ; and in the printed copies to every song the tune is prefixed. These songs are printed in large characters,

to distinguish them from the other parts of the dialogue.

An account of a Chinese Dance will prove that this antediluvian nation held some very philosophical notions of the character of certain instruments :—

"The Dance of *Ou-ouang*, a native of one of the northern provinces of the empire.

"The dancers advanced from the north. Scarce did they commence a few steps, before, on a sudden changing the order in which they came, they threw themselves into the figure of combatants, expressing, by their attitudes, gestures, and evolutions, an order of battle, and the fate of the conquerors and conquered. In this they represented *Ou-ouang*, who gave battle to *Tcheou-ouang*, defeated him, and remained master of the empire, by extinguishing for ever the dynasty of the *Changs*. Long before the dance, and to prepare the spectators for the music, the drum was beat, by way of *alert*, in the fear that they might, at the bottom of their hearts, be taken up with some sentiment contrary to that with which it was proposed to inspire them ; and it was by the sound of the drum that they were insensibly disposed to take the proper impressions. At the beginning of the dance there were certain passionate gestures, used with the hands and feet. This was particularly designed to divest the spectators of the compassion they might have for the sad fate of *Tcheou-ouang*."

Compare this with the description in Burney (vol. i. p. 465) of the Roman dance *Salii*,* established by Numa. The only difference seems to be, that the Chinese dancers were spared the exertion of singing during the dance ; while the Roman saltatores, in dancing, *sang* certain hymns, after the manner of their country. Thaletes the poet, musician of Crete, (according to the Scholiast on Pindar,) was the first who composed

* Their notions of the *secondary* importance of accompaniment were therefore much more correct and philosophical than ours. Surely it will strike any unprejudiced person, that theatrical delusion is often marred by the sight and obtruding noise of an unequal or ill-matched orchestra. In solo accompaniments the effect is astonishingly improved when the player is not seen.

* The *Salii* were originally twelve in number ; their chief was called *Præ-Sul*, which serves to show that they were properly *Sul-ii*, priests of Sol. Their officer was called *Vates*, a musician, and they were in reality all *Bards*.

the *Hyporchemes*, for the armed or military dance ; but the dance itself, as we see by the foregoing account, was an invention of the Chinese.

HINDOSTAN.—The impressive title of one of the most ancient Sanscrit treatises on music is “The Sea of Passions.” Each note in the scale of their music is under the protection of a divinity.

Hindu Scale.

Sa . Shadja (pronounced Sarja, or Kharja.)
 Ri . Risabha (pronounced Rikhabh.)
 Ga . Gandhara.
 Ma . Madhyama.
 Pa . Panchana.
 Dha Dhaivata.
 Ni . Nishada (pronounced Nikhad.)

The complete scale *Swaragrāma*, or assemblage of notes, is likewise a Septac or Heptachord of seven notes. The Hindus place the seven notes under the protection of seven Adhishthātri Dévatās, or superintending deities, as follow :—

Shadja . . .	under the protection of Agni.
Risabha . . .	Bramha.
Gandhara . . .	Sarasvatī.
Madhyama . . .	Mahādeva.
Panchana . . .	Sri or Lacshim.
Dhaivata . . .	Ganesa.
Nishada . . .	Surya.

Of these notes there are four descriptions : 1st, the *Bādi*, which is the Ansa or key-note, and is described as the Raja on whom all the rest depend ; 2d, is *Sambadi*, which is considered as the Mantin, or principal ministers of the Raja ; 3d, *Anubadi*, described as subjects attached to their lord.

The Indian Vedas are never read, but sung or chanted.

The Minnesängers of Germany, the Troubadours of Provence, and the Improvisatori of Italy, are nothing but imitators of the poor Penang boatmen, who for ages practised the same extempore effusions. See Wilkinson’s “Sketches of Chinese,” p. 90 :—“The manners of the inhabitants are very simple and harmless. Upon entering one of their boats you immediately become a subject for their panegyric and eulogium, and every part of your dress is severally described and sung in chorus by the sable songsters, in their savage *polacca* ; which, although possessing more discord than harmony, has a kind of melancholic dissonancy, not altogether displeasing to the ear.”

TURKEY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.

CONSTANTINOPLE.—The young sultan has

not alone forbidden wine throughout his dominions, but even music ! But the taste for the magic god has, within the last two years, spread so rapidly throughout Turkey, that the sultan’s command has gone forth unheeded ; and the Turks will assuredly never abolish music, however they may discountenance wine.

CORFU.—During the spring and early part of the summer, Meyerbeer’s ‘Crocato’ has had a long run ; Rossini’s ‘Semiramide’ and his ‘Barbière di Seviglia’ have also enjoyed a share of the public approbation. Donizetti’s ‘Lucia di Lammermoor’ was brought out expressly for our ‘prima donna,’ M. Therese Menghini ; in which, and in ‘Crocato’ particularly, she enraptured the audiences who flocked nightly to hear her enchanting voice ; but she is now lost to the world—she died in August, deeply and sincerely regretted by every lover of music.

ALGIERS.—A series of popular operas have been produced here, under the superintendence of Gerli, the bass singer. They commenced with Ricci’s ‘Esposi, Cenerentola,’ and Donizetti’s ‘Torquato Tasso’ ; but these did not succeed for want of an efficient ‘prima donna.’ Mdlle G. Leva was then sent for from Milan, and triumphantly succeeded in Donizetti’s ‘Lucia di Lammermoor’ and in Bellini’s ‘Norma.’ Gerli then produced, for the first time, his new opera, entitled ‘Il Sogno Punitore,’ which fully succeeded until the close of the season.

Some little disaffection arose among the French party, who desired that French and Italian operas should be played alternately ; but it was at length decided by the committee that the Italian opera should be produced alternately with French vaudevilles. The Buffa-Mantegazza has obtained a six years’ licence from the French government in Algiers, with the aid of 12,000 francs, and the sole privilege of producing operas and plays ; and further, that all persons opening other theatres in Algiers are to pay him one-fifth of their proceeds. Under these auspices he has gone to Italy, and is shortly expected from Milan, bringing some of the most talented singers with him.

ODESSA.—The only music in full favour here is the Italian. The musical direction of the opera is under the leadership of F. Grini, from Florence ; the first violin is E. Boussier, from Leghorn, and the first violoncello Strinasacchi. The operatic singers are principally from Milan : Maria Frisch is the ‘prima donna ;’ she gained great applause in ‘Anna Bolena.’ ‘Catterina di Guisa’ was produced here the beginning of October, for the first time, and found great favour : the other favourites are ‘Son-

nambula,' 'Otello,' and 'Torquato Tasso.'

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG.—A. Adam has arrived at this city, and is engaged in the production of a new opera composed by himself, which will speedily be produced at the Royal Opera House. De Beriot, accompanied by Benedict, is daily expected; they gave a concert at Stuttgart, which was very fully attended. Taglioni appeared in a ballet entitled 'L'Ombre,' in which she dances on a lake, and then vanishes. The Emperor sent her a handsome ornament studded with diamonds and turquoises.

The Russian Theatre witnessed the appearance of singular talents in the person of Temenoff, who, having had no prototype, has unhappily left no successor. The credit of the Russian Theatre at St. Petersburg is materially owing to the assiduity of the distinguished dramatic writer Prince Schachofskoj. A collection of four thousand popular Russian songs by Kirijewski will shortly be published.

In the empress's establishment for the education of noblemen's and other children, they cultivate music. "On entering the dining-hall we found all the nobles assembled. They immediately struck up the 'Hymn of Grace,' their numerous and fine voices producing a magic and divine effect.

"The national concert has its peculiar instruments, in shape precisely like a wooden spoon, the upper part ornamented with bells, similar to a child's coral: two of them are held in each hand, and played precisely like castanets, and are accompanied by violins and clarionets. The vocal music is most extraordinary, ringing the changes with inconceivable rapidity, sometimes shrill, then low and plaintive, succeeded by boisterous sounds, absolutely deafening. The spoon or castanet performer was supposed to be recounting to his companions his mode of endeavouring to soften an unkind and obdurate mistress; the words were said to be strong and persuasive, partaking alternately of hope and despair; and they were accompanied with such gestures as made the whole intelligible to us."—Captain G. Jones's 'Travels in Norway, Russia,' &c., 1827, vol. ii. p. 72.

"The musical instruments of the Russians enumerated and described by Guthrie are,—1st, 'The Rojock,' a rude species of 'Chalumeau' or mountain horn: it seems to be nearly the same as the shepherd's pastoral pipe of Theocritus. 2d, 'The Dudka,' a primitive kind of flute, similar to the one

mentioned by Horace: 'Tibia non ut nunc aurichalcho vincta tubæque Emula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco Adspirare adesse choris erat utilis.' &c. 3d, 'The Gelaika or Sipooka' is a species of double flute, very similar to that of the Greeks. 4th, 'The Swirelka,' a Syrin or Pan's pipes. 5th, 'The Rog,' a species of horn or Corno de Caccia. 6th, 'The Pilai,' a 'cornmuse' or bagpipe, undoubtedly wearing the primitive form of that instrument of 'rude melody.' 7th, 'The Balaika, a most ancient species of Russian guitar, of two strings. This well-known instrument to the ancient and modern Greeks was found sculptured on an Egyptian obelisk, supposed to be the work of Sesostris (it was thrown down in 1527, when the Duke of Bourbon took Rome), and lies now in the Campus Martius. The exact similarity between this old Egyptian instrument and the Balaika will enable us to judge in some degree of the very great antiquity of the primitive species of Cythera. 8th, 'The Goudok,' the most antique kind of violin, and most probably, from its construction, the parent of the modern instrument of that name. 9th, 'The Gousli, or horizontal harp, not unlike in shape to what we now call the dulcimer. 10th, 'The Loschki' seems to be a modification of the ancient 'Sistrum.'"

ETRUSCAN MUSIC.—With respect to Etruscan music, whoever regards the great number of instruments represented in the fine collection of antiquities published under the patronage of Sir William Hamilton, as well as those at Rome by Passerio, must be convinced that the ancient inhabitants of Etruria were extremely attached to music. They were the inventors of the 'Versus Fescennini,' so called by being first used by the people of 'Fescennia.' Every species of musical instrument that is to be found in the remains of Greek sculpture is delineated on the vases of these collections, though the antiquity of them is imagined to be much higher than the general use of the instruments represented upon them was, even in Greece.—See Burney, vol. i. p. 471.

Holy women served in the temple, and an unmarried girl, called 'Canephoros,' or basket-bearer, began the sacrifice, besides chorusses of virgins, who hymned the goddess in songs of their country. Strabo, 'De Bello Punico,' says in express terms that the public music, especially such as was used in sacrifices, came from Etruria to the Romans.—See also Livy, lib. 39.

Godfrey Higgins, in his Anacalypsis, p. 373, states it as the belief of Niebuhr that the Etruscans once used a symbolical writing, and afterwards transcribed their narratives

in more modern characters. Le Comte L'Etoile has in his possession a number of ancient MSS. of Etruscan music, as it is said; if they are genuine, they are the rarest musical curiosities extant.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

SEVILLE.—But two operas seem to have fully succeeded of all that have been produced during the summer and autumn, and those were Donizetti's 'Torquato Tasso' and 'I Puritani.'

LISBON.—Operatic performances are at a low ebb. The only successful opera of late has been Herold's 'Zampa,' which was brought out with great pomp and splendour in the decorations.

OPORTO.—M. Ribas, the Flutist, from London, who is a native of Portugal, lately gave a concert at the Theatre there, which was extremely well attended. He is a deserving man and clever artist.

HOLLAND.

The Dutch Society for the Improvement and Diffusion of Music has published an important and elaborate work, from the pen of J. Fenny, consisting of a grand "Sinfonie," which is dedicated to Cherubini, and has been so highly spoken of that the Society have agreed to bear the whole expense of publication.

LA HAGUE.—Döhler's concert, which he gave a short time ago, was crowded with his admirers.

POLAND.

WARSAW.—There appears to be no musician of eminence residing in Poland, if we except Ernemann; nor have we had any of late years, for Chopin and Wolf soon left their native country, and the late Prince Radzivil cannot be taken into account, from his long separation and residence in foreign countries. The latest artists of note in Warsaw are Elsner, Kurpinski, and Felix Dobrzinski: the latter is preparing a grand opera for the stage. At the theatres there is nothing produced but what is considered as fashionable at Paris; 'Der Freyschutz, Preciosa, Cenerentola, Masaniello, and Robert le Diable' being the only favourites. In the concerts there is equally a total absence of Polish music, and but little German. For some years no "Sinfonie" has been produced, the entertainments consisting almost entirely of French and Italian overtures.

GERMANY.

It is currently reported that Seidelmann,

the actor, will visit London shortly with a German company.

VIENNA.—A new comic opera has lately been produced by Dessauw, entitled 'A Visit to St. Cyr,' and met with great applause; comic operas from German musicians being considered here a great novelty.

On the 7th and 10th of November, Mendelssohn's oratorio of 'Paul' was performed in grand style by 1027 vocal and instrumental performers. This vast orchestra was composed of the following chorus: sopranos, 270; altos, 160; tenors, 160; basses, 160; and Instrumental:—59 first violins, 59 second violins, 48 violas, 41 violoncellos, 25 double basses, 12 flutes, 12 oboes, 12 clarionets, 12 flageolets, 2 double flageolets, 3 ophicleides, 12 horns, 8 trumpets, 9 trombones, and 4 kettle-drums. His majesty the emperor and all the court honoured the performance with their presence. The composer, Mendelssohn, was invited to Vienna to direct himself; but some private arrangements would not admit of his absence from Leipzig.

Liszt, De Beriot, and the tenor Poggi are here. Dreischoek, the rival of Thalberg, is leaving for Paris.

The Society of Friends of Music, in the Austrian States, lately performed Mendelssohn's Oratorio of St. Paul; the programme for the other two days' performances consisted of Cherubini's Requiem, and Spohr's "Der Heiland's Letzte Stunden" ("Our Saviour's Last Hours"), which has only been performed at Cassel, Dresden and Norwich.

BERLIN, December.—Herr Müller, from Brunswick, has given several concerts in this town, in conjunction with the celebrated pianiste, Clara Shleek. The former has much merit as a violin-player; the latter received universal applause in her execution of some of the most difficult of Thalberg's pieces. M. Rume, a Belgian violinist, and director of the Conservatoire at Liège, has also been staying here, and intends giving one or two concerts.

A new play, in five acts, was brought out here on the 20th of November, entitled Albuno und Wecksel. It is evidently written with a reference to the present state of society, but was not universally applauded. The author is as yet unknown.

Miss (not Fraulieu) Robena Anna Laidlaw, pianiste to the Queen of Hanover, is going to Vienna, having created a great sensation at Berlin and Frankfort.

The Royal School of Music in this city, founded in 1834, gave a concert lately, performed by the pupils. The celebrated mass by Palestrina known by the name of the

"Missa Papæ Marcelli," the choruses in Naumann's Oratorio of "David," some pieces from "Alceste," by Lulli, Bach's Duet for two piano-fortes, and some pieces from Mozart's "Idomeneo," were performed with great effect. Haumann, the violinist, is studying here.

Spontinus Vestalin was played at the opera for the hundredth time on the 6th of October.

LEIPZIG, December.—Madame Camille Pleyel gave three concerts here: her talents as a pianiste are highly spoken of. At Dresden she was likewise greatly applauded. She is now on her road to Vienna.

The Subscription Concerts, under the judicious management of two such celebrated musicians as Mendelssohn and David, maintain their justly acquired celebrity. Madlle Murti from Rusnuf, and Fraulin Schloss from Dusseldorf, are the prominent vocal performers during the present season.

Great progress has been made in this country in the manufacture of piano-fortes. Breitkopf and Härtel of this town, following the plan of Broadwood & Co., and Schambach & Merhaut, those of Collard & Collard, they are reported by competent judges to be equal to the English, which cost £45, and can be purchased for about twenty-five guineas. Mendelssohn has composed a new grand psalm, which will shortly be produced.

FRANKFORT.—A collection of posthumous pieces of vocal music, entitled "Joseph Gersbachs Liedernachlass," has just been published here. They are short choral songs, or sacred melodies, chiefly in 4, 5, and 6 parts. The best are No. 48, "Abendlied," for six sopranos, No. 77, "Sehnsucht nach dem Tode"—the others are so short and devoid of interest as not by any means to sustain the character that this class of German part songs generally maintains. But these "sweepings of the study" are, as in the case of Mozart's "Zaïde," the most unfair tests of any composer's ability.

The pianist Rosenhain has presented the Mozart Memorial Committee, at Frankfort, with an excellent piano-forte composition, which will shortly be published at Leipzig.

MUNICH.—Mozart's celebrated opera of "Don Juan" was recently produced at the King's Theatre, with the original finale to the second act; the theatre was unusually crowded, and the opera passed off with enthusiastic applause. Everywhere this opera is an evergreen when well got up.

Ole Bull has been here and given six concerts; from hence he proceeded to Stuttgart and Paris.

WEIMAR.—Young Walter von Goethe,

the grandson of the great genius of that name, who has studied music under Mendelssohn and C. Loewe, has composed a new opera. The libretto is from a poem by Theodore Körner, and some of the scenes are represented as showing a great field of melody. It will be produced almost immediately at our theatre. He has also another opera in a state of forwardness, which will be probably brought out at Vienna.

December.—Grillpaizer's comedy, *Weh dem der Leigt*, is more remarkable for its pure poetical diction than for the humour and comic scenes which we expected to find in it.

A new opera entitled *Mitternacht*, composed by Chelard, Maitre-de-Chapelle at Munich, was performed here lately: it has many fine passages, but is a little too noisy.

Anselmo Lancia, an opera in one act, after the poem by Theodore Körner, was produced here by Walter von Goethe, grandson of the poet. The music hardly satisfied the expectations of an indulgent public.

DRESDEN.—The Chevalier Morlacchi is occupied upon a new opera for the theatre at Venice. M. Chelard's "Macbeth" is in rehearsal at our theatre under the composer's direction.

STUTTGARD.—The long expected "Life of Beethoven," by A. Schindler, will be published by Cotta next Easter, and will form one volume, consisting of twenty-four sheets.

Benedict's new opera, "Gomez," has been performed with success.

HANOVER.—Prince George, the crown prince of Hanover, has written a musical pamphlet, entitled "Ideen Betrachtungen über die Eigenschaften der Musik." It has been just published by Helwing of Hanover.

POTSDAM.—But few operas are produced at the theatres in this town, ballets and comedies being the chief productions. A treat was offered recently to the musical inhabitants by the production of Auber's "Black Domino" at the King's Theatre, which met with such rapturous applause that it is to be followed by a series of Italian and French operas.

OFFENBACH.—The posthumous opera of Mozart's "Zaïde" has been published. The curiosity of all musical people having been strongly excited to know whether this composition, appearing so long after the composer's decease, be genuine, (M. André says it was composed in the year 1770,) has induced us to peruse it with all the interest that a long-cherished admiration of this great musician could excite. But we regret to say, the feeling of bitter disappointment that assailed us after closing the piano-forte

score was very great. There is not one single passage in the whole opera that can be of the slightest benefit to Mozart's reputation; and believing, as we do, the history of its production as related in the Preface, we must say that no advantage can accrue to any person, imbued with the true musical feeling, in being forced to observe how *little* great composers can sometimes become, when they are set to work upon an inefficient and trite story. It appears that Mozart undertook 'Zaïde' (whose libretto is similar to, but not so effective as, 'The Seraglio'), but left it unfinished for the last-named opera. By 'Zaïde' lying so long unnoticed among his papers, it is evident the composer very wisely thought nothing of it excepting as a mere exercise for his pen. The musical phrases throughout are quite common-place; there is no approach to anything like his fine style, excepting in the song by Soliman beginning 'Der Stolz leu,' which reminds us of the magnificent tenor song in 'Idomeneo,' 'Fuor del mar;' but it is a mere shadow of that fine composition. The overture is effective, and so is the finale; but these, we believe, were not in the original MS. Altogether we could not but think of the sensible advice given to a rising composer by an old and clever writer:—'All those pieces you write merely for exercise, and do not think highly of, for your reputation's sake tear them up, and put them into the fire with your own hands.' 'Zaïde' should have been Mozart's holocaust.

BRUENN.—De Beriot has given a concert here, which was well attended.

PESTH.—Such was the excitement which Jenny Lutzer's performance in Halevy's 'Jewess' occasioned, that the people, after the performance, took the horses from the carriage and drew her to her hotel. The enthusiasm was equally great on her departure, the following day, for Presburg, her native town.

HALLE.—Seidelmann, the famous tragedian, has been performing in the characters of Cromwell, Mephistopheles, &c., and has given universal satisfaction.

BONN.—We lay before our readers a letter which M. Liszt has just sent to the committee for Beethoven's monument; to the propositions of which they immediately consented:—

'Gentlemen,—As the subscription for Beethoven's Monument goes on but slowly, and consequently the execution of it is deferred to an indefinite period, I have the honour to make you a proposal, which I hope will suit you. I offer to make up the sum necessary for the erection of a monument to Beethoven, and only ask the privi-

lege of appointing the artist to whom to confide this work. It is M. Bartolini, of Florence, whose works are well known to you, and whom Italy honours as her greatest statuary. In an interview which I had with him on the subject, he assured me that the monument in marble (the cost of which would be from 50,000 to 60,000 francs) might be finished in two years, and that he was quite ready to set about the work immediately.

'Signed.

F. LISZT.'

The amount already subscribed is not more, we believe, than three-fourths of the amount; so that M. Liszt's share will not be a trifling one that he offers with such generous feeling to this excellent purpose.

ITALY.

ROME.—The list of those elected as honorary members, at the last sitting of the academy of the Holy Cecilia, contains, among others, the following distinguished names—

Honorary composers—Louis Spohr, L. Cherubini, K. Aiblinger, Count M. Carafa, Count S. Neukomm, G. de Conti Onslow, F. Morlacchi, G. Donizetti, S. Mercadante, P. Auber, H. M. Berton, Charles A. Adam, L. Confidati, C. Zanotti, C. G. Rocca, L. Bartolotti, G. Cecchini, and R. Benedetoni.

Instrumental composers and professors of the piano—K. Czerny, J. P. Pixis, T. Labarre, S. Thalberg, and F. Liszt, who has so handsomely offered to make up the deficit in the funds for the Beethoven Memorial at Bonn.

Honorary singers—Mary Hanbury, an English lady, Giuditta Pasta and Giuditta and Giulia Grisi.

17th Oct.—The Christinos performed last week in their church a solemn mass to celebrate the return of peace. They were not allowed to celebrate by a 'Te Deum' the victory gained over Don Carlos.

FLORENCE.—The Musical Festival which has just been held at the Palazzo Vecchio is described as exceeding any festival ever held in Italy. The performances consisted of Haydn's 'Creation,' which was given by 563 performers, to an audience of upwards of 4000 persons. The choir consisted of 360, of which were 60 sopranos, 90 tenors, 40 contraltos, and 120 bass voices, and 50 masters. The orchestra contained 70 1st violins, 20 2d violins, 16 violoncellos, 18 double basses, 8 flutes, 6 oboes, 10 clarionets, 14 bassoons, 14 horns, 8 trumpets, 9 large trumpets.

MILAN.—Mrs. Alfred Shaw has made a successful *début* at the Theatre La Scala in

an opera by Verdi, a new writer. She certainly has one of the finest contralto voices in Europe, with the requisite strength of constitution to bear the wear and tear of public singing. There is little doubt she will have a successful career.

There is an able article on the *Music of Italy* in the seventh number of 'The European,' a new weekly paper, taken from an article in the 'Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung,' evidently emanating from a person of sound musical knowledge and good taste. The following remarks may equally apply to the French as to the Italian modern school of operatic writing: 'Every now and then compositions make their appearance, devoid of the least glimmering of genius, written without forethought, crammed with reminiscences, beset with nonsense, overloaded with dull instrumentation, and, by way of crowning grace, performed by young *artistes*, who, to the *taught* errors of the *maestro*, add their own blunders of intonation.' These things must go on so, until men of money, of sense, and firmness, undertake the onerous situation of managers, and it may well be asked who with such qualifications would venture upon this sea of troubles?

Louisa Crell, of Vienna, who is at present a dancer at the Milan Opera, bids fair to become a rival to Taglioni and the Elslers.

Donizetti is now composing six operas, two for the Grand Opera, two for the Opera Comique, and two for the Théâtre de la Renaissance at Paris. These six productions will be finished in the course of a year, and the half are already nearly so.

VENICE.—Rossini is to winter here. There is an idea that he will write an operetta in the Venetian dialect; this would be a novelty, and we have often been surprised that it has never been attempted by any of our first-rate composers. Any one who has read those comedies of *Goldoni*, and others in that racy and admirable *lingua provinciale* will acknowledge its complete fitness for the Opera Buffa.

ROSSINI, a few days before he left Barba-jà's villa, situated near Naples, writes thus to a friend, in reply to the report that he was composing a new opera, entitled 'Giovanno di Monferrato,' "io ho finito" (I have finished,) and further adds, "for whom shall I compose, seeing you have *no singers*?" This corroborates what Laporte stated in the first opera bills of last season.

TRIESTE.—The *teatro grande* opened about the middle of September, with Donizetti's 'Lucia di Lammermoor,' Mlle. Ungher sustaining the principal character: Two

new operas are in preparation, one composed by T. Lickl, the other by Otto O. Nicolay, both of whom are Germans.

FRANCE.

PARIS.—A new opera, entitled 'La Jacquerie,' composed by a young writer named Mainzer, was represented lately at the Théâtre de la Renaissance with success.

M. Berlioz's new symphony, founded upon the tragedy of 'Romeo and Juliet,' interspersed with vocal solos, chorusses, and prologues, is spoken of in the highest terms by the 'Revue et Gazette Musicale,' (a musical periodical published twice a week in Paris, conducted by a committee of professors.) The *scherzo* movement in particular, which describes the dream with Queen Mab, has a curious and original effect. At the Opera Comique, an opera, or operetta, in one act, entitled 'La Symphonie,' composed by M. Clappison, introduced Marie, the new tenor. 'Les Travestissemens,' another opera, in one act, the music by M. Grisar, has appeared at the same theatre, but there is nothing remarkable in it. French composers are springing up hourly like mushrooms, but the *previous study* to render themselves masters of their art appears not to be their forte. M. Ruolz has produced his new opera, in three acts, 'La Vendetta.' The chorus of Voltigeurs is effective, so is the prayer and chorus 'Quels veux.'

A Mass in German, by the late Carl Maria Von Weber, is reviewed in the Gazette Musicale; we have not yet seen, but can have very little doubt of what description of variety, imaginative melody, and fine expression of the words; this favourite exercise of all the great writers would exhibit, when touched by the original pen of such an inspired composer as Weber proved himself to be in every department of his art.

'Etudes sur le Texte des Psaumes,' 4 vols. 8vo. Par M. Nolhac. Paris, 1839.—The object of this work is chiefly to show the true method of ascertaining the sense of many parts of the Psalms, by examining the manner in which they were sung in the Temple. This is treated in a preliminary Discourse, noticing the union of music, poetry, and dancing. Numerous philological and critical notes, displaying much learning and research, contribute to render this a most valuable work to the curious in ancient musical studies.

'Hymnes sacrées.' Par M. Tarquety. Music by Berlioz. 8vo. Paris, 1839.—There is nothing particularly interesting in this work, save the musical portion by M. Berlioz. He is a musician evidently of an independent turn of mind, with great powers

of invention, seen even in these hymns; short as most of them are, still the master-hand cannot be concealed.

The music in Halevy's opera, 'Le Shérif,' is all extremely light; but pleasing.

A professor of physic of the college of St. Corbigny, in France, has invented a new double bass instrument, which is played like a violin with a bow, but the left hand works upon a set of keys, which brings out passages of such peculiar power and sweetness, with so much ease and facility as have never before been heard.

A. Thomas has composed a requiem, which is much praised for clearness and pure church music. Thomas is a pupil of Lesueur, who instructed Berlioz.

Theatrical Pieces in Paris.—During the month of November, at the twenty-five theatres open nightly, forty-two new pieces have been given, thus subdivided:—one comedy, one comic opera, nine melodramas, twenty-eight vaudevilles, burlettas, and comedy vaudevilles, and three pantomimes.

ARRAS.—The Philharmonic Society of Arras will perform at the festival of St. Cecilia a solemn mass, composed by M. A. Elwart, which was heard at Paris last Easter. We cannot too much applaud the zeal with which the Philharmonic Society pursue such serious musical studies, and we are glad to see that this is the second time that a sacred composition of M. Elwart has been performed at Arras on a like occasion.

ROUEN.—An opera in two acts, words by M. Bunot de Gurgy, the music by M. Elwart, is rehearsing at the theatre at Rouen. The committee of Rouen, who expect to succeed, spare no expense to render the piece in the scene of the 'Catalans' extremely brilliant. The principal characters will be supported by MM. Wermelen, Maillet, Boulard, and Mr. Felix Melotte.

ST. MALO.—The festival of St. Cecilia was celebrated with a mass composed by M. Nelet, which is highly spoken of as a scientific and beautiful composition.

GENEVA, 10th Oct.—M. Paganini, who has been staying at Geneva, his native town, for the last week, having arrived from Marseilles, had a severe nervous attack, which has decreased a little, but is still an object of anxiety to the numerous friends and admirers of this *great artist*.

PERIGUEUX.—The Municipal Council have just determined on a measure which ought to be cited and imitated. They have decided that six children of the choir of the Cathedral, belonging to the least wealthy families, shall be admitted gratis into the College. By these means they gain two points, since, besides the benefit of a certain

and complete education to the poor children, they contribute to spread amongst the pupils a taste for the study of vocal music, by making some of these young choristers monitors for their schoolfellows.

SWEDEN.

"Frithiof's Saga. A Legend of the North." By Esaias Tegnér, Bishop of Wexiö, in Sweden. Translated from the original Swedish, by G. Stevens, with Engravings, Musical Accompaniments, &c. Stockholm and London. 8vo. 1839.—This work, which ranks high as a literary curiosity (being an epic poem of great scope and variety of metre), is founded upon one of the most ancient of the Scandinavian legends, relating to the deeds of "Frithiof the Dauntless," a noble warrior, who lived previously to the close of the eighth century. This is the fourth *English* translation that has appeared, and is well executed. Some clever lithographic engravings, and twelve ballad portions of the cantos, set to music by Crusell of Stockholm and others, are additions that render this translation the most complete of any we have read. The spirit and nervous energy that distinguish the poetry of many of these are admirable; and when the great difficulties that lie in the way of *literal*, yet *easy-reading* translation, are considered, the translator deserves much commendation for his dexterity in steering so well between the two impediments.

The musical adaptations are extremely characteristic and well arranged; in style they resemble the German "Lieder." The "Viking-Code" (a sort of digest of the battle-breathing maxims of the northern freebooters) is a fine, though short, melody. 'Frithiof cometh to King Ring' is not unlike Mozart's 'Return'—The gale of dawn was breathing.' We were much pleased with the 'Old Christmas Carol' to canto 11; it is really what it pretends to be, a genuine ancient melody. Among the engravings we notice the Scandinavian trumpet and harp, the former has a double bend, and is a modification of the Hebrew trumpet or shawm. The harp is of curious construction, it is in fact a triangular dulcimer set up on the modern harp sounding board, and must have been played upon by the performer standing.* Some of the notes are interesting from the insight

* The sounding boards of these harps being made very large also serve the extraordinary purpose of secreting *young ladies*! for we learn from a note to page 141, that during a nuptial festivity, that "Smith" (a magician) "skipped up the steps to the platform, where the harp lay, and, placing the bride in the instrument, lowered it from the window by a cord, and escaped with her."

they give into the habits of these 'bold Norsemen;' for instance, the 'Host fight on the Ice,' 'The gifted Birds,' or spirits, in their shape, one of the thousand resemblances to Asiatic manners, and many others that will interest the lovers of ancient lore.

The Runes of Scandinavia and the ancient Greek letters were inscribed on triangular pieces or staves of beech wood; now the word 'Buch' signifies both a book and a beech-tree. Thus we see why the beeches of Dodona spoke, and gave out oracles. See p. 229, Godfrey Higgins's 'Anacalypses.'

AMERICA.

NEW YORK.—Beethoven's *Fidelio* was well performed lately here by Mrs. Martyn, Miss Poole, Giubelei, Manvers, and C. Martyn. If the Americans can relish such music as this they are indeed rapidly improving in taste, the cultivation of which will be rendered gradually more easy to them, while some of our best singers find ready patronage on the other side the Atlantic.

Theatricals are at a low ebb in this country. Every principal theatre is losing money. The Park and National here, the Chestnut at Philadelphia, and the Tremont at Boston. The Bowery and Walnut-street are making money, but no others. Miss Shirreff and Mr. Wilson are making immense sums by their concerts in this city; the operatic corps at the Park are losing money. Charles Kean drew poor houses in Philadelphia and the south; his last engagement at the National was more successful. Vandenhoff and his lovely daughter have created a tremendous sensation in Baltimore and this city, and will wherever they may play. Celeste will not play here again; she is residing with her husband at Philadelphia; as soon as she recovers she will sail for Europe, and go to Baden-Baden. Klishnig, the great ape, is much admired by the New York ladies, who think him almost equal to the apes of Broadway. Chapman is well liked at the Park. Miss Poole and Mrs. Martyn, Sig. Giubelei and Mr. Manvers, are gaining ground nightly in the estimation of their audience; but still the houses are not well attended any where. The new theatre for Mr. Wallack in this city will be commenced shortly; and there is a talk of building a new opera-house at Philadelphia on a plan superior to every other theatre in this country. It is proposed that the basement shall be of marble, fifteen feet high, divided into stores of twenty feet front by fifty feet deep, and that the upper walls shall be ornamented with Grecian windows richly dressed; the whole crowned with a

chaste cornice. The stores will be fire-proof, and the row will be the most elegant in the city.

LONDON.

COVENT GARDEN continues at the head of our theatres, and the exertions of the fair lessee have met with their reward in the crowded attendances which have filled the theatre during what has heretofore been considered the most unprofitable period of the season. In addition to the delightful play of Love, the Beggars' Opera has been most effectually revived, and it is highly satisfactory to learn that Madame has a new opera by J. M. Jolly in a forward state of preparation, as well as a new play from the pen of the veteran author Leigh Hunt.

The HAYMARKET continues its brilliant career to the close of an almost unprecedented season. The Sea Captain, whose name is Macready, the most efficient commander in the service, has met with a prosperous voyage, the results of which must prove highly satisfactory to Mr. Webster, the indefatigable lessee, who has judiciously secured the invaluable services of Mr. Macready and Mr. Power for the next season. The first English tragic actress, Miss Helen Faucit, has been compelled from ill health to quit the stage; and it is greatly to be feared it will be long ere she can safely return to its boards.

DRURY LANE has been but indifferently attended for some time past, although free admissions for the season have been hawked about at a much lower rate than those of the best minor houses. It has, however, brought before the public two valuable additions to opera, and a tragic actress, Miss Montague. Mr. Lacy is getting up one of Boillean's operas for his daughter. Mr. Loder's opera will shortly be produced. Of the singers Miss Lacy (Delcy is the assumed name) has all the requisites by nature to make a fine singer. Her appearance is prepossessing, her enunciation clear and distinct, and her voice powerful, well toned and of large compass. As Agatha, in Weber's *Der Freischütz*, she was loudly and deservedly applauded. Mrs. Alban Croft, whose voice is good, but somewhat unequal, made an effective Polly in the Beggars' Opera. Two new tragedies are in preparation; the first "Mary Stuart," is from the pen of Mr. James Haynes, the author of "Durazzo;" the other, by Miss Mitford, will shortly follow.

It is daily argued the English have no taste for music, and the thin attendances at the theatres on the representation of operas are adduced as evidence. The Sacred Harmonic Society and the Concerts à la Musard,

springing up in all the great provincial towns, are sufficient to refute the general argument, yet it is evident there is a defect somewhere, and unless the several new operas now in a forward state from Rodwell, Macfarren, Rooke, Bishop, and others, are cast upon some soul-stirring events, such as will carry the interest of the audience throughout the whole of the scenes, they will probably share the unenviable fate of Rooke's *Henrique*. And although it might be considered an infringement of the laws of opera, yet were the heavy recitatives replaced by dialogue, it is certain that it would not tend so much to weary a novelty loving English audience.

We are glad to perceive the announcement of a weekly musical periodical, entitled the *Musical Journal*, professing to be impartial, and free from party spirit.

SACRED HARMONIC SOCIETY. Exeter Hall.—A greater proof of the entire success of this society cannot be adduced than in recording the fact that this immense hall is insufficient to accommodate the thousands who flock here on every representation. Handel's Oratorios of Solomon and the Messiah have been produced with extraordinary effect; some of the chorusses were at times truly grand. It is somewhat singular that most of the finest musical performances, and certainly the most successful in this country, are those at the cheapest rate of admission, and as a further proof we will instance the

CONCERTS A LA MUSARD AT THE ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE.—These very deservedly successful concerts are nightly filled with a select and fashionable company, who loudly attest their approbation of the selection as well as the execution of the overtures, waltzes and quadrilles. The solo performances are a principal feature in the entertainments, particularly those by Harper, Willy, Richardson and Baumann. The selection from Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, arranged by the conductor Neri with obligato parts for corno inglese, bassoon and clarinet by Cook, Baumann and Lazarus, is a most effective and meritorious selection.

The Directors of the **PHILHARMONIC** have decided on altering the arrangements of the orchestra next season; the basses will be thrown back, and the violins will be brought more forward. This plan has been long adopted in France, and has been found to answer extremely well, for the instruments are better balanced—that is, the audience will hear more of the violins and wood instruments, and less of the ponderous basses and brass band. The new symphony by Spohr has been received, and will be shortly rehearsed, as well as Berlioz's new symphony to "*Romeo and Juliet*."

Among the musical publications lately

printed, there is a Treatise on "Singing in Parts; containing Progressive Instructions for the Simultaneous Practice of Two, Three, Four, Five, or a greater Number of Voices. By Thomas Cooke."—This is decidedly the best work we have yet seen on this branch of vocal art. The exercises commence from simple Intervals in Duetto, with some classical but short Duets from Mozart, Haydn, &c. Then follow Trios on the Intervals, succeeded by Webbe's "*O come o bella*," and three-part Rounds. Among the pieces in four parts are some excellent Rounds and Catches, by the author; '*Horsley Horncastle's*' Prize Catch, '*You've told a story*;' a few Canons, one by Sir G. Smart; some Madrigals, with a Hymn of Purcell's, and '*Et vitam*,' by Perti. The observations dispersed throughout the book are sensible and pertinent—if well studied, must materially assist those amateurs who are training as choral singers, of which there are not a few, if we may judge by the number of choral societies springing up everywhere.

'*Select Organ Pieces*.' Novello's Collection. Number 59.—The novelties in it are a chorus '*Et vitam venturi*,' by Horncastle; it is a Fugal piece of bold construction, well worked, and not too long; a chorus on the same subject by Lotti; and a pleasing *Andante* by C. Stokes. We have much pleasure in noticing two very beautiful Trios by a composer whose name has hitherto been unknown to us, a M. Curshman. The one commencing '*Addio*' is the most effective. The melody is charming, and well sustained throughout.

The "*Memoirs of Charles Matthews*," by Mrs. Matthews, is one of the most amusing biographies we remember to have read; but the writer has one besetting sin, which displays itself in almost every page—that of judging all characters by her own standard of perfection. Thus Mr. George Robins is the acme of perfection; nay, more, he is represented as the most celebrated man in Europe. This would be well did the writer but avoid the other extreme; for it is indeed with pain we observe the necessity which occasioned the publication of "*Forgotten Facts in the Memoirs of Mr. Charles Matthews*," by S. J. Arnold, Esq.

Mr. Arnold, who has deservedly earned a reputation unequalled as a theatrical manager (if we except Mr. Macready,) and whose exertions in the cause of English operatic music during a long career, will ever merit the thanks of this country, has been called on to refute one of the grossest misrepresentations that have ever been palmed on the public. Mr. Arnold says, and to this the world will bear witness:—

"Circumstances, it appears, prevented

my young friend Charles from fulfilling his intention (of writing the memoirs of his father;) and this I deeply regret, since the task has fallen into the hands of one who has, under some strange delusion, fallen into the great moral error of substituting fiction and misrepresentation for truth, and by strange distortion converted a most liberal and unprecedented engagement into an act of imposition, and even deep designing fraud. * * * And this is the return to a man whom your husband, during his life, acknowledged as one 'who was ordained to advance his fortune.'"

"The manner of dividing in Chanting the Words of the Psalms as used in some of the Churches." By Martin H. Hodges. 4to. This printed sheet is intended to apply a remedy to the really *irremediable* defects in chanting, arising from the impossibility of uniting all the voices exactly to-

gether when no regular time can be kept. Mr. J. B. Sale has written a work on the same subject, and both are useful as guides to persons unaccustomed to chant; but it must be evident to all who know any thing of the matter, that merely *one* inefficient singer introduced into a choir will mar the effect entirely, and no book can obviate the difficulty.

EDINBURGH.

Several Promenade Concerts have been given by Mr. Musgrave in the Hopetoun Rooms, and have been numerous and fashionably attended. Miss Platt's performance on the pianoforte was excellent of its kind. The solo on the cornet à piston, by Mrs. Wood, was exquisite, and received a warm *encore*. Mr. Musgrave led with his accustomed taste and spirit.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

Up to the end of October there had been published, during the present year, in France, 5324 works in the living and dead languages, 287 musical pieces, 1015 engravings and lithographs, and 100 maps and topographical plans.

The newly-discovered apparatus by which sea-water is rendered fresh and perfectly pure, has been placed on board several of the government vessels; two and a half gallons of coals are sufficient to convert thirty gallons of sea-water into a state of purity and fit for culinary and other uses.

Laborde's *Voyage de l'Orient* is proceeding rapidly; the last two numbers, the fifteenth and sixteenth, contain excellent views of Aleppo, Jerusalem, Jerico, Aden, &c. &c.; it will be completed in about thirty-six numbers.

Marc Aurel, frères, have just published the first volume of "*Biographie des premières Années de Napoléon Bonaparte*," by the M. de Coston; the second volume and Appendix will complete the work.

A very valuable illustrated geography has just been published by Chauchard and Muntz, of Paris, entitled "*Cours méthodique de géographie à l'usage des établissements d'instruction et des gens du monde*;" it has 22 maps and upwards of 400 finely-executed drawings. The 24th volume of the "*Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI. jusqu'à Louis XVIII*" has at length appeared.

A work highly interesting to the sporting world is now in the course of publication, "*Voyage d'un chasseur dans les différentes parties du monde, revue générale des chasses et des pêches de tous les pays*." The first portion of the work, *Africa*, has already appeared, and consists of forty-one numbers, containing forty engravings.

SAVOY.—The railroad from Chambéry to Bourget was opened the early part of Octo-

ber in the presence of the King of Sardinia; it is two French leagues in length, and runs by the side of a canal and within an avenue of poplar trees, affording a most picturesque view of mountainous country and the shores of the sea near Bourget. It will effect a great improvement in the trade between France and Chambéry, as it is connected with the steam-boats which run between Lyons and Burget.

GERMANY.

BERLIN.—A central society for statistics is in the course of formation at Berlin, with which all the statistical societies in Germany are to correspond.

The third centenary of the discovery of printing will be celebrated with great splendour at Leipzig, on the 24th, 25th and 26th of June, 1840. The next Number of this Review will give full particulars as to the several festivities which are to take place. It is generally considered the fêtes will exceed any thing before witnessed in that part of Germany.

A petition has been presented to the parliament of Saxony, now sitting at Dresden, for permission to construct a railroad from a point in the province of Lusatia (Lausitz) to Dresden, and from thence across the Mountains (Eizgebirge) and the district of Violgtlande to the frontiers of Bavaria.

One of the most interesting Journals published in Germany, is the "*Hannoversches Museum*," which appears twice every week at Hanover; it contains both literary and musical intelligence; the subjects are well selected and are written with great care and judgment. Since the death of the editor, Dr. Schröder, it has been continued with the same talent by the widow, who has engaged some of the first literary contributors upon it.

The German Meteorologists have declared the present will be a very severe winter.

The Aurora Borealis having been unusually vivid throughout Germany.

GREECE.

The first stone of the new university at Athens was laid on 14th July, with great rejoicing.

ITALY.

Trieste has been much improved within the last few years; and during the past summer innumerable old houses have been demolished and new streets built. In the neighbourhood of St. Andrea large portions of land near the sea have been built over, and even to where hills formerly stood on the land side, the city has extended its limits; in the Guardiella, sixty new houses are in process of building. The city now consists of 4240 houses, and 75,551 inhabitants; the increase of population within a short period being 2527.

A meeting of merchants was recently held at Trieste, at which the Archduke John presided; the object was the construction of a railroad from Trieste to Vienna. According to the plan of the engineer, Sommering, the only interruption to the line is a few miles of very mountainous country, which will be travelled over by horses. At the Castle of Duino, about three leagues from Trieste, the railroad will join the great Lombardy and Venetian branch. The Archduke expressed his approbation in the warmest terms, and added, that it was the earnest wish of the Emperor that this great desideratum should be effected, by which we may bid adieu to the shores of the Adriatic in the morning and sleep in the Austrian imperial capital the same night.

POLAND.

WILNA.—The publishers here as well as at Warsaw, are exceedingly cautious in accepting original Polish works; hence the few works which appear are either translations of popular French romances or school books, and the two Polish literary newspapers, 'Wizerunki' and 'Literatura i krytyka,' the latter by Grabowski, are mostly filled with translations from French and German newspapers, giving little attention to native literature.

Joseph Zawadzki, the principal bookseller at Wilna, died at the end of last year; his stock accumulated during thirty years amounted at the period of his death to upwards of 400 very rare and costly works; he commenced a catalogue of works on Polish Literature, the first volume of which has since been published by his sons, 'Obraz bibliograficzno historyczny Literatury Polskiej.'

Within the last two years, Joseph J. Kraszewski, a native of Omelo, in Volhynia, has created the greatest astonishment by his literary and poetical works. Since Moritz Mochnacki, no one has risen so high in pub-

lic estimation as Kraszewski; the first part of his 'Poezye' and his 'Wedrowski literackie fantastyczne i historyczne' (Literary, imaginative, and historical Wanderings), are highly spoken of by Grabowski and other learned authors, as being filled with youthful and vigorous pictures of every-day life. He is now employed in writing a history of Wilna, the first part of which has already appeared.

The first four parts of a history of Lithuania, 'Dzieje starozytne narodu litewskiego,' have appeared from the pen of Theodore Narbutt.

A very highly-wrought and interesting historical tale has been published by the author, Balinski, entitled 'Pamiętniki o królowej Babarze,' Memoirs of Queen Barbara Radzivil, consort of Sigismund August; the historical facts and data connected with this extraordinary woman, have been carefully collected from the Radzivilian archives.

The Memoirs of Maskiewiczza, recently published, 'Pamiętniki Samuela Maskiewicza,' who was born in 1594, are highly interesting, and contain many important facts connected with the history of Poland and of Russia. Ustriałow is at present engaged in translating the work into the Russian language.

Among the recent poetical publications, the 'Piesni wiesniaczne znad Memna,' Songs of the People of Niemen, by Czeczot, have met with especial favour; they are translations of the songs sung at the present day by the Lithuanian peasantry, in the white Russian dialect. The 'Poezye,' by Michael Juzierski, contain poetical descriptions of Ukrainian nature and life; and a third collection, 'Poezye trzech braci,' Poems by the three brothers Grzymalowski, are for the most part vivacious, mirthful, and amorous poems.

The 'Encyclopedia Powszechna,' a work which was noticed in the last Number of the 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' is so voluminous, that the twentieth volume, now just published, has only completed the letter B. The improbability of this work ever being completed has occasioned the publication of the 'Mala Encyklopedia,' of which two volumes have already appeared, containing all the letters as far as F. The articles are short and concise, and comprise everything interesting to Poland, particularly as to its people, its literature, its celebrated men, its cities, rivers, mountains, &c. The only omissions are its eminent living characters, and all those who figured in the last political events which led to such important changes in the government of this unhappy country.

Amidst the numerous works on Polish literature which have emanated from the house of Breitkoff and Härtel, in Leipzig, is a new edition of the celebrated work on Polish Heraldry, which was originally published at Lemberg, in four folio volumes, from the pen of the Jesuit 'Kaspar Niesiecki,' in 1728 to 1743, and who died in 1743. The Austrian cabinet acknowledged the work to be au-

thentic, in a decree dated 6th October, 1800. The new edition, entitled 'HERBARZ POLSKI Kaspra Niesieckiego,' has been very judiciously curtailed by Johann Bobrowicz, who has at the same time supplied some very important omissions from Wieladek's 'Heraldik,' Krasicki's 'Zusätzen,' and other works.

PORTUGAL.

In no country in Europe has literature so much deteriorated as in Portugal; even the daily papers are filled up with personal invectives and political disquisitions. In the boudoirs of their ladies nothing, save a few French romances, can be found. German writers ascribe this disgraceful state to the freedom of the press.

RUSSIA.

The Imperial Public Library contains upwards of 425,621 volumes, and 17,236 manuscripts, which are under the care of twenty-seven officials. The University Library has received a valuable acquisition in the library of Professor Schäfer, of Leipzig, including 633 Russian works, which had hitherto been wanting. The University, at the close of its academical year, consisted of 42 professors and 413 students.

Twenty-four works were sent in to the Academy of St. Petersburg, as competitors for the Demidow Prizes of 5000 rubles (£200) and 2500 rubles (£100); of these 5 were Historical, 4 Mathematical, 3 Medical, 3 Agricultural, 2 on Oriental Language, 2 on Military Knowledge, 2 on Jurisprudence, 1 Statistical, 1 Travels, and 1 Scholastical. All of which, with the exception of four, were written in the Russian language. The second prize was awarded to several, for only two were selected for the highest honour, viz. a Chinese Grammar, by the monk *Hycinth*, and a work on Military Tactics, by Major-General Medem.

An Armenian Professorship has been added to the University of Kasan, which has already made great progress in Oriental Literature, by its learned Mongolian and Chinese Professors. The salary attached to the Armenian chair is 4500 rubles, (£180 annually.)

A literary society at St. Petersburg have taken up the publication of the Russian Conversations-Lexicon, which had been delayed in consequence of the failure of Pluchart, the late publisher. Fifteen volumes of this work have already appeared, which will be very voluminous; it having only reached letter G.

The best annual is the 'Jutreniaja Zarja,' 'the Morning's Dawn;' it has several very excellent papers, and is embellished with four engravings.

A literary Russian newspaper has appeared in monthly parts at St. Petersburg. It contains many valuable sketches on Russian literature and history, and is edited by Krjewski, while in the list of its contributors

are ranked some of the best Russian writers. A few translations are occasionally inserted, some scenes from Göthe's Faust, and one of Tieck's novels were the most recent.

A very comprehensive catalogue of Russian works, and in particular those referring to the history of the Russian empire, has been published recently by Tschertkow of Moscow.

A continuation of Strahl's Russian Religious Historians is in the course of publication, by Professor Snegirew, of Moscow. The first part contains a biography of the author by himself, who intends including the lives of ALL great Russian historians, by which it will comprise a biography of more than 250 individuals.

SCLAVONIA.

The several Slavonic nations forming the southern boundary of the Austrian empire, and comprehending the countries or districts of Dalmatia, Illyria, Croatia, Servia, Kainen, Kartnen and Steyermark, with a population of five millions, have always been distinguished by a language peculiar to themselves; this language is comprised of seventeen distinct dialects, and from which Dr. Ludewit Gai, of Agram, has grounded one common language, and has brought it into general use since 1836, in the Illyrian national newspaper, which he publishes twice each week; entitled 'Ilirske Narodne Nowine.' This paper, and its extra weekly sheet, entitled 'Danica Ilirska (Illyrian Morning Star), is written in the Illyrian dialect, as spoken by the inhabitants of Croatia, Dalmatia, the Hungarian coast, Servia, Bosnia, &c., but it is readily comprehended by all the other Slavonic tribes.

A printing establishment has been formed since 1838, at Agram, with new types, under the direction of Dr. Gai, and has already issued several interesting works. Among others the "Dramatic Attempts," 'Dramaticka Pokusenjo,' by Dr. Demeter, the first part of which contains two dramas, founded on old Ragusian tragedies; they are entitled 'Ljuba i Duznost' (Love and Duty), and 'Karvna Osveta (Revenge for Bloodshed). Another drama has also appeared at Agram, entitled 'Juran i Sofia' (Juran and Sophia), or the Turks at Essek, by J. Kukuljewitsch Sakschinski, giving a faithful display of the old Ragusian classics, to which is prefixed an episode of the fight with the Turks; and 'Delightful Tales,' 'Ugodne Pripoviesti,' by A. Russi, in one volume, printed by the Dr. Gai above mentioned, are translated from the Italian.

Viekoslaw Babukitsch has laid the first foundation of a comprehensive grammar, by the publication of 'Osnova Narijecja Ilirsko-ga,' an Illyrian grammar, printed and published at Agram. A dictionary of the Illyrian language will also shortly appear, and a society for the diffusion of the new language has been formed at Agram, of which Count Draskowitsch is the president. He has written a work entitled A Word to Il-

lyria's Daughters, to which a most important article is appended by Schaffarik, upon the early Illyrian history and regeneration of the modern literature of the country. The first Illyrian kingdom, according to Draskowitsch's account, was formed by Cadmus, 1443 years B. C., near to where Dubrownik (Ragusa) now stands. Feared by the Greeks and Romans, they were warred upon by the tyrant Dionysius, the Macedonian kings, and Alexander the Great; the latter had many of the brave Illyrians with him in the Persian war, and at his death they became so powerful under their kings Pevrat and Ogram, that Rome tried every method to weaken them. Upon the fall of Carthage, the throne of the Illyrian king Gencius and the country fell into the hands of the Romans, who called it Iliria (Illyricum). Two thousand three hundred and twenty-six years after the foundation of the first Illyrian kingdom, then A. D. 883, the Magyars took possession of Illyria, with the exception of Croatia and Dalmatia, who protected their king Beda IV. and his family, but the Tatars were ultimately driven back and the Hungarian dynasty restored.

From the end of the fourteenth century learning gradually sprung up in Dalmatia, and several Poets, and among others Zlataritsch, Palmotitsch, and Katantzitsch, became known to the world by their learned writings and their poetry; to these followed the most celebrated Illyrian poet of former times, Iwan Gundulitsch, who was born in 1588. He wrote twelve dramas compiled from old Greek tragedies, and the celebrated epic poem 'Osman Spiewan,' in twenty songs. Some few of his works have been reprinted lately, but the greater part was lost in the earthquake of Ragusa, in 1667, and which probably destroyed many other highly important documents.

SICILY.

The earliest records of the literature of Sicily are contained in the 'Biblioteca Siciliana,' by Antonio Mongitore, and the 'Elogi d'illustri Siciliani scritta dal Ragusa.' In the reign of Alfonso, Salvatore de Blasi commenced the history, with the origin and progress of Sicilian literature, collecting his materials from the writings of Domenico Schiavo, and Rosario Gregoria; but this necessary work has never been completed, and what had been written by Francesco Vesco, the Greek professor of the university of Palermo, and a great writer on literature, was never printed, and is consequently lost.

From an early period, the Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages were taught at all the Sicilian schools. In the 12th century, the Italian was first used by the native poets in simple and agreeable strains; from the 13th to the 15th centuries it gradually fell into disuse, and all the learned authors wrote in Latin. During the 17th and greater part of the 18th centuries, French became the prevailing language of all their authors.

The first to break this rule were Antonio Cesari and D. Salvagnini, who produced Segni's 'Storie Fiorentine,' and several other excellent works in Italian. Gianagostino de Cosmi laid the foundation of the general Italian grammar, and published three volumes 'Degli Elementi di Filologia,' and afterwards Cesari's 'Dissertazione sulla lingua Italiana.' These were succeeded by Gregorio's 'Discorsi intorno alla Sicilia,' and Tommaso Gargollo's 'Viaggio in Grecia,' published in London, and his 'Memoire sulle belle Arti. Count Sebastiano Ayala de Gastrogiovanni published his Dizionario della Crusa at Vienna.

Of all the early Sicilian poets, Giovanni Meli must be noted as the most celebrated. His songs soon became national airs, and the people acknowledged him as their national poet. Among his numerous writings, his Anacreontic odes were considered as superior to those of other poets. Ignazio Scimonelli, C. F. Gambino, and O. Tercio, all rose to great favour through their national poems. A. Galfo published his 'Saggio Poetico' in four volumes, during his residence at Rome; his drama of 'Il Socrate' met with especial favour. C. Gaetani, Count de la Torre, gained considerable fame by his poems, 'Sui Doveri dell' Uomo,' and 'Ecloghe Piscatorie,' in addition to his translations of the Greek authors. To these must be added T. Gargallo, whose fame still spreads throughout all Sicily and Italy, while his odes and his 'Anno Poetica' published at Venice amply prove his perfect acquaintance with the ancient classic historians and other celebrated writers.

SWITZERLAND.

The first part of a work, forming a valuable addition to the history of Switzerland, has just appeared at Lausanne, 'Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romane.' It contains the rules of the society, a list of the members, a Mémoire sur le rectorat de Bourgoynne, the Statuts inédits de Pierre de Savoie, and an historical notice of the Counts of Gruyères.

NEUCHÂTEL.—Dr. Agassiz, the celebrated Geologist and author of 'Récherches sur les Poissons Fossiles,' which has already reached the 13th part, has just published the first number of an 'Histoire naturelle des Poissons d'Eau Douce,' to be complete in two volumes of letter-press and 90 plates. The first part of his 'Monographies d'Echinodermes' has also appeared.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Frank Hall Standish's work, entitled Seville and its environs, nearly ready and will be embellished with a portrait of the author.

A translation of the *Second Part* of Göthe's Faust is in the course of Publication from the pen of Jonathan Birch, Esq., the talented translator of the First Part of Göthe's Faust,

and several other works. The superior manner in which the first number has been got up leaves no doubt of the ultimate success of the work.

One of the most perfect instances of 'the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties,' is displayed in a clever little work entitled 'The Autobiography of Thomas Platter,' who figured in the sixteenth century. The narrative is simple and unpretending, and savours of a pure religious spirit, consonant to the times in which it was written.

Gatherings from Grave-yards, with a history of the Modes of Interment among different Nations, by G. A. Walker, affords another proof of the vicious folly of interring the dead within the walls of a densely popu-

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ART. I.—*Aegyptische Monumenten, van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden, uitgegeven op last der Hooge Regering door Dr. C. Leemans, Eersten Conservator van het Museum. 1e Aflevering. Fol. Leyden. 1839.* (Egyptian Monuments of the Dutch Museum of Antiquities at Leyden, published by the Authority of the High Government, by Dr. C. Leemans, Chief Keeper of the Museum. 1st Livraison. Fol. Leyden. 1839.)

THE extent of the discoveries in the science of hieroglyphics, and the application of their principles to the numerous monuments and remains scattered along the valley of the Nile, or preserved in the museums and cabinets of Europe, have not as yet been adequately appreciated by the investigators of archæological science. Vague and suspicious doubts of the accuracy of the theory have been uniformly started by those who have not taken the trouble to investigate it. The beautiful chain of deductions by which the conclusions of the hierologists have been arrived at, has been the source of constant disputation, and, in consequence, the path has been embarrassed and the career retarded by the necessity of a reference at each stage to first principles, and no allowance conceded to the results of the time and labour bestowed upon this difficult analysis. Yet what have been the *results* of the labours of Champollion, Rosellini, Salvolini, and others, as far as the analysis of the text is concern-

ed? In the Pantheon, the names, titles, and attributes of all the principal deities, and of most of the inferior types, have been identified or discovered. The accuracy of the information handed down through the suspicious channel of the Greek authors has been thoroughly tested; and the inquirer of the present day has, as it were, taken a fresh observation at the very sources from which their information was derived. In history the chronologies of Eratosthenes and Manetho have been verified, the conquests and tributes of the magnificent eighteenth dynasty, in all the pomp of their Diospolitan splendour, of which hints are thrown out by Tacitus, and which were recounted to Germanicus, have been again investigated, interpreted and explained—the papyri, the hieroglyphical records of the myths of the race—the eternal ritual, the “book of manifestation to light,” as it is termed in the native language, has been partially analyzed, and numerous inferior documents, among which the campaign of Rameses the Great, or Sesostris, against the Schetæ stands pre-eminent: all these have been discovered and explained. In addition to the above we may add the religious formulæ, the rites of the dead, the whole vocabulary applied to their zoology, their arts and manufactures, from the smallest amulet to the heaven-capped colossus, from the pompous titles of Pharaonic pride to the song of the herdsman as his oxen tread out the grain on the threshing-floor, all which have equally obeyed the proposed laws of interpretation. Is such a

discovery a visionary dream? Could the ideographic theories, the reveries of Kircher, ever have led to similar conclusions? While one explorer has successfully attempted the hieroglyphic formulae, another, with equal boldness and success, has attacked the demotic, or enchorial writing, and an approximation has been attained to the meaning of the various acts and deeds, transfers of land, &c., which, under the Ptolemies, were still drawn up in the vernacular. Ere another century has passed the only mystery upon the subject will be, how these texts so baffled the powers of men distinguished for talent and erudition. To what is all this owing? To the penetration and the discovery of Dr. Young, to the indefatigable ingenuity and luminous deductions of Champollion!

Had the hieroglyphics been purely ideographics, or symbols used to express ideas similar in construction to the Chinese, no human ingenuity could have restored the language: because so great are the practical deficiencies, or difficulties, of an ideographic language like the Chinese, that it requires no slight effort of ingenuity, aided by native assistance, to adequately comprehend it. The ingenious and profound Zoega, after deep researches into the hieroglyphics upon this principle, abandoned the inquiry to posterity in despair: the empiricism of Kircher obtained but an ephemeral reputation, and almost expired with its author; the whole tribe of inferior minds who have essayed explanations on the ideographic principle have met with scarcely so fortunate an issue; and the dreams of M. Seyffarth who acts upon a similar principle, tinged with an astronomical bias, are scarcely known, certainly adopted by none but the learned German himself. It is quite clear practically, that there is something radically wanting in every attempt to propound an explanation of a series of consecutive signs, upon the supposition of their being the representatives of ideas, and that upon such a plan no rational conclusion has ever been attained, but that all has ended in puerile attempt or shallow trifling. The Greeks appear to have imperfectly understood the construction of the language, and not to have generally given it a deep consideration; and almost all our information from contemporaneous sources is limited to two Christian Fathers, who wrote when Paganism lingered in the various sects which endeavoured to unite the principles of Christianity with the Protean forms of Polytheism. The passage of Clemens Alexandrinus is to the present day contested, yet he seems to have expressed a loose notion of the Cyriologic principle.

No hieroglyphical documents exist later

than Caracalla, and during the reign of Hadrian they exhibit all the traces of the most rapid decay; which circumstance is fully apparent in the bilingual coffins executed at that period. From that time, a few notions excepted which were grafted into the creed of the Gnostics and Basilidians, little was known of even Egyptian monuments themselves till the seventeenth century; at this period many of the cabinets and museums of Europe possessed a few specimens, chiefly amulets or fragments of papyri and bandlets, which soon excited the attention of those devoted to the study of archæology. "The Jesuit Kircher," says Champollion, "entered upon the field, and without any hesitation abused the credulity of his contemporaries in publishing, under the title of the *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, pretended translations of the hieroglyphic legends sculptured upon the obelisks of Rome, translations which he did not himself believe, for he often has the audacity to support them by citations from authors which never existed." Kircher supposed that these symbols were used to express ideas, although a portion of his *Œdipus*, where an alphabet is found, may possibly entitle him to some loose notions of a phonetic system. But his general interpretations are the most audacious and reckless guesses conceivable, since he professed to explain all monuments with the facility of an Egyptian hierophant. Even his erudition is questionable, for he gleaned but sparingly from the authors of antiquity, and his interpretations were adapted entirely to his own views; thus, his genius Mophta, the familiar spirit of his *Œdipus*, was the Caliban of his own imagination; the branch and bee mentioned in a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, as meaning king, was explained as "apage muscam," or a fly-flap; and, to crown the whole in one work in a manner consonant with the pedantry of his age, he wrote a dedication in Hieroglyphics as well as Latin, Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Coptic. His ambition to live as a miracle of learning for the passing hour did not rest here; he corrupted the Coptic itself, and left behind him a reputation which few will envy. From the time of Kircher till Zoega the monuments remained unexplained, and the learned Dane approached the task with far greater zeal and erudition, as his *folio De Obeliscis* will amply demonstrate. Possessed with a profound knowledge of the Coptic, and an indefatigability of research, he had collected all the materials within his reach from the Greek and Latin authors, to whose authority on this subject implicit and blind submission was paid, and had drawn

up a list of the different hieroglyphics found upon the monuments at that time extant in Europe. His philological labours convinced him that the signs must have been used in combined groups analogous to the Chinese, and Champollion claims for him a vague notion of the phonetic principle. The efforts of Zoega, still upon the ideographic plan, were not crowned with success, for he left the analysis exactly where he found it, and his reputation rests on other and more solid grounds. The inquiry, however, began to excite attention; specimens of Egyptian art, many inscribed with hieroglyphics, were published by various antiquaries, as Montfaucon, Caylus, Winkelman and Visconti, with errors of the most extravagant cast. The Isiac table, a fabrication of a late period, obtained a high antiquity, hawk-headed figures were called priests of Osiris, no compliment to the hierarchy; and the cartouches, the royal names of the monarch, were supposed to separate particular formulæ of prayers; and this down to 1791, but eight years before the discovery of the stone of Rosetta! It is scarcely more than necessary just to mention the guesses of Warburton and De Guignes; for as they led to no result, and were based upon no deduction, they cannot enter into the scientific part of the inquiry. Preposterous antiquity was assigned to zodiacs, and attempts to etymologize the words found in the ancient authors by means of the sparing remains of Coptic, were made with more energy than felicity by Jablonski; Osiris, Isis and Horus, with an occasional Ammon, were the ordinary limits of the Pantheon, and the inquiry being abandoned in despair by men of sounder judgment, passed into the possession of the literary charlatan.

The French invasion of Egypt rent the veil asunder. The march of the French army was accompanied by men of learning and science, and the result of their labours in the great work on Egypt has survived their conquests. The principal edifices of ancient Egypt were designed by them, and far more accurate transcripts than those up to that period delineated of several inscriptions; and by this means a deeper insight was afforded into what the Egyptians were as a people. In 1799 a French engineer officer, M. Bouchard, discovered the trigrammatical stone of Rosetta, a tribunal beyond which there was no appeal. This monument, which the fortune of war presented to the British government, was first analyzed by the late and deeply regretted M. Silvestre de Sacy, in the course of his researches into the demotic or enchorial text, which, as was then believed, was writ-

ten in abstract sonal characters, and was considered less difficult to discover. In it De Sacy recognized a few of the principal names, as Ptolemy, Alexandria, &c. This investigation was in 1802. He, however, appears not to have been sufficiently versed in Coptic to proceed further, and it was soon discovered that the signs were too numerous for the ordinary principles of alphabetic writings. Ackerblad resumed the inquiry in 1804, but two great errors still retarded the advance of the science, since the demotic, enchorial or epistolographic, was believed to be purely alphabetic, and the hieroglyphical purely ideal, and such descriptions answer to neither.

In 1816 Young was the first who successfully attacked the hieroglyphical portion, and he seems to have followed the method of mechanical application of De Sacy, seeking for corresponding phrases in corresponding spaces. He had previously studied the hieroglyphics themselves deeply, and by reproducing similar groups in their demotic, hieratic and hieroglyphical form, he arrived at the conclusion, that although the Egyptians used their symbols for ideas in the current part of the text, that in the writing of proper names of *foreigners only*, they turned them from their ordinary application to a sonal or phonetic use, and he discovered by this means the cartouches of Ptolemy and Berenice; his analysis was not complete, his parallel to the Chinese inaccurate, but he laid the key-stone of the arch, and the merit of the discovery rests with him. His illustrious rival, who had laboured upon the solitary subject of Egyptian antiquities from his youth, while Young was occupied on philosophy, where his discoveries were equally brilliant, and whose life is at present in the course of publication by Professor Peacock, caught at the discovery as a ray from heaven. He commenced his career upon this basis, and not with the best faith, and announced that the Egyptians used their language in such a manner in the names of foreigners only, and correcting what Young had supposed to be syllables to letters, identified the names of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors. Here he rested; but in his letter to the Duc de Blacas, in 1822, he extended his researches to the names of the native monarchs, and gave a rude sketch of Egyptian chronology, principally from the monuments of Turin. In 1824 he pushed on still further to the names of Egyptian deities, to an extended alphabet, and a few slight grammatical forms. The discovery had now gained ground: the government placed the Collection of the Musée Charles X. under his superintendence, and the catalogue of

that collection manifested the rapid strides made in the decyphering. In 1830 the French government, always attentive to national honour, sent him, accompanied by a commission, into Egypt, and the Egyptian grammar, his visiting card to posterity, as he called it, which is now appearing, and the monuments of Egypt and Nubia executed under his inspection, were the results of his labours. Previous to his embarkation he had discovered the historical papyri of Sallier, and the greater part of his time up to the hour of his death was employed in perfecting the revision of his great work. It is not to be supposed that his labours passed uncriticised, as it is easier to sneer than to learn; he was attacked right and left, and the most formidable of his opponents, M. Klaproth, assaulted the discovery with that sarcasm which he always aimed at men of merit. The system of Champollion has, however, triumphed; the grand theory that the text of the inscriptions consists of two classes of signs—phonetic, or those used to express sounds, and ideographic, or such as are employed for ideas—has been adopted throughout Europe. In M. Salvolini he left an apt pupil, in M. Rosellini, an enlightened coadjutor and supporter; at Turin the Abbé Gazzera and the Chevalier St. Quintino have publicly recognized it; in France it has been acknowledged by MM. Letronne and Ienormant; in Prussia by the Chevalier Bunsen and Dr. Lepsius; in Holland by Dr. Leemans; in England by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, Messrs. Hoskins, Tomlinson, and Birch, &c.: Mr. Salt at once appreciated its utility, and endeavoured to advance it, and the majority of those competent to judge from studying it professionally and not discursively have acceded to the truth of it. Some of the objections which have been raised, may as well, for the sake of curiosity, be stated. The principal one is, that the hieroglyphics are ideal in the body of the texts, which is disproved by resolving them into analogous Coptic phrases when so transcribed in the portion of the text of Rosetta; another is, that the arrangement of symbols does not always quadrate with their relative position, which is admitted, on the other hand, to arise from the mixed character of even phonetic symbols; a third objection is, that the sacred dialect must be considered as distinct from the vernacular, and that it was Hebrew; to disprove which few words will suffice, since the Jews in their intercourse with the Egyptians required interpreters*—M. Quatremere and a host of Coptic scholars have vindicated the idiosyn-

crasy of the Coptic. Where indeed are the remains of an extinct language to be sought for but in its locality? Supposing the language lost, might not Greek be partially restored from Romaic, Latin from Italian, and Sanscrit from Bengali? The critical researches of M. Quatremere into the history of the language and literature of the Copts will abundantly establish this position. The last straw aimed at the discovery is, that the Rosetta stone is a rank forgery.

Independent of the extrinsic truth of this monument, such as it offers to the eye, and which is rather matter of feeling than expression, the Rosetta stone gives an additional guarantee from the fact of the Greek part having passed through a critical examination from at least two Greek scholars, and one of them Porson. The whole objections victoriously refute themselves, and the commanding attitude the study has assumed, no longer in a feeble infancy, but gradually growing to its manhood, now receives both the sanction of scholars and the patronage of most governments.

From the period which has elapsed since the death of Champollion up to the present day the inquiry has maintained a steady increase, though not in proportion so rapid as under the auspices of its illustrious founder. M. Salvolini, who dedicated a considerable portion of his time to the verification of the results of his distinguished master, has attained high distinction by his publications. These consist of an inquiry into the notation of dates, in which the subject was treated more critically than Champollion had time or taste to bestow upon it; some account of the manuscripts of M. Sallier d'Aix, written in a bold hieratic character, and one of them embracing an apparently metrical version of the campaign of Rameses the Great against the Schot or Schetæ, (Scythians,) and another work still more distinguished for the labour and care bestowed upon it, the Grammatical Analysis of the Hieroglyphical Portion of the Rosetta Stone. This analysis, which embraces a most extensive alphabet, and a critical inquiry into each group of characters supposed to contain a phrase, something similar to the attempt of Young, published in the *Hieroglyphica*, is unfortunately imperfect; for the hand of death was already upon the young savant during its progress. The MS. was never completed, and his papers have passed into the possession of the Sardinian government. In France, the care of editing the Egyptian publications has been confided to M. Champollion-Figeac, but he cannot be considered as having advanced the study in any respect, and the second part of the Egyptian Gram-

* Cf. Ps. LXXXI. v. 5.

mar exhibits the most flagrant errors. M. Lenormant, who accompanied the French expedition to Egypt, appears to be far better acquainted with the subject; but as it requires a singleness of study to attain any thing like perfection in it, and M. Lenormant's researches are more generally devoted to Hellenic remains, it does not appear likely that it will be much advanced by him. Rosellini, who had at an early period embraced the new doctrine, stands alone in Europe with regard to the extent of his works, and under the auspices of the Tuscan government has effected more to popularize the study than any of his contemporaries. Three volumes of text upon the historical portion, and three more upon the civil life of the Egyptians, embracing Egyptian philology and archæology, attest the zeal of his application, accompanied as they are by four folio volumes of plates, drawn in Egypt and executed in Italy under his care. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Turin some papers will be found, drawn up by the Abbé Gazzera and the Chevalier St. Quintino, explaining some of the monuments of the rich museum of that city; and in the Archæological Institute of Rome the study has been successfully and critically pursued by Dr. Lepsius, both as regards the monuments themselves and the philology. A joint work, to be published by the Chevalier Bunsen and the above-named scholar, is about shortly to appear in Germany: it will embrace what is much needed—a critical inquiry into the Greek authorities, and the hieroglyphical texts referring to the chronology and history. In England, and by the English in Egypt, the pursuit has not been neglected. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, the well-known author of the *Materia Hieroglyphica*, the *Topography of Thebes*, and a more recent account of the *Civil Life of the Egyptians*, has advanced the study, both by the copying of the more important monuments, and some slight philological efforts, having at an early era recognised several of the more prominent words and expressions. Mr. Salt's little essay was an attempt, however imperfect, to extend our information in this branch; and the *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* of Burton is a collection of excessively valuable drawings, which will always be a text-book on the subject. To the *Coptic Grammar* of Tattam is appended a sketch of a demotic vocabulary by Young, the only one, with the exception of that of Spohn, (which enjoys no very high reputation,) extant; and in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, which, under its original appellation of the *Egyptian Society*, published the *Hieroglyphica*, a collection of inscribed monuments, in three volumes, essays have appeared from Col. Leake, the Rev. Mr. Tomlinson, and Mr. Cullimore. More recently, the quarry-marks found in the great pyramid, and the coffin of Mycerinus, discovered in the third by Colonel Howard Vyse, have been published by that traveller, and accompanied with explanations of the hieroglyphical portions by Mr. Birch, have been translated by M. Lenormant into French, from the English. A sketch of a hieroglyphical dictionary has also appeared, by the same party; and there is every prospect that these publications will receive additional support in this country. In Holland the late M. Reuvens slightly added to our knowledge of the demotic; and his successor at the Museum of Leyden, the editor of by far the best edition of *Horapollo* extant, and of the royal names contained in the Museums of Leyden and London, devotes almost the entire portion of his time to the investigation of the branches of Egyptian archæology; and the work whose title appears at the head of this article owes its appearance to his zeal. In Prussia Kosegarten has attempted the demotic. *Fervet opus!* time and application will gradually unfold the meaning of the inscriptions upon the colossus, the papyrus, and the tomb, and more will be known of the Egyptians than of any other people of antiquity, since no such insight into the past as the perfect preservation of the mummy presents, can be obtained with respect to any other nation.

Hand in hand with the hieroglyphical inquiry has proceeded the knowledge of the Coptic, which it is unnecessary to trace here from the period of Kircher to the present day, as it has already received an exposition, as entertaining as it is lucid, from M. Quatremere: yet the same age which has seen the revival of hieroglyphical philology has not been slack in spurring onward the acquaintance with the vernacular. A *Coptic Grammar and Lexicon* have issued from the Oxford press, drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Tattam, who has just returned from Egypt in his search for manuscripts; another *Lexicon* has also been published by M. Peyron. The *Lexicon* of Tattam is unfortunately drawn up in such a manner as to be of difficult consultation for the hieroglyphics, and the supplement which is appended requires total revision. His *Grammar*, too, is a mere sketch, the rude outlines of what the language is. Another *Grammar*, in a fuller form, for the use of the hieroglyphical student, has also been published by Rosellini; yet something is still wanting for a better acquaintance with the Coptic, of which the printed works, as well as

manuscripts, are rare ; and it is to be hoped that some of those multifold societies that are daily rising up will undertake the charge of the publication of the Coptic versions, martyrologies, and liturgies ; for their use can even at the present moment be hardly esteemed too highly, since it is evident, if the Coptic contain, as it is supposed to do, all that is left of the archaic tongue of the country, of the sacred dialect, as it was named in the time of the Ptolemies, all critical knowledge of the dialect must hang upon this at present slender thread. Adequate praise can scarcely be lavished on the *Lexicon* of Peyron : it is essentially the work of a scholar ; it throws out all expressions which are not apparently those of the Egyptians, and does not embarrass the student by a mass of Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Arabic phraseology. The words, too, are arranged under their roots, according to the consonants of which they are composed ; and although this presents difficulties to the tyro, it enables the hieroglyphical inquirer to discover at a glance whether a particular word has disappeared from the ancient language or not. As the Coptic is the remains of a tongue *per se*, and as the Semitic words are infusions from without, and must be used with judgment and in a subsidiary point of view, it is with this *Lexicon* in hand that the inquirer can alone proceed in security ; and when a deeper acquaintance with this language has been cultivated, which apparently touches upon the Indo-Germanic as well as the Semitic, it will then, and not till then, be decided to what extent and under what restrictions the Semitic branch may be used. Until that period has arrived the hierologist might as safely take up the *Dictionary* of Johnson, because *oeit* in Coptic bears an analogy to *white*, *abot* to an *abode*, or *shot* to *shoot* ; yet these terms are nearly equivalent in both languages, and as far as the body of the words of the two languages is concerned, a stricter analogy between the English or Germanic and the Coptic could be traced than between the Coptic and the Semitic dialects. We are indebted to the Coptic for almost all that is known of the construction of the hieroglyphical language ; and by the parallelism of the phonetic groups with the Coptic, we can trace the substance of the hieroglyphical inscriptions ; for the meaning of ideographic symbols has been principally discovered through it ; since the number of symbols explained by Horapollon, which symbols have a relation with the *kyriologic* of Clemens, is of an extremely limited description. It is in the Coptic, in the analogy of the Coptic and hieroglyphic, in the conviction that between the Coptic

lexicon on one side, and the monuments on the other, lies the recondite meaning of these records, that the discoverers and investigators have found their stronghold. Without the Coptic the paths of discovery must have been two centuries behind, and perhaps lost for ever ; since no mental assurance could have been conveyed that the Arabic or Hebrew were analogous, much less identical, with the language. The Coptic, on the contrary, presents a sure and unerring guide ; its dialectical variations are few and simple, chiefly vocalic, its construction easy ; it is a language soon acquired, and when compared with the hieroglyphic, its difficulties vanish ; for while in the Coptic various expressions are ambiguous, because the whole elements of the language are contained under a few sounds often expressing multifarious ideas, which the determinative image of the archaic language of the monuments clenches, the hieroglyphics from this very reason present a beautiful species of formation which leaves not the lingering shadow of a doubt upon the expression ; and nothing can be more certain than the roots and etymology of the hieroglyphic, nothing more vague and ambiguous than the Coptic. The same broad distinction, in fact, which exists between the written and spoken language of China, prevails to the same extent between Coptic and hieroglyphic : the one is a sonal type, allusive to the eye ; the other a bold, and often equivocal expression to the ear. The keys of the languages are the determinations, and these exist in the archaic only.

It is possible that the language, in its primeval development, was entirely symbolic, and that its elements became subsequently adapted to the purposes of sound ; but, if so, where are the primeval forms ? There is no monument extant in Europe in which the whole or even the greater portion of its text is symbolic. The monuments of Cheops and Mycerinus, which ascend upon Rosellini's chronology certainly beyond two thousand and eighty-two years previous to the Christian era, exhibit the most unequivocal marks of a formed and perfectly developed language. The same words, sound for sound, element for element, descend to the epoch of the Lagidæ and the Romans ; and it is not the fact, as asserted, that the archaic monuments exhibit a greater proportion of ideographic ideas, but that they express more forcibly, because more simply, their intent by the use of certain signs universally adopted for particular expressions ; the process of change being not that of language, but of calligraphy. At the earlier epoch the number of Symbols is more restricted

and less interchangeable. During the sway of the eighteenth dynasty a greater floridity of writing prevailed, and under the Ptolemies a still greater infusion of interchangeable forms, and a strange admixture of bizarre and fantastic modes of expression, not merely in foreign names and unusual formulas, but even in the appellatives of native deities and ordinary words. The wear and tear of ideographical languages is apparently less than of the alphabetic; they are early organized, admit with reluctance of impressions from without, and stand uninjured by the changes of tones and expressions.

Nor are the changes of style much greater; for, from his Holiness, as his pontifical majesty was termed, to the scrawler on pottery or papyrus, all had imbibed their education at the hands of the priests, and one large class of monuments, the sepulchral, offer formulas dolefully monotonous; dedications to the gods, prayers and invocations to deities and priests, registers of family names, titles and epithets, seem to have been mostly derived from a common stock. At an earlier period the names and epithets are far less pompous; but the progress of luxury, the pomp of victory, of foreign wars, brought with them panegyrics more loaded and adulation more fulsome. The functionaries, previous to the eighteenth dynasty, do not appear to have enjoyed those pluralities, which their successors under Rameses and the Psammetici held. Their highest epithets seldom mount beyond "seated in the heart of the king," the "eyes of the king," and they seem to have seldom omitted a recitation of their keeping the festivals of the gods. But at the eighteenth dynasty, when the historical style commences, when the temples were made the depositaries of the records of triumph, a haughtier tone commences, epithets labour, and the functionaries of the government in accordance with the spirit of the age, catch the infection. Functions multiply, priests, prophet-priests, royal scribes, treasurers, commandants, commissaries, chamberlains, athtophoroi, equerries, seem blended into one heterogeneous mass. Is it wonderful that on many monuments of this period, while the titles have expanded into several lines, the prayer of the deceased is squeezed into the narrow compass of a few symbols, and that the military chief, attached to the charge of the viands, commandant of the troops, military scribe for the troops, in charge of Upper and Lower Egypt, &c. &c. &c. merely requests the goddess Isis "to elevate his head and open his eyes?" Connected with the historical style are all the inscriptions touching on military expeditions, and these, as well as those relating

to civil affairs, are far more difficult to explain, since they occur less frequently, and are dependent on the context chiefly, and the scenes in which they are represented. Yet the principal work of Egyptian literature is the Ritual, and the style in which it is written bears great analogy to the sepulchral; it consists indeed of a series of prayers, alluding rather to the mythology than explaining it; the general tenour of its tone, as it is more frequently repeated, and on this account more susceptible of collation than any other, is perfectly analogous to that of the sepulchral monuments.

Whether in its full form, or in its abstract, from the ample copy, which, in more flourishing periods, was deposited with the dead, or in the abbreviated pieces in later ages, it presents an integrity of design, which shows that all are transcripts of an archaic original, and it contains a variety of symbols and expressions hardly met with elsewhere. It is far simpler in its style than the historical texts, and although from its nature of a reputation less brilliant and attractive than the compositions referring to other subjects of a historical or civil nature, yet in the solution of the Ritual will be found the great arcana of the religious style, and the purport of the principal formulas which adorned the walls or the entrance of the tomb.

From this part of the subject we naturally arrive at what is far more important, the actual state of the application of the discovery at the present day, the prospects it opens for the future, the results it has realized for the past! Its course has been traced from the spring-head to its embouchure, from the general principles to the minuter working out of the immense detail which lies before us.

Look at the colossal works, abounding in more inscriptions than all Greece and Rome have left behind them as the records of their story and their conquests! and the boldest imagination, the most unwearied assiduity must rejoice and quail at the same moment before its task. The quarter of a century has brought back the ancient history of a people, almost the first-born of the human race, whose luxury and whose conquests, whose arts and whose sciences, had attained their meridian bloom when the buds of Greek ideality and Roman conquests were in their germ. Centuries have rolled on; decads of centuries have past. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, have each and all in their turn captured, plundered, mutilated the works of art and monuments of this people—still do they remain, though broken and mutilated, the proudest monuments of the hand of man, bearing upon them in the

desolation of the desert, in the hum of the city, the inscribed records of the magnificence of their creators, before whom the Cyclopien constructions dwindle down to the efforts of children. They remain like the gigantic fossils of an extinct world, the silent witnesses of the mighty dead, only awaiting the rising beams of the dawn of discovery to draw from them, like their own Memnon, the broken and articulated sounds of what they were.

The first point to be obtained is an intimate knowledge of the texts themselves, and this can only be supplied by the most assiduous research into such documents as the Dutch government has published—bilingual monuments. Unfortunately they are few in number, executed at a period when the hieroglyphical inscriptions were gradually giving way before the political changes consequent upon the Greek and Roman domination. As the Rosetta stone is the very *pierre-de-touche* of the hieroglyphics, so are the Antigraphs of Grey and Casati, and the Gnostic ritual of Leyden, the alpha beta of the demotic, enchorial, or vernacular; for the demotic varies exceedingly from the hieroglyphical, much indeed from the hieratic, or written form of the hieroglyphic: and this variation is not merely of form but of idiom; for while the hieroglyphic is a dialect of the Coptic, differing considerably in construction, the demotic approaches much nearer the Coptic itself both in construction and the *copia verborum*. The illustration consequently afforded to the demotic or popular writing through the hieratic, though important, is not complete. Now this is the very result likely to be arrived at; for is it not more natural that the enchorial, which does not appear till the Ptolemies, and vanishes under the Romans, should be the ancient language in its transition, than the converse? Who (except a French savant) ever expected to read the monuments of Cheops, executed above two thousand years before the Christian era, with the same facility as his *Moniteur*, because he was intimately versed in the Coptic Bible and a few Coptic martyrologies? One might as well hope to translate fluently Saxon chartularies, because the translator was acquainted with English of the nineteenth century. There is another difficulty. Till the Roman epoch, the hieroglyphics themselves are clear and distinct in their forms, and experience points out what is meant for hawk, what for a sparrow; but the demotic is far more complex, abounding in sigla often indistinct, frequently written *currente calamo*, with little attention to clearness and calligraphy. The Greek official documents

of the Ptolemies, executed simultaneously, offer equal difficulties of decyphering; yet for these the decypherer is prepared with ample lexica, a critical knowledge of the language, and the whole artillery of the mythological allusions. For the demotic he has none of these; he has to grope his path through bilingual monuments, to stop at every step, to verify every result, and to curb his imagination by his judgment. He has at the same moment to grapple with the language and the indistinct and frequently amorphoid sheath in which it is enveloped.

Fortunately the chief interest of the demotic is philological, for the documents hitherto discovered are either sale registers, petitions, or epistolary effusion—the Gnostic ritual of Leyden excepted; and this document will now receive considerable illustration from a Greek papyrus, on a similar subject, on the eve of publication. The paucity of demotic manuscripts and remains is also no ordinary barrier to the progress—they are scarcely a tithe of the mass.

The next point to the study of bilingual monuments is the collation of texts having for their object the same formulas; and the published monuments of the Tuscan and French government are generally executed with sufficient care to render a reference to the monuments themselves unnecessary. The abundance of these monuments indeed is the very life-spring of the inquiry, which rests upon a chain of deduction, for what occurs in a single instance may be the result of error, or an imperfect form; while what occurs uniformly, in two, three, or ten thousand, assumes an approximate ratio of correctness. The same texts vary; the scribe here from local circumstances, or from caprice, from the want of settled orthoepy or orthography, preferred in this expression, or in that, a character or a word different from his fellow-writers of another locality or epoch, and the result, the equivalent variant, adds to the stock of symbols known to express similar ideas or similar sounds. A form, too, which frequently occurs as an abbreviation, such as are common to monumental inscriptions of all epochs, is suddenly presented in its full type, and the mystery stands denuded; it is the same manner of investigation which is pursued for the elucidation of Latin and Greek monuments, and triumphantly for all.

From an imperfect knowledge of texts, the greatest embarrassments and absurdities have sprung. Garbled successions of kings (whose appellations, frequently uncouth in themselves, have been nicknamed horribly) have obtained an ephemeral cre-

dence, and their relative position has been pointed out, because one appeared first and another last in an inscription by persons unqualified to read two consecutive words, much less lines, of the text; vilifying, by their absurdities, those who are engaged in the legitimate path of induction; and this from men possessing an acquaintance with the monuments themselves, rushing into unhappy interpretations in despair, or clinging to departed errors with the most lamentable fatuity. The attempt has been too great: before the cartouches can be decyphered, the language must be at least partially understood. The cartouches are not the first, but the last, in the series: their etymology and their arrangement itself depends upon an *à priori* knowledge of the spirit of the language, and not the language upon a knowledge of the royal names,—this is taking the bull by the tail, not the horns. Perhaps too much authority is still paid to the Greek lists of Manetho, which have gained little in accuracy by their transmission, and may be pronounced far too corrupt to be accepted, except with the suspicious eye of true criticism. Much time has been lost in endeavouring to assign corresponding values of the Egyptian to the Greek names; this was natural at the commencement of the investigation, but is now not requisite. Either a better authority than the versions of the priest of Sebennytus exists, or none at all. The future then is pregnant for the inquirer with the satisfactory identification, not merely of the names of monarchs, but their conquests, their history, their successions, the constitution of their courts, their panegyries or cyclary festivals, their devotions, and constitutions. Other documents attest their magnificence and their pride, but a hope—a cherished hope, *exists*, that varieties may turn up among the papyri similar to those of Salleir and Anastasi, at present in the national depository of this country, records like those triumphant chants over the Scythians and the Ethiopians, approaching more closely to what, in the present acceptation of the word, is strictly history; for the inscriptions sculptured and painted upon the walls of temples are merely the skeletons of the past, the exparte statements of conquest, without a whisper of defeat. “We give you,” say the gods perpetually in these monuments, “Kushkush, or Ethiopia, under thy sandals; we make thee lord of the north and south; we confer on thee power, life, and stability; we make thee giver of life like the sun; we create thee lord of all lands and countries.” Proud records of the conquerors, the struggles of the subdued are painted by imagination and

mantled in silence! One most important document mentions the tribute of the Shôt, who may perhaps be the nomadic race of Skuthoi or Scythæ, the desolators of Asia-Minor. Others in their accompanying scenes point out the direction of the march to Syria, Judæa, or Nubia. Infinite tribes whose names have never reached the Greek geographers, and whose power never attained the consequence of a nation, lie prostrate, smitten before the haughty monarchs of Egypt,—“the kings of the upper and lower worlds, the lords of diadems, the Hori mighty in truth, the lords of the world, the gracious gods, the sons of the sun, lords of strength, hawks of gold, smiters of the world, lions among the shepherds.” In some instances the countries are identified—as Naharaina, or Mesopotamia; Toshir, the Red Land, or Egypt; Maghedo, Joutamelek or Judæa; Lutannou, Lydia; Phars, Persia. In this division alone the magnitude of the field is such as to afford materials for a succession of illustrators of more than one generation. Turn from the history to the religion, and the due unfolding of the pages of the Ritual will demand more than one life—that Ritual, whose dim image is reflected in the Gnostic one before us, containing the prayers uttered upon the funeral ceremonies, and the progress of the deceased through the Amenthes, or purgatory. He addresses invocations, in his advance, to each deity; to Meui, in the solar abode of the two truths; to the bari, or boat, of the god Chnouphra, as it navigates the pool of truth; to the solar abode; to the Bennou, or nycticorax; to the bier of Osiris; to the cow of Athor; to the chest of Osiris; to the mystic sycamore; the cat, Tori, the cynocephali; Iohkhons, the lunar Hercules; eleven times to Thoth, “to hallow him, the deceased, like as Thoth has justified the words of Osiris against his wicked enemies;” the head of Nofre Athôm in the lily; the swallow nourished with the scent of fire; the sowing and reaping in the fields surrounded by the mystical Hapimou or the Nile. When he comes before the Osirian Pluto and the forty-two jurors of the dead, the balance, the Ouemti or devourer of the impious, the Kerberos seated on his gate of flame in the palace of truth and justice; when the deeds of the body, typified as a heart, are weighed against the light ostrich feather of truth by Anubis and Thoth, or the Hermes psychopompos, as the deceased utters his negative confession, addressing each by their name,—“I have not been idle, I have not lied in the tribunal of truth (legal perjury), I have not committed adultery, I have not slaughtered the oxen of the gods,

I have not falsified money, I have not caught the oxyringi, and birds of the gods, I have not polluted the pure waters of the god of my country; I am pure, make me pure, justify before the balance."

The same individual mentions these gods as those "who are fed with the blood of the wicked," calling upon Osiris to address to him their names, and after passing through the terrific ordeal, still wending onwards through mystic region after region till he arrives at the last gates of hell; passing intact the burning pool of the Egyptian Phlegethon vomiting its volcanic jets of flame, those gates which, leading to the north, west, south, and east, are unbolted by Thoth to let the soul pass to the manifestation of the light of the sun, from which, in the Noutehir, or divine subterranean region, it had been excluded—that sun, in whose light he was to bask for ever, and whose two outstretched arms are ready to receive him.


How many invaluable allusions are there here. In the same, Seth, or Typhon, is mentioned as "the lord of the Red Land, the guardian of the gate of hell," like the Etruscan Charon; and the whole abounds in allusions, not always clear, but occasionally analogous to the Greek mythology. Who shall presume to interpret the mythology of the Egyptians, without analyzing it? It would be like giving an account of the religion of Bramah without consulting the Vedas, or describing the Jewish ceremonies without drawing from the source of divine inspiration! The subjects upon the walls of the temples being more pictorial, have been more popular. Yet, as far as the Ritual can be decyphered, it is more important; no one in Europe has hitherto publicly essayed it, although Champollion and Salvolini have used it in illustration. The analysis of the whole would be the *coup de grace* of the system, for almost all the papyri deposited with the mummied dead are repetitions of this great formula or prayer-book, the nearest complete copy of which is in the Turin collection. When will the keepers of those monuments awake from their apathy, and impart to the world the treasures which they guard with dragon-eyed suspicion? It is time to turn to another branch less generally fascinating—the astronomical projections found on the ceilings of the Ramesseion, of the temples of Dendera and Esnah, and of the walls of Ombos. What is the value of these works of art till a satisfactory solution can be arrived at of the meaning of the explanatory inscriptions which accompany them? The authority of one of them, to which the wild opinions of certain archæologists attributed a high antiquity, in order to

detract from the merits and truth, as if it were possible, of inspired writ, has not only been impugned but overthrown, shattered to fragments. The meaning of these projections, whether genethlia, of the Pharaohs, or connected with the heliacal rising of the dog-star, must await the solution of the fated Œdipus, who comes provided with a knowledge of the sacred writings; to none other, assuredly not to the vague essay of the uninitiated, will the Sphinx confess that her riddle is read. Now these subjects have been but very imperfectly treated. The labours of M. Rosellini have been confined to the Egyptian texts relative to the pictorial representations in the tombs, and these are by far the class of symbols the most difficult to interpret, because they are more seldom reproduced in the sacred language; and whether from the extremely difficult nature of the subject or not, the laborious deductions of the learned Italian are more distinguished from their extent than their brilliancy or originality; in this division, then, much lies open for correction and fresh observation. Throwing aside the results obtained from a sufficient knowledge of the inscriptions, without reference to the important conclusions arrived at—so important for the knowledge of the particular arts and sciences attained by the inhabitants of the Nile, there yet remains a branch scarcely less varied, and certainly not less delightful, to those engaged in philological and critical examinations into languages, and that is, the study of the language as a language, the taking to pieces of the complex machinery of which it is composed, and the admiration of the harmonious adjustment of the whole. Here the genius of Champollion pervades without a rival. In the hands of Young, (waiving the asserted claims of the guess of M. De Guignes, put forth with more national feeling than scientific exactness by Arago,) the hieroglyphical discovery was the mere block from the quarry which a master spirit had contemplated might be hewn into form. Under the grasp of Champollion, the disordered ranks of symbols, those mute symbols, in the language of a profound and sarcastic Hellenist of France, (M. Letronne,) which each had hitherto interpreted at his pleasure, assumed definite shapes and names. The end of the clue discovered by the one entangled him in the mazes of the labyrinth, but it conducted the other to the very shrine. Rival scales of merit will assign rival values to the great antagonists in the same career, and national feeling will always interfere with the claims of scientific men, who belong to no country, but are the property of mankind in general.

The candid inquirer *must* assign to Young the merit of the original discovery, and allot to Champollion that intuitive power of a great mind, which saw the application to almost its full extent, and that invaluable quality of mental concentration, which, with undivided attention and Herculean application, worked out the whole so fully, that scarcely a line has been added to the great principles of the French savant since his premature death.

Take up the demotic vocabulary of Young, his most elaborate work, and the *Grammaire Egyptienne* of Champollion; and from which does the mind rise with the greatest satisfaction?—there is but one answer. Champollion corrected the syllabic system to the alphabetic; identified and discovered the names of the Roman Emperors and most of the Egyptian monarchs; dissected in the most masterly manner the composition of the texts in their ideophonetic arrangement, to which Young to his last hour could never advance; analyzed the grammatical constructions and forms; translated in many instances integral texts with that pliancy of intellect peculiarly his own, and pre-eminently adapted for a decypherer; he abandoned every erroneous system, and, by means of his profound application, did more for the advancement of the science than his contemporaries or successors. Young, on the other hand, probably from lack of sufficient materials, still more from that of time, and above all, from that power of limiting and controlling the natural tendency of his great mind to diffuse itself upon a variety of subjects, has obtained a considerable credit in more branches than one; but the complete whole is wanting; his demotic dictionary—vocabulary, or what you will—is a mere sketch, upon whose wreck some future inquirer will erect a system far more satisfactory and complete. There is no philosophy in it, no analytical power shown, but a bleak result, and from that very circumstance suspected by the student; this too, where all receive the very elements of the study with doubt and with distrust! It is scarcely necessary to revert to the elementary knowledge of the subject, to the phonetic or sonal hieroglyphics, and the tropical or metaphorical signs, but rather to show the extent to which our knowledge has been carried out by the labours of Champollion, followed by the philologists of his school, the late M. Salvolini, Drs. Leemans and Lepsius, and the few who in this country have directed any portion of their attention to this subject. The alphabet has been all but entirely recognized, and it may be reasonably doubted whether there remain

above fifty phonetic signs whose sonal value has not been identified. In the tropical signs, a smaller proportion, but two-thirds at least of those at present known, have been discovered; the grammatical forms, to a very great number deduced—not merely detached words and a few pronouns, but the affixes and prefixes of most of the cases and tenses; the whole mode of notation, the composition of verbs and nouns, fixed and illustrated, and the exposition of the sentences in which they occur, with copious references of the places where they have been found. The prepositions, properly the affixes of the nouns, have also been identified. The third part of the *Grammaire Egyptienne*, which is on the point of issuing from the Parisian press, will without doubt embrace the syntax of the language, the minor forms of speech, and the *whole* be the text-book of the Egyptian archæologist for the next century. The labours of M. Salvolini have been principally directed to illustrate and prove the correctness of the results set forth by his illustrious master; and certain corrections, some unquestionably judicious, others upon which opinions may vary, are proposed by Dr. Lepsius, who merits the highest commendation for accuracy and research. From these mighty aids the study of the philology must ultimately advance still further. As it stands at present, the whole of the language divides itself into two branches: First, groups forming words, which groups are composed of purely sonal characters. This number is exceedingly limited; it consists chiefly of forms of speech, and words expressing abstract ideas, as the verb *to be*, &c.; secondly, groups composed of mixed characters, partly sonal, and partly metaphorical. This number embraces almost the whole *copia verborum* of the language.

As an instance of the former, may be taken the expression  *ερω*, forming the verb *to be*, &c. and of the latter, the

expression  *weis*. Now the

determinative or tropical form of a disk shedding rays of light identifies the meaning of the sonal symbols composed of the onion and snake, and by such determinatives the whole generic classes of ideas in the language are formed. Thus a cloth wrung to express the water from the soil of the river in which it is found, is gold, and means tropically, “metal,” and *par excellence*, “gold” itself. A goose is universally the tropical

form attached to groups of phonetic symbols expressive of the peculiar species of birds indicated by the sonal symbols; the expressions, for example, opt, hipi, samen, tor, indicate swan, bird, goose, scarabæus. Each is accompanied by the determinative image of a bird, not varied in ordinary texts, although in the highest finished style of art; the particular bird is depicted after the phonetic groups in question.

Similar functions are expressed by like classes of signs; and in other instances symbols more limited, as they appear in single groups, are used for the same purpose; thus, a heron holding a fish is the determinative of the term *hom*, to fish; a guitar, of *nofre*, good, &c.; and several of the tropical signs are limited to one or two groups. In this respect the Chinese and Egyptian are identical in their construction, the same office being performed in the arrangement of the generic ideas; in Chinese, by the elements called, in the Anglo-Chinese Dictionary, radicals, and, in the French, clefs. For



neau, in Chinese is put for a bird

with a long tail, and, joined with specific terms, pronounced *koo*, *hung*, *go*, &c., expresses "kite, goose, duck;" and as in the Chinese the accompanying groups relate to a tropical meaning attached to the characters, as *koo* means "united," *hung* (keang), river, and *go*, I, me, or mine—the etymology of the word is extremely difficult to trace, perhaps derived subsequent to the nomenclature, so, in Egyptian, the groups, although consisting of sound, have an internal strict relation with the etymology, which rarely admit of change or substitution. Here then the identity becomes complete, for every group of symbols in Egyptian, however phonetic, could never be presented to the eye in a purely sonal form, but as part of a language in its construction ideo-phonetic, embracing the inherent qualities of both alphabetic and ideal systems.

The working out of the detail entirely, both as regards the internal interpretation, and even the parts of speech so imperatively required for an elementary knowledge, and still more for a critical acquaintance with the language, demands a zealous application from a mind untrammelled by official duties. This unhappily, in a country where the educated class are overworked, is scarcely to be expected. Yet something has been done to increase our practical knowledge of the texts even here; while abroad in Germany and in Italy the study has been pursued with a zeal and ability, which promises the most brilliant results. To the government of

Tuscany Europe is indebted for the Egyptian education and publication of M. Rosellini; to Sardinia for the accurate labours of the lamented Salvolini; to France for the magnificent drawings of almost every monument which can claim any interest in the country; for the Grammaire of M. Champollion, published at the public expense—for the execution under an enlightened minister of the French and Tuscan expedition. England has followed in the wake; a private individual, Colonel Howard Vyse, has at his own expense broken into two pyramids, and published his researches and drawings in a style which can compete with any of our continental neighbours. Messrs. Wilkinson and Burton have at their own cost in Cairo published lithographic drawings of the most important archaic monuments, and private enterprise fairly divides the palm with the public spirit of foreigners. Though last, not least, the Dutch government throws its monuments into the scale, and reveals the hitherto imperfectly known treasures in Europe itself, contained in the Leyden Museum. Some account of these, enough to excite expectation, and awaken curiosity, had already been published by M. Reuvens, one of the most accurate investigators of the Greek branch of Egyptian antiquities; but public expectation has at length been gratified, and the scholar is presented with the fac-similes of the manuscripts themselves. These were written probably about the second century, amidst the agonies of expiring Paganism, or by some of the followers of those sects, on whom the vague appellation of Basilidians and Gnostics have been conferred. Their value, independent of their relation with these sects, is of the highest importance; for the *character* which fluctuates in its script, between the demotic or enchorial and the hieratic, is interlined with Greek explanations over certain passages more important for the memory. Thus Tat is written over the two symbols ordinarily called Nilometers, and known in the Rosetta stone to express established the $\tau\alpha\chi\pi\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau$ of the Copt, in reference to a region under the special patronage of Osiris; and Abbôt, over another region of the same kind, generally supposed to be the Abydos. Above a number of names, the $\phi\rho\iota\kappa\tau\alpha$ $\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ of these writers, which appear to be manufactured with regard to sound rather than borrowed from Hebrew or from Copt, together with some few which seem to be titles of Coptic composition, are written their Greek equivalents, and these equivalents put the scholar in possession of most of the characters employed in demotic to express sounds. Some of these differ from the values assigned by

Young, and each name is accompanied, as in hieroglyphic and hieratic, by a determinative sign, an abbreviation of the well-known symbol of the hatchet for god, deity, &c. In another MS. is a register of flowers in Greek and demotic, some of which have already appeared, through M. Salvolini in his *Analyse Grammaticale*, and these are far less satisfactory, because they are paraphrases, not translations, of the Egyptian terms, like the names of the Ritual, and are consequently no guide to the identification of the alphabet, which is still, in demotic, the great desideratum; there the discovery is quite in a feeble infancy, and while the general meaning of two-thirds of all hieratic and hieroglyphical documents give way to diligence and research, the vernacular, which it had been confidently expected would have at once surrendered to the laws of interpretation, is up to the present hour imperfectly understood. It has had three investigators, Young, Kosegarten and Spohn; three discoverers, Silvestre de Sacy, Ackerblad and Young, besides examinations from the principal persons who have studied the hieroglyphics, as Champollion and Salvolini. Still the difficulty remains, a difficulty which, it is to be hoped, will now be partially overcome by the publication of Dr. Leemans. Educated, as he has been orally by M. Salvolini, and receiving at an early period the Egyptian discovery, then imperfectly known in Europe—the protégé of the accurate and industrious Reuvens, with no restriction upon his time, a lithographic and printing press at his command, and every facility for pursuing the study, a taste for the same manifested in his edition of Horapollo, in his account of the royal names in the British and Leyden Museums—the world has a right to expect at his hands that the study will be not merely illustrated but advanced. The only copy hitherto seen is in Dutch, but in the prospectus there was a promise given that it should appear in French.

We utter our protest against any scientific works on subjects the fair property of the European literary world appearing in such a form, especially on a study limited to few, and requiring too much research to embarrass valuable time with the jargon of the Netherlands. Private feelings ought to give way to public utility. There is even Latin, if the Gallophobia is still strong in Holland; and one distinguished attaché to Holland, M. Siebold, has already found it necessary to have recourse to a politer tongue. But enough of this; a hint may prove sufficient. As far as the plates themselves are concerned, their accuracy may be relied upon. The papyri have been copied by the simplest and

most correct process: a transfer tracing lithographic paper has been laid over them, and the texts traced with lithographic ink through them. Those tracings have been transferred to the stone itself, and then retouched. From such impressions the plates are taken: they are eighteen in number, and fourteen are occupied with fac-similes, the other four with tabular views of the bilingual groups and the alphabet. Among the hieratico-demotic are two portions of Greek, one apparently an invocation to Osiris, commencing *ἐπικαλούμαι σε τον εν κενῷ πνεύματι δεινον αορατον παντοκρατορα Θεον θεων φθοροποιον και ερημοποιον*, &c.—“I call upon thee by name, thou in the empty air, the dread, the invisible, the Lord of all, the God of gods, the destroyer, the desolator,” &c.; for another ritual of the same kind, on the eve of publication, mentions this god as he who makes mankind to love and hate one another, who sows, who blights, &c. The other Greek fragment is an invocation to Typhon, or Seth; Typhon being the Greek name of this deity, to which form Seth is the true Egyptian appellation; and Typhon the type to which he was paralleled by the Greeks. In this part are several mystical names, some possibly borrowed from the vernacular or hieroglyphical titles of the deities; others, as *ἡτα, πυριφαν*, Greek: a limited number, like *ιαω, σαβαω*, Hebrew; and some, as *θουθι τατ σιθου φθαχ*, apparently Copt. In another part is one of those extraordinary invented alphabets, similar to such as appear in Von Hammer's translation from the Arabic, with the key. Two common figures are drawn in the text, the beetle and eye, with their names, *βαχυχ* and *σιχυχ*, whose meaning, if any, is at present unknown. In the duodecimo part will be found some observations exceedingly useful, by Dr. Leemans, and its consultation may be recommended. It will, indeed, go far to assist in a knowledge of the demotic, and supply the want of the grammar of the demotic, which Salvolini intended to have published as an Appendix to the Hieroglyphical and Hieratical Grammar of Champollion, which, it is to be hoped, will appear in its completed form this spring.

In connection with this subject, a publication which has recently issued from the manuscript department of the British Museum may be mentioned. It is a transcription of the Greek Papyri of the institution, without any text or comment, except such as is required to illustrate the apparent readings. This naturally forms a pendant to the labours of M. Peyron at Turin, published in the Academy of Sciences there. No doubt can be entertained that they will be amply illustrated here or upon the continent

and it is to be hoped, for the national credit, that the subject will not be strangled in its very birth. There is now no impediment with regard to the decyphering of these documents; and though they may not be written in Greek so pure, or language so refined, as the authors of antiquity, whose works have been studied and commented upon till they are threadbare, the critic who passes over these documents without interest knows little of the intellectual curiosity or knowledge which characterizes his brethren of France and Germany. As they touch upon the same subjects as the demotic, they are most highly important for examination; and it is to be hoped that some one will come forward to translate and analyze them. The only regret that can be expressed is, that the same accuracy which has been expended in transcribing them could not find leisure from official duties to render them more generally useful by translation and exposition. But to the Rev. I. Forshall, the present secretary and former keeper of the MSS., whose zeal and whose research are only equalled by his penetration, the best thanks of the future inquirer must be gratefully offered for the documents thus placed at his disposal; and it is to be earnestly desired that the Museum will not limit its Egyptian publications to the Greek documents only.

ART. II.—1. *Svenska Folk-Visor från Forntiden, Samlade och utgifne af* ER. GUST. GEIJER *och* ARV. AUG. AFZELIUS. Stockholm, 1 Del. 1814. 2 Del. 1816. 3 Del. 1816. 4 Del. (Musik,) 1816.

2. *Svenska Fornsånger, en Samling af Kämpvisor, Folk-Visor, Lekar, och Dansar, samt Barn-och Valt-Sånger. Utgifne af* ADOLF IWAR ARWIDSSON. Stockholm, 1 Del. 1834. 2 Del. 1837. *Båda med Musik-bilagor.**

It is always with extreme satisfaction that we investigate the contents of volumes like the present. They throw us back at once

* The old Ballads of Sweden, collected and published by ER. GUST. GEIJER and ARV. AUG. AFZELIUS. The fourth volume consists of old Swedish Melodies.

Ancient Swedish Ballads, a Collection of Champion Ballads, Popular Songs, Sport and Dance Rhymes, Shepherd and Nursery Songs, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Both tomes contain an Appendix of old Melodies.

into a national era, a condition of the popular ranks and a tone of feeling which will never return to us in European life. How fresh, how invigorating are our sensations in mingling once more with the simple habits of the past! The foray, the hunting-party, the pirate expedition, and the battle-field, are continually crossing and intermingling with the peasant's cottage, the flock of the shepherd, and the maiden's amour in the stilly wood. We become familiar with every class, we recognise every *type*. The chieftain, fierce and gloomy—the young knight, “out on adventures”—the eager lover,

“Burning like a furnace”—

and the artless village girl, or the proudly beautiful but simply affectionate high-born ladye, become, as it were, of the same household with ourselves.

But the effect produced by ballad literature is also of a deeply moral character. We become penetrated with the simple virtues of a period when they were characteristic of the population; we learn to sympathize with *man* and *woman*, because we see them nearer, and more unadorned and undisguised, than ever we did before; and we acknowledge and feel as men deep interest in all modifications of our common nature. When thus transported into the past age of simple manners and still more simple passions, the contrast between our own world and that of the minstrel-poet becomes so complete, that we are compelled to admit more or less of its spirit. Stock-jobbing and steam-engines, cant and centralization, railways and radicals, cease, for a time at least, to haunt our imagination, while we affectionately linger over scenes and lands where the one was unknown and the other would have been a crime!

Nor is this all. Ballad literature has yet another value: it hands down to us features of bygone centuries and practical illustrations of bygone systems, such as we can find in no other quarter. Like the old *Bayeux tapestry*, with its bizarre Viking ships, and mailed warriors, and quaint accoutrements, and parti-coloured sails, and perpetually changing figures, through which we become in the simplest manner acquainted with the habits and dress, and armour and navigation of the Gallo-Scandinavian adventurers, who, 800 years ago, made conquest of our island. Thus does the popular song reveal facts and feelings, customs and costumes, which are in the highest degree important and interesting:—“The king is sitting by his broad board, and is served by knights and swains, who bear round wine and mead. Instead of

chairs we find benches covered with cushions, or, as they are called in the ballads, mattresses (*bolstrar*, * bolsters, long pillows;) whence comes the expression '*sitta på bolstrarna blå*,' on the blue cushions seated. Princesses and noble virgins bear crowns of gold and silver; gold rings, precious belts, and gold or silver-clasped shoes, are also named as their ornaments. They dwell in the highest rooms, separate from the men, and their maidens share their chambers and their bed. From the high bower-stair† see they the coming of the stranger-knight, and how he in the castle-yard taketh upon him his fine cloak, may be of precious skins—or discover out at sea the approaching vessel, and recognize by the flags which their own hands have broidered that a lover draweth nigh. The dress of the higher class is adorned with furs of the sable and the martin, and they are distinguished by wearing scarlet, a general name for any finer or more precious cloth (for the ballads call it sometimes red and sometimes green or blue,) as opposed to '*valmar*' (serge, coarse woollens,) the clothing of the poorer sort. Both men and women play upon the harp, and affect dice and tables; song and adventure are a pastime loved by all in common, and occasionally the men amuse themselves at their leisure with knightly exercises in the castle-yard. Betrothals are first decided between the families, if everything follows its usual course; but love often destroys this order, and the knight takes his beloved upon his saddle-bow, and gallops off with her to his bridal home. Cars are spoken of as the vehicle of ladies, and from an old Danish ballad,‡ in which a Danish princess who has arrived in Sweden laments that she must pursue her journey on horseback,§ we see

* *Bolsters*. A. S. bolster, bolstre; D. bolster, E. bolster, from boll, E. bol (anything round or circular, from bollen. Hine ball and bowl. To boll, also, is to round by circumvolution) and *ster* or *stre*, straw. Thus Chaucer, Knight's tale, Tyrwhitt, l. 2920—

"Of *stre* first there was laid many a load."

A ball or roll of straw.

† The bower-stair, "*Hög Lofts bro*," was outside the building.

‡ The Danish princess, who was to be the spouse of a Swedish king, says,

"Vor jeg i min faders land,
Da fink jeg karm och köresvånd;
Dertill svarade de Svenske fruer:
I förer oss hit inge judske seder."

"Were I in my father's land,
A car I'd have, and driver grand;
The Swedish ladies answered thus,
'No Jutland manners bring to us.'"

Professor Geijer's Note.

§ No doubt a not very agreeable way of travelling far, especially in a period when all, both male and female, rode astride!

that their use did not reach Sweden so early. Violent courtships, club law, and the revenge of blood, &c., which, however, could often be atoned by fines to the avenger, are common.* "We cannot help remarking, also, that the popular ballads almost constantly relate to high and noble persons. If kings and knights are not always mentioned, still we perpetually hear of sirs, ladies, and fair damsels—titles which, according to old usage, could only be properly employed of the gentry. We will not, it is true, assert that the old songs have preserved any distinction of rank; but in the mean time this will prove that their subjects are taken from the higher and more illustrious classes. Their manners are those chiefly represented, and the liveliness of the colouring necessarily excites the supposition that they spring from thence. On the other side, again, they have been and remain as native among the common people as if they had been born among them. All this leads us back to times when as yet the classes of society had not assumed any mutually inimical contrast to each other, when nobility was as yet the living lustre from bright deeds rather than from remote ancestry, and when, therefore, it as yet belonged to the people, and was regarded as the national flower and glory. Such a time we have had; and he only cannot discover it who begins by transplanting into history all the aristocratical and democratical party-ideas of a later time." "Further, we find in the old ballads that there is not only no hate of class, but also no national hate, among the northern peoples. This explains how it is that they are so much in common to the whole north, and this community of sentiment extends itself even to the ancient historical songs."†

The old ballad literature also gains materially by nothing in it being forced. Composed in times when there was neither press nor criticism, affectation nor effect-seeking, premature feeling nor pretended taste, it was the instinctive and gradually moulded speech of heart to heart, relating many a "peril dire" by land and sea, or the real accident of a past age transformed into the rhymed legend of the next—

"While eager groups were gathered round
The wide hearth's blazing light"—

or the poetry of love interpreted in some affecting story to the passionate stripling, or to melancholy age; or the national superstitions clothing with unreal forms the

* Geijer's Swedish Ballads, vol. i. p. 39.

† Geijer's Swedish Ballads, vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

laughing wave and the "everlasting wood." In all these cases the object was simply one—to move. This one point gained, the bard received his well-earned plaudit. The song was eagerly retained by many a listener; and now that age upon age has rolled by, thousands of these fine old ballads live, while the authors of every one of them have long since been forgotten.*

But though the charms of "shepherd-song" are, we doubt not, dear unto many a noble heart among us, the popular songs of the north have an especial interest for the British reader. The little glimpses into the Danish fields of poesy afforded in the volumes of the gifted *Jamieson* were truly characterized as an event in the annals of our ballad literature. Since then no one has endeavoured to pry into and map out for us this unknown land of Scandinavian lore, and the labours of our most illustrious investigators lose not a little of their value from not being properly supported and illustrated by parallels and fillings-up from purer sources. It is now admitted on all hands that a thousand years ago the literature, like the language, of the whole Teutonic north (including Britain) was almost common to all its parts. This result from similarity of origin, belief, Viking expeditions, and clanship, was only gradually broken in upon by an unequally proceeding civilisation, the creation of isolated monarchies jealous of each other, and the growth of the dialect up to the language. Therefore it is that those parts of the great Gothic circle where the alterations have been most extensive must recover much of what is dear to them from regions far from the din of rapid change, and from tribes inhabiting a land where the stillness of the forest and the scantiness of population and communication are most likely to ensure simplicity of manners and purity of song and legend. But just this land, *par excellence*, is the northern peninsula, and especially Sweden. Denmark, which lies so near the heart of

the continent, has suffered much more change in the strife of centuries than either Norway or Sweden; while Norway, again, never had (from political causes which we cannot now stop to investigate) an equally extensive series of romantic ballad reminiscences, and could not preserve the little she possessed from the envy and jealousy of her Danish tyrants. Thus, notwithstanding the very great merit of the Danish ballad collections (called Danish, but in fact also Norwegio-Danish) we do not think they can be esteemed as of equal worth with the similar cycles we now proceed to introduce to our readers.

The publication of Professor Geijer's* first volume, in 1814, excited a very great sensation in the north; and when the work was continued and completed, the effect was prodigious. It called into being a large class of writers, in an especial sense national; it sanctioned with academical approbation the hitherto despised strains of the distant provinces, and gave a value to everything popularly antiquarian, which it has ever since retained. Continuations and reprints at home, and translations abroad,† soon proved that the mine now opened was a rich one. May his countrymen, excited by his example and the labours of such men as Afzelius‡ and Arwidsson,§ continue to work it till they have restored to the bright day the golden treasures guarded by the dwarfs of Neglect and of Oblivion!

In Britain we have unfortunately and unpardonably lost most|| of our ancient ballad melodies; in the north a very large number are happily rescued. To judge of the collections before us without also adding specimens of the music in which they are enshrined, is almost unjust; indeed, in many cases, it leaves us the body, when the soul has fled; but the nature of the Foreign Quarterly Review will not allow us the pleasure of adding any musical extracts. We must therefore be content with the ex-

* Since writing the above, we have found an observation almost similar in its tendency, in a charming little work by a French *litterateur* attached to the late French northern expedition. He is speaking of the story-tellers and saga-minstrels of the old north:—"Pour ébranler leur auditoire, ils ne citaient que les faits les plus dramatiques, et ajoutaient à la gloire du héros et au résultat sanglant des combats. Pauvre naïve ambition! Ces historiens voyageurs, assis à la table du jarl, quand une famille réunie autour d'eux les suivait avec attention, quand un vieux guerrier applaudissait à leurs paroles, ils se croyaient peut-être de grands hommes; et pas un antiquaire n'a pu encore révéler leur nom."—*Lettres sur l'Islande, par M. Marmier*, Bruxelles, p. 257.

* Since so celebrated as the great historian of Sweden.

† *Mohnike*, *Volklieder der Schweden*; *Studach*, *Schwedische Volksharfe*; many ballads in *Grimm*, *Wolff*, &c.

‡ This indefatigable clergyman has just published the first part of a *Legendary History of Sweden*.

§ This gentleman, who is one of the librarians in the Royal Library of Stockholm, has unquestionably surpassed his learned predecessors in the fidelity, sagacity, and research with which he has edited his materials, and his volumes constitute a refreshing example of how such a work ought to be brought out.

|| We except with pleasure those occurring in the last edition of *Sir W. Scott's Border Melodies*, and in *Motherwell's* and *Duunay's* Collections.

planation, that the prevailing tone of these old Scandinavian melodies is simple and melancholy; that many of them have a certain family likeness with the ancient songs of Ireland and Scotland; and that a considerable number are eminently beautiful. The two collections of *Geijer* and *Arwidsson* contain about 120 melodies; and we ourselves have been so fortunate as to obtain, in the country, about 220 more, the greater part of which are copied from a MS. collection in the Royal Library of Stockholm. We give this hint in case, as we hope, any collector or amateur should wish to turn his attention to this subject.*

The contents of the five volumes before us are so various, and an outline at least of their pages so absolutely necessary for every student (and their name is legion) of our ballad literature, that we have found it impossible to give any other abstract than that of a *catalogue raisonnée*. This method, indeed, has caused a large sacrifice of time and labour; but so convinced are we of its being the only way of doing justice to the subject, and so persuaded of its meeting the approbation of the extended and increasing class for whose use it is intended, that we have had no scruple in at once devoting to it the labour required. Indeed an index of such subjects, however constructed, is totally useless, except to one perfectly well acquainted with the contents of each particular ballad. An alphabetical list, which tells us that the song of "Sir Peter" is found at page 50, and that of "Duke John" at page 500, cannot give us the slightest idea of their plot or character. On the contrary, by giving such an outline as the one furnished below, we place in the hands of every reader and investigator, at home and abroad, in Scotland or in Kamschatka, the true key to every song; so that he has a complete *coup-d'œil* of the whole literature in question, can ascertain in a moment whether any particular song or subject is handled in the *Legendary Ballads of Sweden*, and can in one moment turn to the volume and the page in which every such song or variation from the general legend is to be found.

The number of ballads in both works is not less than about 300. These we have, first of all, arranged so as to bring together all relating to the same subject; and we have then reduced the *concrete* ballads into certain easy and naturally distinguished classes. We are far from asserting that this arrangement is faultless, or that every ballad is

always placed in its proper division; for compositions of this class, as our readers are aware, often run more or less into several classes. But we imagine that our scheme is the most useful and applicable in the present instance, and is best calculated for attaining the great end we have in view—the elucidation of the collections at the head of our article, and the practical and permanent service of all interested in their contents. The following, then, is the arrangement we have adopted:—

I. MYTHOLOGICAL AND HEATHEN BALLADS.

II. SONGS RELATIVE TO THE FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD MYTHOLOGY, SUBSISTING IN THE IMAGINARY BEINGS SUPPOSED TO PEOPLE THE MOUNTAIN AND THE WAVE, &c.

III. SPELLS, ENCHANTMENTS, AND WONDERS, &c.

IV. DREAM-LEGENDS.

V. GHOST-LEGENDS.

VI. CHAMPION-SONGS; OR, "THE TWILIGHT OR HISTORY."

VII. SONGS OF TRUE LOVE.

VIII. SONGS OF FALSE LOVE.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS SONGS OF LOVE, WOMEN, &c.

X. MISCELLANEOUS ROMANTIC BALLADS.

XI. CARICATURE-SONGS; OR, PARODIES ON THE CHAMPION BALLAD, &c.

XII. THE HISTORICAL LEGENDARY BALLADS, SACRED AND PROFANE.

Apologising for the title we have given each ballad, in case it should not always be thought the very best we could have found, we now proceed with our resumé, beginning with those of the first class, which are, of course, as rare as they are valuable.

I. MYTHOLOGICAL AND HEATHEN BALLADS.

1. "Offer-Song at St. Ingemo's Well." G. i. 244.* A slightly Christianized chant, reminding us of old gods and ancient rites.

2. "Fetching the Hammer." A. i.; 3, 7. This fine song, *the oldest in the north*, has already been noticed by Rask as remarkably and strongly corroborating the authenticity of the Eddaic legend, relative to Thor's Expedition in Search of his Mace. Of the Swedish copy, for we have also Danish and Norwegian varieties†, stanzas iv. v. vi. viii. and ix. are translated in the "Foreign Quarterly Review," for April, 1829, p. 119. Hitherto, however, it has not been remarked, that if printed, as it should be, in four lines instead of two, we should be immedi-

* It is to Her *Arwidsson* that we owe the MS. collection above-mentioned in the Stockholm Library.

* In these references, G. denotes the collection by *Geijer*; A. that by *Arwidsson*; the Roman numerals the volumes, and the Arabic cyphers the page.

† See the volumes of *Vedel* and of *Syn*.

ately struck with the evident *scaldic* and *alliterative* construction of the verse.

II. SONGS RELATIVE TO THE FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD MYTHOLOGY, SUBSISTING IN THE IMAGINARY BEINGS SUPPOSED TO PEOPLE THE MOUNTAIN AND THE WAVE, &c.

A. Mermen, Mermaids. 1. "The Mer-man deceived, or the Brother and Sister rescue each other." G. iii. 136. Rosmer Havmand, the Danish ballad, of which this appears to be an adapted fragment, is partly translated in Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs*, i. 215.

2. "The Charm, or the Knight that became the Mermaid's Spouse." G. i. 110. A very beautiful ballad. In the British isles, dim fragments of ancient Northern superstitions are every where common; but we sometimes detect resemblances where we should least expect them. Thus we in a moment detect the identity of scenery in this Swedish ballad of "Sir Olof," and in the Irish legend of "The Enchanted Lake."* But how startling is the difference of treatment; how immense the change produced by time and situation! The one is the severe and beautiful image of antiquity and its elf-shapes reflected in the ever-flow-

ing spring of ancient faith; the other exhibits the distorted features of tragi-comic pantomime, flung back by the troubled and muddy waters of confused belief and superstitious ignorance.

3. "The Mermaid† deceived, or the Maiden rescued by her Brother." G. iii. 148, 153; A. ii. 320, 324. We find here a remarkable and spirited description of the sister's toilet in the caves of the sea-lady.

B. Elves. 4. "The (Elf-Maiden) (Water-Witch) will betrothe a good Knight, who escapeth out of her Hands." G. iii. 168, 270, 171, 172; A. ii. 300, 302. The answering Danish song, called "Elvelig,"‡ is already in the hands of our countrymen.§

5. "The Knight Elf-shot, for that he will not join in the Elf-Dance.||" G. iii. 160, 162, 165; A. ii. 304, 307. A Danish parallel to these very pretty songs is found in Jamieson.¶

C. Necken. 6. "Necken, (Neck, Nick) the Water-King,** chooses him a bride." G. i. 60. The mixture of Paganism and Christianity in this ballad, as in many others, is very amusing. The Church is the place of rendezvous. We give four stanzas:—

VII.

The damsel she treadeth within her hall of stone;
"O Christ! that I could claim that good knight for mine own!"
With such honour.††

VIII.

And Necken he treadeth within his hall of stone;
And deep within his heart he longs to call that maid his own!—
With such honour.

IX.

"An' please it ye, fair ladye, to kirk to haste away;
Myself I would so willingly your driver be this day!"—
With such honour.

X.

He gallop'd over water, o'er bridge he gallop'd too;
That virgin ne'er again was driven this wide green earth aboo!—
With such honour.

* *Croker's Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland.*

† Of all ballads on this subject, none equal the beauty of Leyden's "Mermaid," who expressly mentions this story as a Gaelic legend. In the romantic ballad, he was the rival of Scott, and to whom Scott did ample justice. How exquisite are those lines on the mermaid herself:—

No form he saw of mortal mould,
It shone like ocean's snowy foam;
Her ringlets waved in living gold,
Her mirror crystal, pearl her comb.
Her pearly comb the siren took,
And careless bound her tresses wild;
Still o'er the mirror hung her look,
As on the wondering youth she smil'd.

Again, the imprisoned Lord of Colensay:—

And oft, beneath the silver moon,
He heard afar the mermaid sing;
And oft to many a melting strain
The shell-formed lyres of ocean ring.

Border Minstrelsy, book iii. p. 345.

‡ Nycrup, i. 237.

§ Jamieson, i. 225.

|| Familiar to the English reader is the beautiful ballad of "Sir Oluf," (*Tales of Wonder*, Monk Lewis).

¶ Jamieson, vol. i. 219.

** This is also in the above collection, under the title of the "Water-King." We extract two verses:—

The priest said, as the knight drew near,
"And wherefore comes the white chief here?"
The lovely maid she smiled aside,
Oh, would I were the white chief's bride!

Oh, had some spirit deigned to sing
Your bridegroom is the Water-King!
The maid had hate and fear confest,
And cursed the hand which then she press'd.

†† Och fröken bon gängar sig i Stensalen in;
Christ gifve! den Herren han mätte blifva
min!

Med den äran," &c. &c.

7. "Necken, the Water-King, punisheth the proud and cruel Maiden." G. iii. 129, 133. Professor Geijer adds in a note to this song: "The terrible ballad found in Sir W. Scott, under the name of 'The Demon Lover' is fundamentally the same as the above." Of this we are not so certain. They rest upon a different *moral* basis. We translate as a specimen, the following plaintive stanzas:—

XVI.

"Say! where dwells thy father, and where thy mother dear?"
Wake up, now, each good youth; come, quickly wake!
"And where dwells thy kindred, and where each loving fere?"
The young ones sure too long their slumbers take.

XVII.

"My father and my mother, they are the billows blae;"—
Wake up now, &c.
"And friends and kindred have I none, except the stick and strae!"—
The young ones, &c.

XVIII.

"Ah! but so hard, so sad it is, to dwell within the sea;
So many, many over us are rowing constantie.

XIX.

"Yes! right hard it is, to dwell in ocean's deeps, I trow;"—
Wake up, now, each good youth; come, quickly wake!
"So many, many over us are passing to and fro."—
The young ones sure too long their slumbers take.*

8. "Necken, the Water-King, giveth back the Drowned One, for that her Lover playeth the Harp so sweetly." G. iii. 140, 143, 145; A. ii. 310, 312, 315. There is a Danish ballad,† very similar in character. The Swedish copy, p. 140, is so eminently beautiful, that we cannot help attempting to enrich our language with it entire:—

(HARPANS KRAFT.)

THE POWER OF THE HARP.

I.

The youth to court-yard goeth, and gladly sports him there;
The maiden in her bower is sat, and weepeth sair:—
My heart's own dearest love!
Say! who is't ye so sorrow?

II.

"Tell me! some good horse weep ye, or some gold-saddle fine;
Or sorrow ye, regretting, that I've now pledged thee mine?"
My heart's &c.
Say! who, &c.

III.

"Ah! sure, no horse lament I, nor eke gold-saddle fine;
Nor sorrow I, regretting, that ye have now pledged me thine."

IV.

"Then weep ye, that so narrow the saddle ye have found;
Or sorrow ye, lamenting, the long road we are bound?"

V.

"Sure weep I not, that narrow the saddle I have found;
Nor sorrow I, lamenting, the long road we are bound."

VI.

"Mayhap you weep your father, or else your dearest mother;
Or sorrow for your sister, or else lament your brother?"

VII.

"Nor weep I for my father, nor yet my dearest mother;
Nor sorrow I my sister, nor yet lament my brother."

VIII.

"No! much and long I sorrow my fair bright golden hair;
Which, tossing on its waters, deep Värnam soon shall bear;

IX.

"Foretold it was about me, while yet a child at play,
That waves should be my grave-bed upon my wedding-day!"

* "Och hvar har du fader och hvar har du moder?
Vaker upp alla redlige drängar!—
Och hvar har du vänner och hvar har du
fränder?
De unga hafva sofvit tiden allt för länge,"
&c. &c.

† *Nyerup*, i. 236. We may as well mention here, once for all, that we have not added the German and Dutch &c. parallels, &c. It would have carried us too far.

X.

"But I will build a bridge, and strong it shall be made ;
Twelve thousand marks, and more, I wot shall there be laid ;

XI.

"And gallant knights, twice six, before thee there shall ride ;
And twelve good knights, none missing, shall guard thee on each side,"

XII.

So when now they came just half that good bridge o'er,
Her horse, four gold-shoes wearing, all sudden stumbled sore.

XIII.

Full brightly its four gold-shoes and thirty gold-nails gleam ;
And quickly down the virgin falls amid that rushing stream.

XIV.

To his little foot-page, hastily, then thus the youth did say :
"My gold-harp bring me hither, and make thou no delay !"

XV.

The first stroke on his harp of gold he struck so soft and clear,
That Necken on the water sat, and smil'd such notes to hear !

XVI.

His second stroke on harp of gold, it sounded all so sweet,
That Necken on the water sat, and bitterly did greet.

XVII.

"Methinks, young knight, thou playest now in much too hard a strain,
Thy fair young bride nathless, thou soon shalt get thee back again :

XVIII.

"Yes ! back again thou straight shalt get thy young bride rosy-red,—
As though where those deep billows roll she'd ne'er been lying dead !"
My heart's own dearest love !
Say ! who is't ye so sorrow ?*

D. The Mountain-King. 9. "The Mountain-King and his Bride." G. i. 1 ; ii. 201 ; A. ii. 275, 277. The first of these four ballads on this subject we cannot help giving at length, it being characteristic of a large class, and of a still popular northern superstition. The air to which it is sung is exceedingly plaintive. *Geijer* adds (i. 1.) ; —"Many of those ancient romantic ballads, which are still the dearest pastime of the country people on the winter-evenings, are commenced by an introductory relation. This one is among them. The songstress first commences a wonderful legend of the unfortunate girl who, on her way to church, felt herself with irresistible force drawn, as by a charm or enchantment, to seek the mountain-king. After detailing all the circumstances attendant hereon, the song begins :"—

(DEN BERGTAGNA.)

THE MOUNTAIN-TAKEN MAID.

I.

And now to early matin-song the maiden would away ;
Th' hour goes heavy by.
So took she that dark path where the lofty mountain lay :—
Ah ! well sorrow's burden know I !

II.

On the mountain-door she gently tapp'd, and small her fingers are ;
Th' hour, &c.
"Rise up, thou King of the Mountain ! and lock and bolt unbar !
Ah ! well, &c.

III.

The mountain-king rose up, and quick drew back both bolt and bar ;
To his silk-bed blue then bore he the bride that came so far.

IV.

And thus, for eight long years I ween, she liv'd i' th' mountain there ;
And sons full seven she bore him, and eke a daughter fair.

V.

The maiden 'fore the mountain-king now stands with looks of woe :
"Would God ! that straight I home to my mother dear could go !"

VI.

"And home to thy mother dear thou well enough canst go ;
But, mind ! I warn thee name not the seven young bairns we owe !"

VII.

Now when at last she cometh to where her home-halls be,
Outside to meet her standing her tender mother see !

* "Ungersven han går och leker på gården,
Och jungfrun hon sitter i buren och gräter,
Min hjerteliga kär!
Säg för mig hvem I sörjen," &c. &c.

VIII.

"And where so long, so long a time, dear daughter, hast thou been?
Thou'st dwelled, I fear me, yonder, i' the rose-deck'd hill so green."

IX.

"No! never was my dwelling on the rose-deck'd hill so green;
'This long, long time I yonder with the mountain-king have been!"

X.

"And thus, for eight long years, I ween, I've liv'd i' th' mountain there;
And sons full seven I've borne him, and eke a daughter fair."

XI.

With hasty steps the mountain-king now treads within the door:—
"Why standst thou here, about me such evil speaking o'er?"

XII.

"Nay, surely naught of evil I lay now at thy door;
But all the good thou'st shown me I now am speaking o'er."

XIII.

Her lily cheek then struck he, her cheek so pale and wan,
So that o'er her slim-laced kirtle the gushing blood it ran.

XIV.

"A-packing, mistress, get thee! and that I pray right fast;
This view of thy mother's gate here, I swear it is thy last!"

XV.

"Farewell, dear father, and farewell, my tender mother too!
Farewell, my sister dear! and dear brother, farewell to you!"

XVI.

"Farewell, thou lofty Heaven! and the fresh green earth, farewell!
Now wend I to the mountain, where the mountain-king doth dwell."

XVII.

So forth they rode, right through the wood, all black, and long, and wild;
Right bitter were her tears—but the mountain-king he smiled.

XVIII.

And now they six times journey the gloomy mountain round;
Then flew the door wide open, and in they quickly bound.

XIX.

A chair her little daughter reached, with gold it redly shone:
"O rest thee, my poor mother, so sad and woe-begone!"

XX.

"Come haste thee with the mead-glasses; hither, quick, I say!
Thereout now will I drink my too weary life away!"

XXI.

And scarce from out the mead-glass bright her first draught doth she take,—
Th' hour goes heavy by;
Her eyes were sudden closed—and her weary heart it brake!—
Ah! well sorrow's burden know I!*

10. "The Mountain King and his Bride, whom no Charm can make to forget her mourning Mother." G. ii. 22. The power of charms was always omnipotent in Old Scandinavia, especially when not opposed by any counter-charm. That we should find such a remarkable exception as the following, is therefore not less affecting than it is rare and surprising. We give the five last stanzas:—

XXXVII.

The one fair child bore her the brim upfil'd horn,
While the other dropped in it a small gilded corn.

XXXVIII.

The first drink she drank of that high-foaming horn;
Both Heaven she forgetteth, and th' earth where she's born.

XXXIX.

The next drink she drank of the mead in that Horn,
So both God and his Word she forgot on that morn.

XL.

The next drink she drank of that bright flowing Horn,
So both sister forgot she, and brother so lorn.

XLI.

So both sister forgot she, and eke her dear brother,—
But never forgot she her sorrowing mother!†

* "Och jungfrun hon skulle sig åt Ottesången gå;
Tiden görs mig lång—
Så gick hon den vägen åt höga berget läg,
Men jag vet att sorgen är tung," &c. &c.

† "Den ena bar fram det påfyllda horn,
Den andra la' deri ett förgyllande korn," &c. The refrains are the same as No. 9.

11. "The Mountain-King misseth his Bride, before he is aware." A. ii. 295. A somewhat corrupted copy of one of Sweden's few humorous pieces.

E. Dwarfs. 12. "The Knight is released from the Dwarf Lady's Charm, and gains in battle a beauteous Bride." G. i. 32, 127. This is one of the finest and most valuable Ballads in the whole collection, and is full of illustrations of ancient manners and superstitions. Stanzas iv.—vii. are already translated.*

13. "A faithful Lover killeth the Dwarf-King's Daughter." A. ii. 298. In the last verse of this good Ballad, we have an expression, common in British songs, but not so in Scandinavian:—

vi.

Then straightway good Sir Peter
He draweth his *brown* brand,
And off her head he quickly hews,
And thereto her right hand.
For trouble he was offered 'stead of love.

F. The Mountain Hag. 14. "The Knight rescues his Maiden from the Mountain Hag." A. L. 123. This long and precious old song ought to be translated entire, but our space forbids it. Three stanzas, illustrative of the old Scandinavian belief of speech and wit being possessed by the bear, we must make room for. Having lost his oxen in a strange manner,

iv.

Hemming wood and cover seeks,
And each close den he tried,
And finds at last the stark white bear
Suckling her young in pride.
Hemming the young on snow-skate† well could leap!

* Strong's Frithiof, p. 30.

† The following description of the snow-skate may possibly afford some information to English readers:—

"Now was the time for seeing the use of the snow-shoe, or rather the snow-skate. Those that spell like the Norwegians, write the word in point *skide*; those that speak like them, pronounce it *shee*. Men that can run upon the *shee* are far from being numerous. It is not every tree that they grow upon. To be enabled to do so they must have had a long preliminary education, and have begun it early; middle-aged men are slow at learning these matters. The *shee* itself is a long, thin, elastic piece of deal, carved at each end, like a skating-patten under a magnifying glass, or a miniature canoe. About its middle is a double thong to fasten it to the foot with. The forepart projects about three feet, and the hinderpart as much more, covering, endways, six feet of snow, and so not being liable to sink in deep places. Thus supported, you may not only walk over snow-drifts, which, if you wore common shoes, would totally smother you, but you may also run over whole tracts with excessive velocity."—Latham's *Norway and the Norwegians*, 2d vol. page 239.

v.

His bow bent Hemming 'gainst his foot
And shot her in her side;—
"That find'st thou not, I trow, so good,
As suckling thy young in pride."
Hemming the young on snow-skates well could leap!

vi.

Then up thereat that white bear rose,
And clasps him with paws so grey:
"Nor that, I trow, thou'lt find so good
As slumbering by thy may."
Hemming the young on snow-skates well could leap!*

G. Monsters. 15. "The Monster slain." A. T. 415. The Danish copy† is more complete.

16. "A Knight slayeth a Sea Monster‡ that devoured fair Ladies." A. i. 129. The most remarkable stanza in this song is the 5th, which refers to some superstition now no longer understood:—

Swain Färling to the smithy rides,
To fix his hilt fast on:
And then to kirk-yard takes his course,
God's name he'd set thereon.
But fain I'd follow Färling.

III. SPELLS, ENCHANTMENTS, AND WONDERS, &c.

A. Spells. 1. "The Wicked Charm, or the Childbirth delayed." A. ii. 252, 254. These songs, of which there are varieties in Danish,§ are similar in character to "Willie's Lady,"|| and to "Sweet Willie of Liddesdale."¶ But in Swedish *the spell is not unloosed*, and the unfortunate lady gives birth "in the fortieth week of the ninth year," to

A son who standeth up and combeth out his hair;
and to a strapping equal,

A daughter who the rich red silk could sew and
broider fair!

2. "A rich old Man taketh a young Knight's May to be his Bride, but a death sickness is charmed on him by his Rival, who getteth to his Spouse." G. ii. 82. The

*Hemming letar skogh och siuhl,
Och i de tränge ijde,
Finner han på den hytte biörn,
Hans unger läge och didde.
Hemming hin Vnge kunde vahl vppå skjilderna löppa, &c.

† Nyerup, i. 150; *Syv*, 120.

‡ The whole of this class of ballads is beautifully applied by Ariosto and the Italian bards, though their basis was the classical legend of Perseus and Andromeda. Still it would appear that to the Northmen we are indebted for the original form. Shall we arrive at last at the singular conclusion that the northern has originated even the Italian legend?

§ Nyerup, i. 271, 287; and *Syv*, Pt. iv. No. 90.

|| Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*.

¶ Jamieson, ii. 179.

most curious thing in this song (of which there is a Danish copy) is that the lady, who strictly forbids her lover's plain proposal to murder the aged bridegroom, seems to have no misgivings of conscience at the success of his not very roundabout warlock plan!

3. "The Runes of Slumber, or the Maiden victorious." A. ii. 249. This highly curious and Eddaic Ballad relates how a virgin, who could sleep each night with a man, and yet rise up a maid,* at last became so famous that "a kyngys sonne of Engelande" set out to try whether he could not triumph over her charm. The maiden however resorted to an expedient, on which we would not advise the modern fair to depend:—

x.

On the bed she laid the sheets all blue,—
Trim Tramelin!
And wrote there Runes of strength† anew;
Skur lur leja.

The effect was instantaneous, and the Amazon was compelled herself to awaken him on the *third* day.

Lest he should sleep his eyes quite out!
Skur lur leja.

B. Enchantments. 4. "The Enchanted Princess is delivered from being a Nightingale by a bold young Knight." G. ii. 67. *Nyerup's* Danish copy is probably a translation of this. Our want of space is our only reason for not attempting a version; but as it consists of twenty-five times six lines, we can only give one verse, as a specimen of its echo-like construction:—

She shaped me to a Nightingale,
Nightingale—
And bade me fly the world about;
My brother charm'd to a wolf so grim,
Wolf so grim—
And bade him to the forest leap.

5. "The Enchanted Maiden is delivered to a King's Son from being a Linden-tree." G. iii. 114, 118. This charming little ballad would well deserve its place in a romantic continuation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

6. "The Enchanted Maiden, first a Hind and then a Hawk, delivered by her Lover." A. ii. 264. There are several similar ballads in *Nyerup's* and *Syv's* Danish collections. The lover showed he was in earnest in a most uncommonly disinterested manner,

for he cut the "bleeding bait," which was to uncharm the hawk, from his own bare breast! The two last lines are very decisive!

He's not yet born, nor born can be,
Who e'er can part us two!

7. "The Enchanted Maiden slain in the form of a Hind." A. ii. 260, 262. Both copies are very affecting. The former ends thus:

xii.

By the stream the rime-frost falls, I wis:
I' th' woodland!
Who finds good fortune happy is!
Who beareth gold each haunch beneath.

xiii.

The crane swings high into the sky;
I' th' woodland!
Happy who can misfortune fly!
Who beareth gold each haunch beneath.

8. "The Enchanted Knight becomes himself again." A. ii. 267, 269. Needles, knives, and scissors, are among the rather unwonted things into which this luckless wight was enchanted by his step-mother!

9. "The Enchanted Prince is delivered by his Maiden from his Lind-Serpent shape." G. iii. 122, 124; A. ii. 270. These songs, of which there is also a variation in Denmark,* have some points of resemblance with "Kempion."† They belong to a class of Scandinavian superstitions, which we may perhaps explain in some future article.

C. Wonders, &c. 10. "A foreign Noble imprisoneth his young Spouse, who persuadeth the Raven to carry word hereof to her Father. Hereupon he hasteneth to his Daughter's succour, and, aided by his wondrous Horse (Blacken), succeeds in rescuing her." G. ii. 194.

11. "The merits and death of Blacken, the Wonderful Horse." A. ii. 257, 258. These three ballads, and a fourth in Danish,‡ are all the fragments that have hitherto been recovered of the old Scandinavian Saga of the famous Blacken. It appears from tradition, that the same cause, as in the two following ballad groups, namely, the "naming to death," occasioned the good steed's ruin, though not till after he had rescued both his master and the prisoned beauty!

12. "The Knight 'named to death' by the Maid he carries off." G. i. 5; iii. 76, 81.

13. "A Maiden, 'naming to death' her dear Knight, suffers grievously from her kin, relates her sorrows and so dieth." G. ii.

* There appears some analogy between this tale and the Lay of Sir Gawaine in Le Grand's *Fabliaux*.

† The "*ramme runor*" of the original can also be rendered *Raven Runes*.

* *Nyerup*, i. 255; *Syv*, Pt. iv. No. 34.

† Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

‡ *Nyerup*, i. 319.

7: A. ii. 170. The songs on this subject, of which there are Danish variations,* are highly interesting to the British student, from their supplying the true key to that beautiful Border Legend "The Douglas Tragedy."† The reader will observe, from the context above, that the 7th stanza in the Scotch poem proves the existence of the extraordinary idea involved in it at an early period in North Britain. Out of the five Swedish ballads relating hereto, we have selected the first, as being on the whole the most perfect and the most in keeping, and offer no apology for adding it entire, as a Scandinavian explanatory Appendix to the Scottish "Douglas Tragedy. We would willingly have added the fine old melody also, but we cannot!

HILLEBRAND.

I.

Hillebrand served in the king's halls so gay—
In the grove there:
For fifteen round years, I wis, he'd serve there night and day;
For her that in his youth he had betrothed there!

II.

Not so much served he for silver and goud;
In, &c.
'Twas that fair Ladie Gulleborg so dearly he loved!
For, &c.

III.

Not so much served he for pay or for place;
'Twas that fair Ladie Gulleborg she smiled with such sweet grace.

IV.

"And hear, Ladie Gulleborg, listen my love!
Hence to lands far off, dear! say wilt thou with me rove?"

V.

"Ah! willing with thee would I haste far away;
Were't not, love, for so many who watch me night and day!

VI.

"For me watches father, and mother also;
For me watches sister, and brother, too, I know.

VII.

"For me watch my friends, and me closely watch my kin;
But most that young knight watcheth me to whom I pledged have bin."

VIII.

"A dress of fine scarlet I'll cut for thee, my dear!
He then can never know thee by thy rosy cheeks clear.

IX.

"And rings will I change on thy fingers so small;
Then never thereby can he know thee at all!"

X.

Hillebrand his palfrey grey saddled right soon,
And lightly Ladie Gulleborg he lifted there a boon.

XI.

Away so they rode o'er thirty miles long wood;
When, see! to meet them cometh a knight so stout and good.

XII.

"And whence, friend, hast thou taken that fair young page with thee;
Full badly in his saddle he sits, as't seems to me."

XIII.

"But yestern I took him from 's mother so kind;
Thereat how many tears, alas! adown her cheeks fast wind!"

XIV.

"Methinks that once more I that rose-cheek should ken,
But his cloak of such fine scarlet I cannot tell again.

XV.

"Farewell, now, farewell! and a thousand times good night!
Salute the Ladie Gulleborg with a thousand times good night!"

XVI.

But when they had ridden so little a while,
The maiden it listeth to rest her awhile.

XVII.

"And Hillebrand, Hillebrand! not now slumber here;
My father's seven trumpets I hear loud-pealing clear.

* *Nyerup*, iii. 353; *Syv*, Pt. iv. No. 32. † *Scott's Border Minstrelsy*.

XVIII.

" My father's grey palfrey again now I know,
'Tis fifteen long years since through the woodland it did go."

XIX.

" And when 'mid the battle I ride against the foe,
Then, dearest Ladie Gulleborg, name not my name to woe.

XX.

" And when 'mid the battle, as hottest it be,
Ah ! dearest Ladie Gulleborg, my horse thou'lt hold for me !"

XXI.

" My mother she taught me to broider silk and gold,"
But never yet I've learned me in battle horse to hold."

XXII.

The first charge he rode, when together they flew,
So slew he her brother and many a man thereto.

XXIII.

The next charge he rode, when together they flew,
So slew he her father and many a knight thereto.

XXIV.

" And Hillebrand, Hillebrand ! still now thy fierce brand ;
That death, ah ! my good father deserved not at thy hand."

XXV.

Scarce had fair Gulleborg these words uttered o'er,
When seven bloody wounds had Sir Hillebrand gashed sore.

XXVI.

" And wilt thou, now, follow to thy tender mother's home,
Or with thy death-sick childe still onward wilt thou roam ?"

XXVII.

" And indeed I will not follow to my tender mother's home,
But sure with my death-sick childe still onward will I roam."

XXVIII.

Through dark woods thus rode they, for many a weary mile ;
And not one single word spoke Hillebrand the while.

XXIX.

" Is Hillebrand awear'd, or sits care on his brow ?
For not one single word he speaketh to me now !"

XXX.

" Nor wearied I am, nor sits care on my brow ;
But fast down from my heart my blood it drippeth now !"

XXXI.

And onward rode Hillebrand to his dearest father's lands ;
And there by the hall to meet him his tender mother stands.

XXXII.

" And hear now, how is't with thee, Hillebrand, sweet knight mine ?
For fast the red blood drippeth from off thy mantle fine."

XXXIII.

" My palfrey he stumbled, and quickly from my seat
I fell, and right hardly an apple-bough did greet.

XXXIV.

" My horse lead, dear brother, to the meadow close by ;
And a bed, my dearest mother, make up where I may lie.

XXXV.

" And curl now so gaily my hair-locks, sister dear !
And haste thee, father dearest, to get my burial bier !"

XXXVI.

" Ah ! Hillebrand, Hillebrand, speak my love not so,
On Thursday right merrily to the wedding we will go !"

XXXVII.

" Down in the grave's house of darkness shall we wed ;
Thy Hillebrand lives no longer, when night's last star is sped."

XXXVIII.

And when as night was sped, and the dawn beamed out to day,
So bare they three corpses from Hillebrand's home away ;

XXXIX.

The one it was Sir Hillebrand, the other his maid, death's bride
In the grove there :
The third it was his mother, of a broken heart she died !
For her that in his youth he had betrothed there.*

* " Hillebrand tjente på Konungens gård,
Uti lunden—
Och der tjente han uti femton runda år
För den han had' trolofvat i sin ungdom," &c. &c.

14. "Love and Life, or the Maid who slew herself on the corpse of her Beloved, when a Bird (Angel) restored them both to life again." A. i. 230, 233. The subject, we believe unique in ballad literature, is evidently of great antiquity. The sanction apparently given by the angel to the Christian sin, though Heathen virtue, of suicide, is a curious instance of the confused christianization of an olden legend. The bard who added the Angel-verse had more zeal than knowledge. The 13th stanza in the first copy is full of artless beauty :

Many thanks, thou bonny little bird,
Many thanks for this too-busy care ;
Thou hast waked us from our good sweet sleep,
On each other's arms soft slumbering there !

15. "The cruel Sister and the wondrous Harp." G. i. 81, iii. 16 ; A. ii. 139. This very beautiful ballad exists, in various forms, throughout Sweden, Scotland,* Ireland,† and the Feroe islands.‡ Want of space forbids our giving even one of the important variations before us.

16. "A Swain inviteth home the King and Court, when suddenly all becomes rich and splendid." G. ii. 176. This subject is also handled in an old popular tale, and is a dim fragment of Oriental origin still remaining among a people of Oriental extraction.

17. "The King and the Fortune-teller." G. ii. 274. This ballad well deserves translation.

18. "Two knights, hunting on the sabbath-day, are bewitched by the Devil, and slay each other." A. ii. 68. This subject, a genuine illustration of the identity of Monk-Gospel, and Sir A. Agnew's Judaic-Christianity, appears to have been known in all Scandinavia.*

IV. DREAM-LEGENDS.

1. "The prophetic Dream, or the Son's Revenge on his father's Murderer." A. ii. 75. The last stanza is very fine :

Palne leaps both moss and mire,
And dikes so deep and wide,
His seven bold brothers follow close
To hew—not gar him bide !
In thorns and flowers.

2. "The dream realized, or the Knight and his Bride are brent." A. ii. 79. The 6th stanza of this ballad also contains some old superstitious observation. We omit the double refrain :

"Dear mother ! greet ye not so fast,
For seven full years those dreams shall last."

3. "The Dream fulfilled, or the Lover that gified the Corpse, and then died for Love thereof." G. iii. 104 ; A. ii. 21. The knight's directions to the grave-diggers, after having given them gold that they may obey him the better, are (in *Arwidsson's* copy) full of melancholy tenderness :

XV.

"And dig the grave ye're digging there both wide enough and deep ;"—
It runs so in my mind, I say !
"For there, within that chamber-vault, our wanderings we shall keep."—
Thou shouldst not sorrow, bad thy May.

XVI.

"And dig the grave ye're digging there both deep and eke full wide ;"—
It runs so in my mind, I say !
"For there, within its narrow bounds, full often shall we glide."—
Thou shouldst not sorrow, bad thy May.

4. "The Wife's Dream, or the treacherous Father-in-Law" (A. i. 10), is exceedingly ancient, and reminds us of many passages in *Inorre Sturleson's* Royal Sagas.

5. "Of the Knight who lost his Sweet-heart by his Brother's treachery, and how he dreamed thereof, and visited the Bride, and slew his Brother with many others, afterward doing grievous Penance in the Woods" A. i. 216, 224, 412. These curious and terrible ballads, of which one

copy has nearly fifty double verses ! are also paralleled in Danish.†

6. "The mournful Dream, or the slaughtered Knight and his dying Spouse." A. i. 211. This well deserves translation, abounding as it does in ballad beauties. But its length, twenty-five double verses, will not allow us that pleasure.

7. "The happy Dream, or the youngest Daughter becomes the greatest Queen." A. ii. 183. This ballad is very naïve and pretty.

V. GHOST-LEGENDS.

1. "The Champion wakes up his Father's

* "The twa Sisters," *Jamieson*, i. 50.

† "The cruel Sister," *Scott's Minstrelsy*.

‡ A valuable copy was transmitted thence by Professor Rask, and is printed, with a translation, in *Geijer's* first volume, p. 86.

* *Nyerup*, iii. 160, 322, and MSS. in the Roy. Lib. Stockholm.

† *Nyerup*, iii, 74.

Ghost, and demands his Battlebrand." A. ii. 445.*

2. "The Knight, betrothed when a Child, invokes his (Father's) (Mother's) Shade to reveal to him his promised Bride." G. i. 57; A. ii. 284. These three ballads remind every Scandinavian student of Odin's descent to Hela in the Edda, the invocation in the Hervara Saga, &c.

3. "The Step-mother rebuked, or the Mother's descent (to) (for) her Children." G. iii. 33, 36; A. ii. 94, 97, 101. Willingly would we give one or two of these fine ballads, of which there are Danish† parallels, in an English dress. Never was the hated step-mother more bitterly satirized? Their contents are curious, and their style and colouring *à la Rembrandt*. "Death comes into the village and taketh" the first good wife. After a time, her poor cruelly-treated bairns gathered together on her grave, and

VIII.

Their salt tears on their cheeks fell fast,
Their mother from heav'n they wept at last:

IX.

They greet salt tears, they greet red blood,
They greet till their mother from black earth stood.‡

X.

To the Angel-Host Dame Sölverlind said;
"Is it lawful for me on earth to tread?"

XI.

"Well may'st thou go and the earth-realm tread;
But haste, before cock-crow, back to thy bed!"§

On revisiting her neglected children, she washeth them in her tears!

4. "The Loyer's Ghost visits his Maiden dear. G. i. 29, ii. 204; A. ii. 203. The subject of these ballads is now familiar in Britain.||

5. "The Ghost cannot rest till the unjustly-gotten Land is restored." A. ii. 106. This antique ballad depends on the old nor-

thern belief, that in case any absent relative should be murdered, the armour, sword or shoes, which he had left at home would be covered or filled with blood.

6. "The murdered man's Ghost." A. ii. 451. A more complete copy is found in Denmark.*

VI. CHAMPION SONGS, OR "THE TWILIGHT OF HISTORY."

1. "Axel Thordson and fair Valborg." G. i. 148. This lay or romance is common to Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. It is of great beauty, highly affecting, and extremely valuable as containing a picture of the manners and prejudices of the middle ages of Scandinavia. It is probably originally Norwegian. Its extreme length (200 verses of four lines) prohibits anything more than the merest skeleton-outline of the story. The high-born and valiant knight Axel Thordson returns from "The Emperor's Palace" to marry his betrothed. But his rival, the young prince, assisted by a jesuitical villain, the Dominican Master Knut, ascertaining that they were within the degrees, forbids the match, and himself, every other *volens volens*, compulsorily betroths the fair one. Shortly after, war breaking out, the young king hastens with his army to the field, and drives back the foe, till at last he receives his death-wound. The brave young knight Axel, ever in the thickest of the fight, and bearing a shield blazoned with two blood-red hearts, revenges his rival's death with the most chivalrous valour, till the victory is his own, and he falls covered with eighteen wounds. The twice-betrothed and never-married beauty, on hearing such sorrowful tidings, retires to a cloister for the rest of her days. We add the three last stanzas:—

CXCVIII.

Within that cloister's walls, we hear,
Both maids and virtuous dames abound;
But none so fair as Valborg dear,—
On earth her like is scarcely found.
But fortune takes full many a turn!

CXCIX.

Better, unborn, this earth ne'er tread—
Than still to live in grief and strife,
With anguish eat one's daily bread,
And never taste the joys of life.
But fortune takes full many a turn!

CC.

I pray God pardon them who part,
So cruellie, so wickedlie,
Fond faith from faith, fond heart from heart,
Which would in honour joined be.
But fortune takes full many a turn?†

* Spiritedly given by M. Lewis in the *Sword of Angantyr*; better still in a ballad which we believe has never seen light, by the late Rev. T. Greenwood, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Lewis has some lines of great power. Hervor on receiving the sword exclaims:

"Flames amid my ringlets play,
Blazing torrents dim my sight;
Fatal weapon hence away,
Woe be to thy blasting might.
"Woe be to the night and time,
When the magic sword was given;
Woe be to the Runic Rhime,
Which reversed the laws of heaven."

"The Descent of Odin" is familiar to the English reader in the glorious lines of Gray.

† Nyerup, i. 205; Syv, Pt. iv. No. 78.

‡ A. ii. 95. We omit the refrains. § G. iii. 34.

|| A translation of the Danish copy, called "Aa-ger and Elsa," is found in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. XI. p. 62, and parallel traditions are preserved in *Percy's Reliques*, iii. 105; "Clerk Sanders," *Jamieson*, i. 83; and *Scott's Minstrelsy*.

* Nyerup, i. 201; Syv, Pt. ii. No. 5.

† "I klostret mängen gifven är,
Både jungfrur och dygdiga q'vinnor;
Dock ingen så skön som Walborg kär
Hvars like man näppeligt finner.
Men lyckan hon vänder sig ofta om," &c. &c.

2 "Habor and Signild." G. i. 137. This exquisite ballad, one of the finest in the whole world, ought long since to have been translated. Its extreme length (62 four-line stanzas) forbids our entering into its beauties. An outline of its incidents may be found in the works quoted below.*

3. "The Champion Hake." A. ii. 425. A fresh and pleasant chanson enough. The hero, in the old style, slays the monsters, and marries the king's fair daughter. The refrain is the best *characteristique* we could give of the whole ballad:

He taught the trolls to dance there!

4. "The Fight of Vidrik Verlandsson with the giant Högben" (Long-Legs!) A. i. 13, 20, 405.

5. "The Twelve strong Champions." A. i. 28, 37, 407.

6. "Wolf of Jern," (Bern.) A. i. 49, 56.

7. "Earl Guncelin." A. i. 67. The Knights of the Round Table and the Paladins of Charlemagne were not more renowned in the south of Europe than *Didrik of Bern*, (Theodoric of Verona, King of the Ostrogoths,) and *Sigurd Jafnersbane*, had become in the north. Song and Saga are full of their exploits, and of the indomitable courage of their champions and comrades. The above ballads belong to this cycle, and are partly paralleled and partly imitated in the *Vilkina Saga*, the old German *Rosengarten*, *Sæmund's Edda*, (Sigurdar Qvida,) and in Danish and Feroe ballads, &c. &c.

8. "Olger (Ogier) the Dane and Burman." A. i. 75, 80. This subject is also known in Denmark, and is extremely common in Sweden. It is perhaps as old as the Chevalier Romance written by Adan, and called *Ogier le Danois*, which was translated into Danish, and published in the sixteenth century, by *Pedersen*.

9. "Essliörn the Courteous and Orm the Strong." A. i. 87, 95.

10. "Wolf the Strong." A. i. 103. The subject of these ballads is the same as that treated of in *Orm Stórólfs son's Saga*,† supposed by Müller‡ to have been written in the fourteenth century. The hero may well be called *the Strong*, for, when only twelve years old, on being reproached by his father, whom he was assisting at hay-making, that he was taller than he was strong—*Orm* laid hold of the load of hay that had been driven

from the plain, and threw it, *horse and all*, high up upon the stack! Even an outline of the adventures of such a knight would take up too much room. We refer our readers to Arwidsson's *Sketch*, Vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

11. "King Speleman." A. 107. In this ballad, an immensely strong *thresher* ("*loge-dräng*") slays with an oak-tree the eleven champions whom King Speleman had combated in vain. Naturally enough, the successful hero calls himself, thereafter, *Ott the Wise*.

12. "Ivar Jonson." A. ii. 410. This old fragment is not without interest.

13. "Duke Henry." A. ii. 422. This romance, in which a grateful lion guides home the Duke in time to recover his spouse, is originally German.*

14. "Sir Arvid." A. ii. 417. This ballad has considerable interest. It relates the cruel treachery of a step-father, and the tradition on which it rests was not deemed unworthy of preservation by the great *Linnæus*.†

15. "Peter Tyrson's Daughters in Vänge." G. iii. 193, 197; A. ii. 413. This song is a terrible tragedy. Three brothers (outlaws) cruelly murder three damsels, who, although they know it not, are their own sisters. They then proceed to sell the dresses and ornaments of their victims; but the first house they come to happening to be the home of the missing maidens, they are discovered to have been their murderers. *Peter Tyrson* herewith slayeth two of the banditti, and is about to put the third to death also, when he learns from him that the three criminals were his own long lost children.

16. "The Cloister forced." G. i. 182; A. ii. 393.

17. "Elizabeth, the Nun of Risberga Cloister." G. iii. 182. These are melancholy memorials of a time when, among both princes and people, might was too often right. They are too long to allow dissection; besides which, the latter is comparatively modern, having been written by Bishop *Nils the Holy*, in 1390.

The limits of our present number will not permit us to continue at greater length this article; but that the lovers of legendary lore may not be disappointed, we promise to complete the remaining six heads under which we have classed Swedish minstrelsy in the ensuing; and we trust the ballads that we shall be then enabled to present will be both perfectly new to the public, and offer

* Strong's *Frithiof*, p. 211; Do. the last Translation, by G. S., Index, p. 270, Art. *Hagbart*.

† *Tháttir Orms Stórólfs sonar* is printed after *Olof Tryggvason's Saga*, in the Skálholt edition, and in *Formanna Sögur*, t. iii.

‡ *Saga Bibliothek*, i. 353.

* "Heinrich der Löwe," in Wolff's *Historische Volkslieder der Deutschen*, 22; and *Erlach*, ii. 290.

† *Journey through Skåne*, 324.

still more favourable specimens of the genius and chivalrous feeling of the Northmen.

Harp of the North! that mouldering long has hung
On the witch elm that shades St. Fillan's spring
And down the fitful breeze thy numbers flung,
Till envious ivy did around thee cling,
Muffling with verdant ringlets every string.
Oh, minstrel harp! still must thine accents sleep
'Mid rustling leaves and fountains murmuring,
Still must thy sweeter sounds their silence keep,
Nor bid a warrior smile, nor teach a maid to weep!

ART. III.—*Eléments de Paléographie, pour servir à l'étude des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, publiés par ordre du Roi et par les soins du Ministre de l'Instruction publique.* Par M. Natalis de Wailly. 2 tom. 4to. Paris. 1838-9. (Elements of Palæography to illustrate the Study of the unpublished Documents on the History of France, published by order of the King, and under the Superintendence of the Minister of Public Instruction. By M. Natalis de Wailly. 2 vols. 4to. Paris. 1838-9.)

THE recent publications of the French Record Commission, the Historical Society of Paris, the Camden Society of London, and the late English Record Commission, have proved how much valuable historical material yet remains buried in the "musty dust" of our libraries. Not only have doubtful points been cleared up, and dark transactions thoroughly elucidated and investigated, but many early epochs both of English and continental political history have completely changed their features, and actual documents taken the place of the generalities and inaccuracies of the ancient chroniclers. Every effort tending to promote the further prosecution of these praiseworthy researches ought to meet with more encouragement than is in general its lot, and with the utmost pleasure we perceive the completion of the splendid work on Palæography which has recently appeared under the auspices of the French Record Commission, and which has so completely unfolded the means of studying old parchments, that nothing remains to be desired. The magnificent style in which these volumes are prepared, and the really new and valuable matter contained in them, ought to read a lesson to the majority of English antiquaries—men who are for ever puddling among antediluvian pots and kettles, instead of employing themselves in the nobler study of history.

Addison remarks that "one of the great

est geniuses this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite studies of antiquity, assured him upon his being obliged to search into several rolls and records, that, notwithstanding such an employment seemed at first very dry and irksome, he at last took an incredible pleasure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero." There is, in fact, something delightful in the very act of unrolling old parchments—something that to be intelligibly described requires to be felt—and it is therefore less to be wondered at that the initiated should sometimes overrate the value of such documents. We imagine this to be the case in the present instance, where a greater degree of importance is given to the subject than it really appears to require. This perhaps can scarcely be considered a cause for complaint, but we certainly must utter our protest against the arrangement of the dictionary of contractions in the first volume: to render it useful, the order of the contractions and their explanations ought to be reversed. Indeed, when we compare the list of contractions given by M. Wailly with that contained in Walther's *Lexicon Diplomaticum*, the former is evidently considerably inferior. Neither do we think that M. Wailly has adopted the best method in the grammatical portions of his dictionary, for surely the initial, as well as the final contractions, ought to be separated from the rest, and made a ground-work for the whole. For instance, such contractions as that for *us* ought to form an elementary grammatical table quite distinct from a dictionary, and so frequently do they occur in middle-age manuscripts, that the knowledge of them is absolutely necessary before the object of many other contractions is clearly understood.

But the most interesting and valuable portion of M. Wailly's work consists in his remarks on the age of manuscripts; and it will not be wholly irrelevant, we conceive, if we give the reader a short analysis of what he says on the subject.

Manuscripts which are written in capitals, or have several of their words joined together without any distinction of situation, belong to the seventh century or earlier; and such as are written in capitals, without any distinction of the words at all, belong to the fifth century, and some of them are much older. Greek manuscripts without accents are as ancient as the seventh century, when accents were commonly used; although the celebrated Alexandrian manuscript of the Bible in the British Museum has its first page accented. Saxon characters were in use in England from the seventh

century to the twelfth, and a few are found in English manuscripts of the thirteenth century; the Saxon character for *th* was however retained until the end of the fifteenth century, and the common contraction *ye* for *the* is merely a corruption of the Saxon *th*. Manuscripts that have several of the diphthongs *æ* divided, belong to the ninth and tenth centuries; except, indeed, in some written about the period of the invention of printing, when the scribes began to imitate the hands of the books which they copied: and these may be easily distinguished, by the freshness of the ink and vellum, and by their defects in imitation: and are generally written in a fine Roman hand, most of them having been executed in Italy. Those manuscripts which use the single *e* instead of the diphthong *æ* may be referred to the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth century.

Varro informs us that palm leaves were at first used for inscriptions; whence probably the word *folium* began and continued to signify the *leaf* of a book, as well as of a tree or plant. Afterwards, he says, that they wrote on the bark of trees; hence the word *liber*, or *bark*, came to signify also a *book*. He also informs us that the first use of papyrus, or *charta* made of the Nilian reed, was at the period of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great; and that when Ptolemy, in emulation of Eumenes, would suffer no papyrus to be carried out of Egypt, parchment was invented at Pergamus, whence it is called in Latin *pergamena*. But although the Egyptian reed for writing on might at those respective times begin to be more universally known and practised, yet there are instances of its being used earlier for that purpose. The ancient practice of writing or engraving on brass is well known, and many old marble monuments still remain, containing inscriptions. But it is scarcely to be expected that ancient writings to any great extent upon lead, linen, wood, wax, bark, reeds, or palm or mallow leaves, should be now extant, the practice having fallen out of use, and the materials being so perishable. The Egyptian remains furnish evidences that this was the fact, and occasional instances of writings upon bark still remain.

We must not, in pursuing these inquiries, lose sight of the grand object for which this valuable work was compiled—a means for *using* historical materials. How far its publication may have effect in England, remains to be seen, but we certainly may venture to express a hope that its influence may be felt on the worthy writers of the articles in the ponderous volumes published by the Society of Antiquaries under the

title of *Archæologia*, as well as on the managers of the Camden Society. As an example of the former we will take the last published half-volume, and demand of the learned secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries, what new historical fact of real importance is brought to light in the course of its *two hundred and six* quarto pages? And what is the reason of this dearth of value? It is this: the society is governed by a clique of men who are irrevocably settled into antiquarian habits of the past century, and will neither keep pace with the present active world, nor encourage those members of the society who alone are able to save its reputation. And why, it may be asked, is there no reaction? Why do those who know better allow themselves to yield to the weight of rusted authority? And why is not some effort made towards a reformation? The reason is obvious: the Society is composed for the most part of men who neither know nor care anything for the objects of the Society, and cannot be expected to complain of the evils of a management they cannot understand; and those members who have been zealous enough to attempt it, consequently suffer the fate of most reformers until they succeed in raising intellect to their own standard.

We are well aware, as regards the Society of Antiquaries themselves, we are doing no more good than talking to the wind; but we cannot resist the fair field of attack furnished to us through the present medium, to champion forth some doughty knight errant ad outrance. We know also that we are liable to the serious imputation of attempting to injure a valuable institution. No such thing. Those are the real enemies of the Society, who, for their own love of the status quo, would maintain it in its present position. To the secretaries we cannot help applying the words of an excellent old Greek song—

“ Ο κάρκινος ὠδ' ἔφα,
χαλῆ τὸν ὄψιν λαβών.
εὐθεία χρὴ τὸν ἐταῖρον εἶναι
καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν.”

“ Thus spake the crab unto the snake,
When in his claw he trussed him:
‘ Walk straight like me, you wriggling rake!
I hate that *sideway* custom.’ ”

We disclaim all ill-feeling towards the Society, but we must condemn the way in which it is carried on: the Camden Society, of two years' growth, gives to the world four-fold in proportion to the Society of Antiquaries, and with *less than one-half* the income!

In noticing the progress of the Camden

Society, we ought to premise that its objects are much more general and popular than those of the Society of Antiquaries, and that history does not form an essential subject in every one of its publications. Were not this the case, it might reasonably be said that some of its books are below the proper standard of serious learning; but we find so much to approve, and so little to condemn, that on the latter side we will be altogether silent. As the publications of the society are not in general circulation, we propose giving a very brief abstract of each of them.

1. The first publication was a contemporary narrative of the deposition of Henry VI. in 1471, edited by Mr. Bruce, from a manuscript in the Harleian collection. This history was written by a zealous Yorkist, a servant of Edward IV., who affirms that he "presently saw in effect a great parte of his employtes, and the resydewe knew by true relation of them that were present at every time." The history is curious and minute, although tinged with a large portion of party spirit, and in the main may be safely relied upon. Mr. Bruce has edited it from a copy of the original made by Stowe the Chronicler, for the manuscript is not known to be in existence, although it was for some time in the possession of Fleetwood, Recorder of London in the reign of Elizabeth. In his notes, Mr. Bruce has collected together the principal authorities on the manner of the deaths of Prince Edward and King Henry, and we think that his opinion founded on them is deserving of attention. See the editor's concluding observation at p. 47.

2. A play by John Bale, entitled "Kynge Johan," edited by Mr. Collier. This is printed from a manuscript in the library of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. The design of the play was to promote and confirm the Reformation, of which, after his conversion, Bale was one of the most strenuous and unscrupulous supporters. This design he executed in a manner until then unknown. He took some of the leading and popular events of the reign of King John,—his disputes with the Pope; the suffering of his kingdom under the interdict; his subsequent submission to Rome, and his imputed death by poison from the hands of a monk of Swinstead Abbey, and applied them to the circumstances of the country in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.

3. The next publication of the Camden Society consists of a contemporary alliterative poem on the deposition of King Richard the Second, in *English*, together with the Latin poem of Richard de Maydeston,

on the same subject, edited by Mr. Wright. The first is exceedingly curious as a specimen of composition, and was discovered by Mr. Wright in a manuscript in the Public Library of Cambridge, where it had long remained unknown. The second, a Latin poem of little value, is taken from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

4. THE PLUMPTON CORRESPONDENCE: a series of letters from the reign of Edward IV. to that of Henry VIII., edited by Mr. Stapleton. This volume is taken from a manuscript placed at the disposal of the Camden Society by Peregrine Edward Townley, Esq. The letters it contains are exceedingly curious and valuable, but throw very little light on the history of the period.

5. Anecdotes and Traditions, illustrative of early English History and Literature; edited by Mr. Thoms. This volume consists of a very interesting collection of anecdotes, derived from three manuscripts in the British Museum, and very ably edited by a gentleman who has greatly distinguished himself in the history of fiction. The portion containing notices of traditions is most intensely interesting, and altogether the work is exceedingly honourable both to the society and editor. Nor must we omit to remark the "Notices of Sir Nicholas Lestranger's Family" prefixed, from the pen of J. G. Nichols, Esq., one of the most distinguished topographers and genealogists of the day: this little memoir adds highly to his reputation, and by the extraordinary power of research displayed at every turn, excites the admiration of the reader.

6. A contemporary Chronicle of the first Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, by John Warkworth; edited by Mr. Halliwell. Considered in an historical point of view, this is the most valuable of all the publications of the Camden Society, and it certainly yields to none in depth of research and carefulness of editing. John Warkworth was master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and this document is now for the first time edited from the original manuscript still preserved in the library of the college. In the introduction, Mr. Halliwell has arranged a great mass of evidence in favour of the murder of Henry the Sixth, and we think that no one can now reasonably entertain a doubt of the fact. The notes are full of most valuable matter; we regret that our limits will not permit us to enter into even a slight notice of any of them: suffice it to say, that they contain new and important facts, chiefly taken from manuscripts in local libraries,

and consequently not easy of general access.

7. The last publication of the Camden Society is a collection of English Political Songs, from the Reign of John to that of Edward the Second, edited and translated by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. This is a most singularly interesting volume, whether we regard the light it throws on history, or its extreme curiosity. The editor remarks in his introduction that "few historical documents are more interesting or important than the contemporary songs in which the political partisan satirized his opponents, and stirred up the courage of his friends, or in which the people exulted over victories gained abroad against their enemies, or at home against their oppressors, or lamented over evil counsels and national calamities. Yet, though a few specimens have been published from time to time in collections of miscellaneous poetry, such as those of Percy and Ritson, and have never failed to attract attention, no book specially devoted to ancient political songs has yet appeared." An appendix contains some extracts from the French version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle.

When we turn to the intended publications of the Camden Society, we find very inferior documents creeping in, and it would be well if some of them were sent adrift at once, and not allowed to stain the pages of the Society's circular. For instance, Hayward's "Annals of the first Four Years of the Reign of Elizabeth" cannot be worth publishing. Do they contain new facts? Again, we perceive the narratives of Two Pilgrimages to the Holy Land proposed for publication, one of them undertaken in the year 1458, and the other in the year 1517: we question if either of these can contain anything worth paper and print; but, at all events, itineraries of that late date ought to be very different from the generality of such documents to be worth much. The following selection will, however, show that our censure is not extended to all:—

1. A brief History of the Bishoprick of Somerset, from its foundation to the year 1174. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

2. The Egerton Papers; consisting of public and private documents formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, and Viscount Brackley; and now preserved among the manuscripts the property of Lord Francis Egerton, President of the Camden Society. Edited by John Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A.

3. The Chronicle of Josceline de Brake-

lond, Monk of St. Edmondsbury, from A.D. 1157 to 1211. Edited by John Gage Rokewode, Esq., F.R.S., Director S.A.

4. The Doctrine of the Lollards: a manuscript attributed to Wickliffe. Edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, B.D.

5. The Rutland Papers: documents relating to the Coronation of Henry VIII., the regulation of his Household, the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and his Interviews with the Emperor, selected from the MS. collections of His Grace the Duke of Rutland. Edited by William Jerdan, Esq., F.S.A.

6. The Chronicle of Bartholomew de Cotton, a Monk of Norwich, from the earliest period to the year of our Lord 1298. Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A.

7. The History of the Barons' Wars in the Reign of Henry III., by William de Rishanger. Edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S.

We are, however, much more confined in our historical views than our continental neighbours. The French have their historical Committee of Sciences, and make it a branch of their Record Commission, but what English ministry would not scorn the idea of undergoing the expense of printing middle-age scientific documents, however valuable they may be in the history of the sciences? It is on this account that even the works of our earliest and greatest genius, ROGER BACON, the Aristotle of the middle-ages, are actually in the course of publication under the direction of the French government! If government is found wanting, is there no patron of science—is there no one ready to come forth in the spirit of an Arundel, and claim the glory of such a work as our own?

We look and hope for better things, but we look and hope in vain so long as a mercantile spirit fetters literature, and measures its effects by mammon. Real learning must necessarily be at a discount when authors rely upon their pens for support, and when the most frivolous nonsense is certain of meeting with the best reward. Where is either honour or emolument waiting for the historian? If he turns to the court, is it there? If he trusts to the public, is it there? No! he must be contented in present life with the probability of a future generation producing a few who will be able to appreciate his labours. Such a prospect is not, we think, very inviting, especially in the present age of utilitarianism.

ART. IV.—*Reise des kaiserlich Russischen Flotten Lieutenants Ferdinand v. Wrangel, längs der Nordküste von Siberien und auf dem Eismeere, in dem Jahren 1820 bis 1824.* (Survey of the North Eastern Coast of Siberia, by order of the Russian Government.) Berlin, 1839.

THE publication of the work now before us has been unaccountably delayed for more than ten years, and appears at length in the form of a translation, while the original Russian manuscript is still allowed idly to repose in the archives of the Admiralty at St. Petersburg. The distinguished author has in the mean time been advancing from the rank of lieutenant to that of admiral; his services, therefore, have been fully estimated by his government, a circumstance that makes the suppression of his attractive narrative the more surprising. The consequence has been, that though to the scientific world the name of von Wrangel has long been advantageously known, through some fragmentary communications made by Professor Parrot, yet the public generally have hitherto remained in perfect ignorance of the meritorious and persevering exertions of the Russian seaman, to complete the geographical survey of the north of Asia. Our maps have long borne the corrections which the labours of our gallant author enabled him to effect; it is right that we should at length learn something of the personal sufferings and privations by which those labours were accompanied. Before proceeding, however, to an examination of Admiral von Wrangel's own expedition, we will place before our readers a brief abstract of the earlier discoveries made in Siberian geography.

The earliest discoverers of the Siberian coast were the Russian fur traders, whom, towards the middle of the 16th century, we find engaged in an active commerce with the population dwelling at the mouths of the Ob and Yennissei rivers. They seldom attempted to sail round the peninsula which divides the Gulf of Ob from the Carian sea, preferring to ascend the rivers of the one great maritime inlet, and after drawing their light vessels over a small intervening tract, to descend again by the streams that pour their waters into the opposite bay. From such navigators none but the most vague accounts could be expected of the regions they visited.

Early in the 17th century, the Russian provincial governors appear to have taken a pride in sending small parties of Cossacks into the unexplored recesses of Siberia, for the purpose of imposing a tribute upon the wandering inhabitants, and annexing addi-

tional territories to the already vast empire of their sovereign. In most instances little or no resistance was offered to these conquering discoverers. Sometimes, however, the roving tribes that tended their herds on the frozen heaths of Northern Asia offered the most determined opposition to those who invited them to surrender their wild independence; sanguinary wars then ensued, attended by the same melancholy result which has ever followed the collision of ill-armed and uncivilized nations with the disciplined troops of European powers. Many warlike tribes, whom their discoverers found in the possession of numerous herds of rein-deer, have all dwindled away to a few wretched fishermen scattered along the banks of the majestic rivers that flow in stately solitude through the icy soil of Northern Asia; while nations, of whom Siberian tradition still relates that "their fire hearths were once as numerous as the stars of heaven," have now been either absorbed by some of the neighbouring tribes, or have wholly vanished from the soil over which their ancestors once held unquestioned sway. Yet there is an evident solicitude on the part of the Russian government to let its yoke weigh as lightly as possible on these northern tribes, whom nature has so scantily endowed with her gifts. The tribute imposed on them is light; they are wholly exempt from the law of recruitment, and every encouragement appears to be given to their commerce; but the benevolent designs of the imperial government are often very ineffectually seconded by its local agents, who, by their arbitrary measures, and yet more frequently by well-meant but injudicious interference, oppose almost insurmountable obstacles to the social improvement of the much-enduring natives. One nation only, the Tshuktshi (*Tsheskoos** is the name by which they are known among themselves,) have maintained their independence to the present day, an advantage for which they are no doubt mainly indebted to the mountainous and inaccessible character of the country they inhabit. The Russians have long since renounced the design of subjecting a people who possess so little to tempt the appetite of conquest, and a friendly inter-

* The Russian nomenclature, like that of the East, is variable and uncertain. No set of globes or maps agree even in terms of as close affinity as these now before our consideration. This uncertainty in the names of places, more particularly, however, in their orthography, arises partly from the custom of travellers of endeavouring to describe the articulation of the natives. The natural consequence is, that an English, a French, and a German traveller will almost always vary in their orthography, when writing of half-civilized nations.

course has now existed for more than a century, the *Tsheskoës* repairing yearly in numerous parties to the fair of Ostrovnoye, to barter their furs and rein-deer skins for the tobacco and iron tools which form the chief articles of exchange.

In proportion as the value of the Siberian fur trade became better known to the Russians, their northern expeditions assumed more of a mercantile and less of a military character. In 1610, a company of merchants and *promyshlenniki* or fur-hunters was formed, for the express purpose of making discoveries with a view to the extension of their trade. This company established itself at Turukhansk, on the Yennissei; but though it is known that they made several attempts to navigate the Arctic Ocean, we have no authentic record of the result of any of their expeditions.

In 1644, a Cossack of the name of Michael Stadukhin extended his excursions to the mouth of the Kolyma river, where he first became acquainted with the warlike *Tsheskoës*, and where he succeeded in forming a settlement which has since assumed the denomination of Nishny Kolymsk. Stadukhin was the first who spread the tale of an extensive arctic continent supposed to exist northward from Siberia, of which fabulous land a fragment continued long to figure upon our maps, till the more careful inquiries of Wrangel demonstrated, that if any such extensive land really exist, its distance from the northern coast of Asia must be too great to allow of its existence ever having really been ascertained.

In 1648, a Cossack of the name of Deshneff sailed from the mouth of the Kolyma, and, as the ocean happened in the summer of that year to be unusually free from ice, he succeeded in reaching the Northern Pacific Ocean. A very brief report of this remarkable voyage, written by Deshneff himself, is preserved in manuscript in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. Of Deshneff's little squadron not a single vessel survived the voyage; the last was wrecked in the Bay of Okhotsk, whence the hardy Cossack and his twenty-five surviving companions set off on foot, in search of some region where they might obtain provisions, and whence they might send an account of their misfortunes to their friends on the Kolyma. One entire winter they spent in this Siberian wilderness, subsisting chiefly on the bark of trees. Several of them died of hunger, but the survivors, in the course of the ensuing summer, built some boats with which they went up the river Anadyr, which empties itself into the sea of the same name, almost the extreme point of east longitude

on this coast, for *East Cape* is in west longitude. Here they discovered a tribe whom they induced to pay a *Yassak* or tribute. Deshneff, says the *Siberian Chronicle*, "remained some time with these people, but as they afterwards refused to continue the payment of their *Yassak*, and showed themselves in many other respects exceedingly refractory, *they were all put to death!*" Deshneff made several subsequent attempts to acquire a more satisfactory knowledge of these northern seas. In 1652, he sailed from the Kolyma, in a large boat built expressly for his use, but from this his last voyage neither he nor any of his companions appear ever to have returned.

From this time forward frequent attempts were made, sometimes in summer with boats, and sometimes in winter with sledges, to explore the ocean to the north of the Yana and Kolyma rivers, with a view to the discovery of the mysterious land, of the existence of which the Russians appear to have been fully convinced, and which the *Tsheskoës* and other Siberian tribes described as a populous and fertile country. Wrangel's opinion seems to be, that this supposed northern land was in reality no other than the north-western coast of America, which it is not impossible the *Tsheskoës* may at some time have succeeded in reaching in their reindeer sledges across Behring's Strait.

It was in the year 1734, during the reign of the Empress Anna, that these expeditions were first confided to the care of men capable in some measure of availing themselves of the resources of science. In that year arrangements were made for the survey of the whole line of coast from the White Sea to Behring's Strait, and the plan adopted was well calculated to attain the object in view, namely, to determine whether it would be practicable for ships, sailing eastward from Archangel, to reach the waters of Kamtsatka. The expedition was formed of four separate divisions. Two ships were to sail from Archangel, and survey the coast as far as the mouth of the Ob; the second division, consisting of one vessel, was to sail from the last-named river to the mouth of the Yennissei; the third was to sail from the Lena westward to the Yennissei; the fourth was also to sail from the Lena, but eastward, and was directed, if possible, to make its way through Behring's Strait.

The first division, after many fruitless attempts, renewed year after year, succeeded, in 1738, in reaching the Ob river; but this success may mainly be ascribed to the judicious plan of the commander, Malygin, who, during the winter, sent out parties in

sledges over the standing ice, to survey the northern promontory, which the drift ice prevented him from reaching during the summer.

The second division likewise succeeded, by dint of perseverance, in completing the task assigned to it, Lieutenant Owzyn having reached the Yennissei on the 1st of September, 1738.

The third and fourth divisions were less successful. The arduous task of sailing round the northern extremity of Asia was not fulfilled, and even at the present day our knowledge of its position is extremely vague and unsatisfactory, though we are accustomed to see it delineated on our maps with admirable precision. Lieutenant Laptew assigns to Cape St. Faddei a latitude of $76^{\circ} 47'$, but appears to have remained under the impression that this was not the northernmost point, and the longitude continues to this day undetermined. In his attempt to reach it, Laptew's ship was destroyed by the ice, and the following account of what he and his companions suffered will enable our readers to form some conception of the hardships to which the early discoverers of Siberia were constantly exposed :

"On the 13th of August (1740) the vessel was surrounded and violently pressed upon by large masses of ice. They lost their bowsprit, and what was worse, they sprung a large leak. For three days they pumped incessantly, without being able to reduce the water in the hold ; so, to lighten the ship, they were obliged to throw their guns overboard, and land their stores, &c. on the ice. By this means, the vessel was, for the moment, prevented from sinking, but the situation of the mariners was not the less dreadful. They were at a distance from the coast, surrounded by immense masses of ice, among which they were driven about by the current and the wind, with the momentary anticipation of seeing their already damaged vessel completely destroyed. In this fearful condition they remained six entire days, their destruction appearing all the time certain.

"On the 19th the weather became calm, and a severe frost set in, which covered the open places with a thin crust of ice. A few of the most daring offered to start on foot in search of the coast, which, it was calculated, must lie about twenty versts to the South. They set off on their dangerous journey, met a number of open places, which they found means to pass, ferrying themselves over on loose pieces of ice, and after much suffering and peril they reached the coast in safety. In the mean time the frost had become more and more intense, and, after an interval of three days, the sea was completely covered with ice. Laptew and his companions hastened to avail themselves of this circumstance. They loaded themselves with as large a stock of provisions as they could carry, and set off for the coast, which they happily reached ; but after their first congratulations at this their escape, they discovered that their present situation also was none of the most gratifying, since many large streams, down which the ice was still floating in great quantities, made it impossible for them to reach their winter station on the Khotanga. They

saw themselves constrained, for the present, to remain in this desolate wilderness, where they were unable to find any description of wood for firing ; this they felt the greater want of, as the frost was becoming more and more intense, and they were wholly without shelter of any kind. To protect themselves in some measure against the cold, they dug holes in the frozen ground, into which they crept, taking turns with each other for the undermost place. A party was daily sent to the ship, to bring on shore as much as possible of the remaining provisions ; this, however, lasted only till the 30th of August, on which day a violent storm arose, that broke up the ice, and carried the ship with all its contents out to sea. The unfortunate crew were thus deprived of the greater portion of the supplies on which their last hopes rested, and remained on the inhospitable shore, wholly destitute of what, under such circumstances, is usually deemed indispensable, exposed to hunger and cold, to which many of them soon fell victims. The survivors did not, however, yield to despair ; they bore their sufferings with admirable firmness and patience, and continued obedient to their commander.

"Thus passed away a terrible month. At length, on the 21st of September, the streams were sufficiently frozen over to allow Laptew and his companions to depart in search of their last year's winter residence. The difficulties and hardships which they had to encounter on the way were innumerable. A part of their scanty stores were laden on small sledges drawn by half-famished dogs ; the remainder was carried by the exhausted mariners themselves. Thus for five-and-twenty days they wandered through unknown wilds, in which it was only by unremitting labour that they were able to force their way through ice and snow. During this part of the journey, twelve more of the crew died of cold and exhaustion. At length, completely worn out, they reached their winter residence on the Khotanga, where for the first time, since nearly three months, they were able to repose themselves in a warm hut, where for the first time also they were again enabled to enjoy warm food, or indeed any food prepared by the aid of fire. Here Laptew resolved to remain till the return of spring, and then, as soon as the weather permitted, to return with the rest of his crew to the mouth of the Yennissei, where, in the magazines there established, he hoped to find a fresh supply of provisions, of which he stood greatly in need."

What Laptew was unable to effect by sea, he found means to do with the aid of sledges, and partly by himself, partly by the officers under his command, it was distinctly ascertained that between the mouth of the Lena and that of the Yennissei there was no point at which the northern coast of Asia was connected with any arctic continent.

It remains for us to speak of the fourth division of this gigantic Polar expedition. It sailed in August, 1735, but during the first year the vessel was not able to get more than 120 versts to the west, where the commander, Lieutenant Lassinius, determined to winter, but where his men were attacked with scurvy, which raged with such violence that the lieutenant himself and forty-three of his crew fell victims to the malady, and of the nine survivors several died before they

could reach Yakoutsk. In the following year a fresh crew was provided and placed under the command of Demetrius Laptew, who continued year after year his fruitless endeavours to reach Behring's Strait by sea, till in 1741 he finally renounced the attempt as impracticable.

It is to this vast expedition that we are indebted for our imperfect knowledge of the geography of northern Asia. Science, in those days, had not yet placed within the navigator's reach the many invaluable aids which are now at the seaman's command. The charts drawn up by the officers of the *Empress Anna*, therefore, are not to be relied on. The latitude even which they have assigned to the several points of that part of the coast visited and surveyed by the author of the work now before us, has seldom been found correct by later visitors; but the longitude almost always, and in most instances the latitude also, were determined only by the ship's reckoning, upon which it is evident very little dependence is to be placed.

The ill success that attended the endeavours of Demetrius Laptew to sail round the north-eastern coast of Asia seems to have stimulated rather than to have discouraged new adventurers. To this, a circumstance contributed which operated a complete revolution in the commerce of northern Siberia. Immense quantities of mammoth's bones had been discovered in the naked heaths situated between the rivers Khotanga and Anadyr, and had become to their fortunate discoverers a most valuable article of trade. The desire of gain induced many of the Siberian merchants to seek with unremitting eagerness for fresh deposits of antediluvian bones, and to these interested researches we are indebted for no inconsiderable portion of our present geographical knowledge of northern Asia. The most fortunate of these enterprising travellers appears to have been a merchant of the name of Laechow, to whom we owe the discovery of the large islands to the north of the Yana and Indigirka rivers. In these islands, there appears to have been found an almost inexhaustible stock of mammoth's bones, of which their discoverer was careful to secure to himself the exclusive *exploitation* by an imperial patent.

In August, 1778, our own countryman Cook appeared in Behring's Strait. He surveyed as large a portion of the Tshuktschen or Tshesko coast as the opposing masses of ice allowed him to approach. He was the first navigator in the Siberian waters that ever attempted, on scientific principles, to determine the longitude of the most important points along the coast, and M. von Wrangel does his illustrious predecessor the

justice to confirm the correctness of his observations. Cook contributed not a little to strengthen the popular belief in the existence of an arctic continent of large extent. He assigned various grounds for the belief: the very trifling increase in the depth of the sea, as he receded from the coast; the swarms of wild geese and ducks that came every year from the north, towards the month of August; the peculiar conformation of the icebergs, &c. The appearance of birds of passage, however, arriving from the north, towards the end of winter, a circumstance on which Cook placed his principal reliance, as demonstrating the existence of a large northern land, is one that has since been satisfactorily explained. The wild geese subsist chiefly on fish, to which they are debarred access by the freezing of the rivers, and in search of which they are obliged to fly towards the open water, which is found farther towards the north, where it has now been ascertained that, even in the severest winter, when the thermometer of Reaumur stands at 45 degrees under the freezing point, the Arctic Ocean continues free from ice. In proportion as the ice breaks up the birds are obliged to fly towards the shore, where they usually arrive just before their moulting season, and whence they return towards the north as soon as the winter sets in again.

The achievements of Cook excited the emulation of the Russian government, and in 1787 Captain Billings sailed, with two vessels, from the Kolyma, with the view, among others, of ascertaining the practicability of going by sea eastward to Behring's Strait. Like all his predecessors, Billings was prevented by the ice from proceeding more than about a hundred miles along the coast. He felt the hopelessness of attempting to navigate this part of the ocean, and consulted with his officers, whether it might not be more advisable to choose the winter for the period of their researches, when they might proceed over the ice a considerable distance to the north, in sledges drawn by dogs. This plan, however, was soon abandoned, under an idea that it would be impossible to carry with them a sufficient stock of food for the large number of dogs that would be required. Billings then left his ships in the Kolyma, and went over land to Okhotsk, where a vessel was fitted out for his use, in which he renewed his attempt in the ensuing summer, but in which he was unable to proceed further than Cook had done before him.

No scientific expedition of any kind was undertaken in this part of the Arctic Ocean after that of Billings till the year 1809, but several discoveries were in the mean time made by the enterprising fur-hunters, and by

the seekers after mammoth's bones. In the year just named, the Russian Chancellor of State, Romanzow, commissioned a public officer of the name of Hedenström to complete the survey of the newly discovered Laechow, or Liaghoff Islands, and while engaged in this task, the enterprising Russian made the important discovery, that the crust of ice by which the Arctic Ocean was supposed to be covered, extended only to a short distance northward. Hedenström, while engaged in the survey, sent one of his assistants, the Cossack Tatarinow, from Cape Kammenoy, the eastern extremity of New Siberia, to try how far he would be able to proceed to the north. Before he had gone more than twenty-five versts he came to open waters, nor could he discover any signs of loose ice on the ocean that lay stretched before his eyes. We shall see, hereafter, that a similar phenomenon baffled all the attempts of Wrangel to proceed due north to any considerable distance over the ice.

Hedenström was recalled from the Laechow Islands in 1811, when the further survey was committed to one of his assistants, M. Pschenezyn, who made the dangerous experiment of spending the summer on these arctic islands, a period of the year when the breaking up of the ice renders it impossible to send any supplies from Siberia. He suffered the severest privations during the *mild* season; nevertheless, he and his companions made some interesting discoveries in the interior of the islands. They discovered large herds of wild reindeer, and evident signs that at no distant period these islands must have been either the fixed residence or the frequent resort of numerous tribes of men.

On the mammoth's bones, which may not inaptly be called the peculiar produce of Siberia and the northern islands, some interesting particulars are found in Hedenström's journal. He observed that the further he proceeded towards the north, the smaller in size, but the more abundant in quantity, became these relics of a former world. In the Laechow Islands it is a rare circumstance to discover a mammoth's tusk weighing more than three pood,* whereas in the interior of Siberia it is not an uncommon thing to meet with one of four times that weight. On the other hand, the immense quantities of these bones found in the Siberian islands form one of the most remarkable phenomena connected with these singular remains. In the words of Sannikow, one of Hedenström's companions, "the first of the Laechow Islands is little more than one mass of mammoth's bones," and though for upwards of eighty

years the Siberian traders have been bringing over annually large cargoes of them, there appears as yet to be no sensible diminution in the apparently inexhaustible store. The teeth found in these islands are also much whiter and more fresh than those of the continent. The most valuable were met with on a low sandbank on the western coast; and there, when after a long prevalence of easterly winds the sea recedes, a fresh supply of mammoth's bones is always found. Hedenström infers from this that large quantities of these bones must exist at the bottom of the ocean.

Such is a brief abstract of the various attempts made at different times to extend the geographical knowledge of Siberia previously to the expedition which forms the more immediate object of our present attention. "With the exception of those of Cook and Billings," says von Wrangel, "none of these several expeditions can be said to have afforded satisfactory results in a scientific point of view. Their authors differ frequently more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree from one another in the latitude assigned to the most important points on the coast. Thus the latitude of Cape Swätoi Noss is $70^{\circ} 53'$ according to Sarytschew; $71^{\circ} 50'$, according to Hedenström; and $72^{\circ} 50'$, according to Laptew. Moreover, the whole coast from Cape Schelagaskoi to the North Cape remained completely unknown, and the account of Deshneff's navigation from the Kolyma to Behring's Strait was so vague and obscure, that the English hydrographer Burney considered it to strengthen his well-known hypothesis of the existence of a northern peninsula connecting the continents of Asia and America. Lastly, an assertion of Sennikow, that he had seen land to the north of the Islands of Kotelnoi and New Siberia, had found many adherents; so that the geography of this part of the Russian empire continued in a state of complete uncertainty, while the remarkable researches of Ross, Parry, and Franklin, had led to the most exact survey and description of the northern coast of the new continent. To remove so important a blank in the geography of our country, the Emperor Alexander I. ordered two expeditions to be fitted out, under the command of naval officers, with a view to an exact survey of the North Eastern Coast of Siberia, from the mouth of the Yana to the Schelagaskoi Noss, and also with a view to a more close examination of the islands situated in the Arctic Ocean."

One of these expeditions was placed under the command of Lieutenant Anjou, to whom we are indebted for a survey of the coast from the Lena to the Indigirka, and for a complete map of the Laechow Islands, but whose personal narrative has not yet, we be-

* The Russian *pood* is equal to 40 pounds Russian, or 36 pounds English.

lieve, ever been made public ; the second expedition was that directed by Lieutenant von Wrangel, whose task it was to complete the survey of the North Eastern Coast of Siberia, and to determine, if possible, the long pending enigma, of the existence of a large polar continent. Of this second expedition the reading world is now for the first time favoured with a detailed account.

Experience had sufficiently shown that, owing to the immense quantities of drift ice, no important results are to be hoped for from any attempt to navigate the polar seas during the summer, unless conducted upon an entirely new principle. The only practicable plan appeared to be, to select the winter for the period of their operations, when a thick and solid crust of ice was supposed to cover the ocean, over which it might be possible to proceed, in sledges drawn by dogs, to an almost indefinite distance. On the 23d of March, 1820, therefore, Messrs. Anjou and von Wrangel left St. Petersburg; and on the 2d of November our author arrived at Nishney Kolymsk, which for three years was destined to form the centre of his operations.

In a brief chapter, of twenty pages, M. von Wrangel describes his hasty journey from the one extreme to the other of his sovereign's vast dominions. To an observant eye, however, many interesting facts will present themselves, even where time has been measured out in the most niggardly fashion. Some of his suggestions for the social improvement of these northern regions are admirable, and will meet, we trust, with that attention from the Russian government, to which they are so justly entitled. Nature has endowed Siberia with an invaluable advantage, in the many splendid rivers which flow from Central Asia to the Frozen Ocean, nearly all which are navigable throughout the greater part of their extent. By means of these rivers it is that the northern districts are supplied with many of those articles which there are deemed luxuries, but which in Europe are counted among the most indispensable necessities of life. It is seldom, however, more than eight or nine weeks that the navigation continues completely open, and when the ice remains unusually late, or returns unusually early, the inhabitants of the bleak heaths washed by the Frozen Ocean must subsist, for nearly two years, almost exclusively on the fish caught during their brief interval from frost, or on the meat of such animals (chiefly reindeer and wild geese) as they have been able to kill in their summer months. The establishment of a single steamer on each river, in M. von Wrangel's opinion, would ensure a regular and constant supply to these unhappy tenants of an ever-frozen land.

The establishment of one steamer on the Lena " would give new life to the whole line of navigation, 4000 versts in extent, from Irkutsk to the waters of the ocean ; industry would be developed in these regions ; the inhabitants would receive the necessities of life with more regularity, and at an infinitely lower price ; and the brief Siberian summer would be lengthened by being judiciously taken advantage of. The inexhaustible forest on the shores of the upper Lena would afford an ample supply of cheap fuel, and to the inhabitants a new species of occupation."

At Yakoutsck we are already made acquainted in some degree with the rude character of northern Siberia :—

" The town is situated on a naked plain on the left shore of the Lena. In the spacious streets are seen only mean houses or huts, surrounded by high wooden palings, but in vain the eye wanders amid the gloomy assemblage of boards and beams in search of a tree or even of a stunted bush. Nothing announces the presence of the short summer, unless it be the absence of snow, which, with its dazzling whiteness, would do something to interrupt the sombre grey uniformity of the scene."

Yakoutsck, however, is an improving place, and luxury, we are assured, is making rapid strides among its inhabitants. The general adoption of glazed windows is given as an instance, though even here these must in severe weather be removed, and large plates of ice substituted for them, no glass being able to resist the intense frost of a Siberian winter. Snow moistened with water supplies, in such cases, the place of putty, and closes the windows more completely against the admission of air, than all our southern appliances of listing or double sashes. The moral improvement of the population appears, however, scarcely to keep pace with the progress of luxury :—

" Very little attention is paid to education. Children are usually, immediately after their birth, consigned to the care of a Yakoot nurse, who feeds them up as well as she can, and after two or three years generally returns them, tolerably *Yakootised* to the parents. As they grow up they learn a little reading and writing from the priest or his assistant, and are then initiated into the mysteries of the Siberian fur-trade, or obtain small appointments about the government offices, in the hope of one day attaining a *rank*, a thing here likewise eagerly sought after. This system of education accounts for a phenomenon that at first surprised me, namely, that even in the better circles the Yakoot language prevails almost to as great an extent as French does in our two principal cities. This struck me particularly at a splendid entertainment given by one of the wealthiest fur-traders in honour of the patron saint of his wife. Although the company consisted of the governor, the principal clergy and public officers, and of a few merchants, the greater part of the conversation was so interlarded with Yakootish fragments that I was scarcely able to take any share in it."

At Yakoutsch Messrs. Anjou and von Wrangel parted, the former descending the Lena by water, while the latter proceeded over land to Nishney Kolymsk. Traveling in sledges or carriages ceases at Yakoutsch. Beyond it no beaten road is to be found in Siberia. Our author, therefore, had to proceed on horseback over the mountainous part of his journey, till he reached the northern plains, where sledges drawn by dogs form the usual winter conveyance. His first camping out, on the night after his departure from Yakoutsch, appears to have given him a lively foreboding of the kind of service for which he was preparing. The thermometer, when he arose to make his morning's toilet, stood at two degrees below the freezing point ($4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ according to Fahrenheit).

"It was literally with a shudder that I thought of the Siberian winter before me, when only a few degrees of frost are currently denominated *warm weather*, and it seemed to me inconceivable how I should be able to endure such a long continuance of intense cold. But man is a creature of all climates and all zones; necessity, resolution, and habit, soon enable him to overcome the severest corporal sufferings and inconveniences. A few weeks later, it seemed to me, as to the inhabitants of Kolymsk, that 10° of cold (22° below the freezing point of Fahrenheit) was quite a mild temperature."

In the valley of Miörö we are introduced to a Yakoot who passes for a Cræsus in that part of the world. His lands and herds are valued at upwards of half a million of rubles, yet he retains almost all the habits of his race. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this pastoral nation, as of the Hindoos, appears to be an extravagant fondness for litigation, to gratify which they will often undertake fatiguing and costly journeys, when the matter in dispute does not perhaps exceed half a ruble. M. von Wrangel hints that the Russian functionaries are not slow in encouraging a propensity from which they derive a material part of their income.

An English groom would find some difficulty in picturing to himself the habits of the Yakoot horses:—

"They will often," says M. von Wrangel, "make the most fatiguing journeys of more than three months' duration, and though during the whole of this time they receive no nourishment but the shrunk and half decayed grass, which they are obliged to scrape with their hoofs from under the snow and ice, nevertheless they continue strong and in good condition, and manifest the most astonishing powers of endurance. It is remarkable, also, that the Yakoot horses preserve their teeth uninjured to a very advanced age, whereas those of European horses are worn away as they grow old. This may possibly be occasioned by the hard corn on which ours are fed, while those of Siberia never receive oats, nor indeed any thing but

the soft grass. The Siberian horses also continue young much longer than ours do; one of them will do good service to his master for thirty years."

Anxious as we are to bring our author to Nishney Kolymsk, the point at which his scientific labours properly commenced, we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of pausing for a moment, to make our readers acquainted with Father Michael, the Russian priest of Saschiversk,* a small town on the banks of the Indigirka; so small indeed that it consists only of a church and four or five huts, the whole population being composed of the priest, his brother, a Yakoot postmaster, and two Russian families.

Consigned as Father Michael was to what must have appeared so insignificant a station, he has found means, by the zealous discharge of his pastoral duties, to make his name known and respected throughout a large portion of his sovereign's dominions. Father Michael, when M. von Wrangel visited him, in 1820, was eighty-seven years of age, sixty of which had been passed in his humble living. During this period he had not merely baptized, but had really initiated into the first principles of the Christian religion, more than 15,000 Yakoots, Tungusians, and Yukaheers; and by his preaching and friendly counsel, and more perhaps by his example, he had found means to operate an evident improvement in their moral and social condition. Age had in no way cooled the zeal of this Siberian apostle, who, regardless alike of peril and of the rigours of the climate, was still in the habit of travelling 2000 versts† every year to baptize the new-born children of his widely scattered flock, to whom he not only afforded spiritual consolation and temporal advice, but was ready, on an emergency, to assume the office of physician, a character to which he may have been indebted for no small part of his influence over his rude parishioners. Father Michael, however, was not wholly absorbed by his clerical duties. Old as he was, he still went a fur-hunting to the neighbouring mountains, and relied upon his rifle for no small addition to his little income; and he had succeeded in planting a little kitchen garden, in which he reared potatoes, turnips, cabbages, and other European vegetables, exotics usually known only by name in these remote northern regions. Among other dainties, the old man placed before his guest

* Siberian geographers may, however faulty in nomenclature, claim the praise of great accuracy in detail. This village of five huts figures away on our globes under *Zateversk* and numerous other designations.

† The Russian verst is equal to about two-thirds of an English mile.

a cake made of fish-flour, an article of his own invention. The fish, having been completely dried, is rubbed into a fine powder, and, if kept from damp, may be preserved for a long time. Mr. von Wrangel assures us, that, with the addition of a little wheaten flour, very savoury pastry may be made of it.

The cold became more severe as our author advanced further towards the north, and before reaching Sredne-Kolymsk, though yet in the middle of October, the thermometer had already marked 29° below zero. He thought it high time, therefore, to make his winter toilette, the particulars of which may be interesting to those of our readers who are desirous of studying foreign fashions.

* "Over my customary travelling uniform I had first to pull a *camisole* with sleeves and breast-piece, both lined with the fur of the silver fox. Over my feet I drew double socks of soft young reindeer skin: and, over these, high boots or *torbassy* of similar material. When riding, I put on, in addition, my *nakoléniki* or knee-pieces. Lastly came the *Kukhlánka*, or over-all, a sort of wide sack with sleeves, made of double reindeer skin, with fur inside and out, and a hood of fur hanging down the back. There were also a number of small pieces to protect the face; the *nanossnik* for the nose, the *naborodnik* for the chin, the *naushniki* for the ears, the *nalobnik* for the forehead, &c.: and to complete my costume came an immense fox-skin cap with long ears. I was so embarrassed by this cumbersome, and to me unaccustomed dress, that it was only with the assistance of my attendant I was able to mount my horse. Fortunately, the skin of the reindeer is exceedingly light, considering its warmth and closeness; otherwise it would be impossible to bear the weight of so many pieces of fur.

Nishney-Kolymsk is a wretched fishing village, consisting of a church and forty-two houses or huts, into which the inmates creep for shelter during their nine-months' winter, but which are left to take care of themselves during what are called the summer months, when the whole population wander away to catch fish and reindeer, of which the meat when frozen is laid by as a stock for the winter. Completely exposed to the piercing winds that come sweeping from the north pole, the climate of the place is even more severe than its latitude would imply. On the 2d of November, when M. von Wrangel arrived, the thermometer stood at 32° (36° below zero of Fahrenheit); and though in summer the temperature sometimes rises to 18° (70° of Fahrenheit), yet the average for the year is not above 8° below the freezing point of Réaumur. During the first week in September the Kolyma is usually frozen over, and in January the cold reaches 43° (59° below Fahrenheit's zero), when the very act of breathing becomes painful, and the snow itself throws off a vapour! This intense cold is usually accompanied by

a thick mist, a clear day being of rare occurrence during the whole winter. For eight-and-thirty days the sun never rises, and for fifty-two it never sets. The summer itself brings little enjoyment with it, for in the early part of July the gnats or mosquitoes appear in such countless swarms, that they fairly darken the atmosphere, when large fires are lighted of dried moss or leaves, under the smoke of which not only the inhabitants but even the cattle seek shelter from the persecution of their diminutive tormentors. These insects, however, perform one most important office for the good people of Nishney-Kolymsk, by driving the wild reindeer from the forest to the open heath or *tundra*. The herds wander by thousands during the gnat season towards the sea-coast, when, more particularly while crossing the rivers, large numbers of them are easily killed by the hunters.

Vegetation is almost extinct in this northern region. A few berries are in favourable seasons collected by the women; but with this exception no plant grows that can be used for food. The soil never thaws; and of the few stunted trees that still linger about the Lower Kolyma, the roots seldom strike into the ground, but lie for the most part stretched along the surface, as though they shrunk from the thick strata of ice below. A few wild flowers adorn the heaths in summer; the rose and the forget-me-not then invite the sentimental lover to expatiate on their beauty, if love and sentiment can indeed exist where all Nature is covered with an almost perpetual shroud,—a north wind, even in summer, scarcely ever failing to bring with it a snow-storm.

The district of Kolymsk is calculated to contain 2498 male inhabitants, including 325 Russians and Cossacks. Of this population, 2173 are subjected to the *yassak* or direct tax; which produces 803 fox-skins, 28 sables, and 10,847 rubles in money. The Russians are mostly the descendants of real or supposed criminals; the Cossacks claim the original conquerors of Siberia as their ancestors, form a distinct corporation, and are exempt from the *yassak*. Our author speaks much of the social virtues of these simple-minded denizens of the North, who, during their long and dreary winter, find means to relieve the tedium and monotony of their existence by song, dance, and various other unpretending in-door amusements.

The dwellings of the Russians along the Lower Kolyma vary but little from those of the Yakoots and other Siberian aborigines. The trees in this part of the country being too stunted to afford any material for build-

ing, the inhabitants depend for their supply of timber wholly upon the drift wood brought down the river by the annual inundations which seldom fail to accompany the breaking up of the ice. As soon as a sufficient number of trees has been collected, a kind of log hut is constructed, the interstices of which are filled up with moss and clay, and for the sake of warmth, a mound of earth is raised all round to a level with the window. These huts measure usually from two to three fathoms square, and one and a half fathom in height. In one corner stands the *tshuval*, or fire-hearth, the smoke of which escapes by a small hole in the roof; but, in a few houses, luxury has extended already to the adoption of regular Russian stoves with chimneys. Low and incomplete partitions divide the sleeping-places of the several members of the family, and the rest of the dwelling is made to serve all the multifarious offices of kitchen, workshop, sitting and reception room, broad benches being placed around, on which reindeer skins are spread as a ready couch for an occasional guest. Such a hut is usually provided with two small windows of ten or twelve inches square, through which, if glazed, a scanty light would find its way, but as a substitute for glass fish-bladders are used in summer, and in winter plates of ice, seldom less than six inches in thickness, through which only a very feeble portion of daylight is able to pierce. A small store-house usually stands by the side of the dwelling, and the roofs of both are fitted up with a scaffolding for the drying of fish.

Little value appears to be set on cleanliness of any kind. Public baths are maintained by the order of government, though rarely visited by the inhabitants. Linen or calico is worn only by the more wealthy, and among them the use of it is mostly confined to the women. A shirt of soft reindeer skin with the fur inside, is generally worn next the skin. The outer side of this garment is dyed with a red colour obtained from a decoction of alder bark, and round the edges and the sleeves it is ornamented with narrow stripes of beaver and other skin, which are obtained at high prices from the Tshuktshi. The trousers, likewise of reindeer skin, descend half-way down the leg, and over the whole comes the *kamleyá* of thick tanned reindeer skin, without the fur. The *kamleyá* soon receives a dark yellow tint, from the smoky atmosphere by which the wearer is almost always surrounded. The above constitutes the home costume; but when the Kolymskite dandy ventures abroad he takes care to array himself in various other descriptions of fur, of

which some conception may be formed from the account, given a few pages back, of M. von Wrangel's travelling accoutrements.

Except on state occasions, the dress of the women differs but little from that of the men, unless in the arrangement of the head gear.

"To form a just conception of life on the banks of the Kolyma," says M. von Wrangel, "one must have spent some time with the inhabitants. One must have seen them in their winter dwellings and in their summer *balagans*; one must have shot down their rapid streams in the light canoe, must have climbed mountains and rocks with them, or dashed in their light dog-drawn sledges through the most piercing cold over the boundless tundra; one must in short have become one of themselves. Such was our life during the three years we spent here. We lived with them, dressed like them, fed on their dried fish, and shared with them the hardships and privations inseparable from the climate, and the frequent want even of food which it brings along with it.

"Let us begin with the spring. The fishery forms their most important pursuit; indeed the very existence of the whole population depends upon it. The locality of Nishney-Kolymsk, however, is unfavourable, and the inhabitants are obliged to migrate at this season to more suitable parts of the river. As soon as the winter ceases, they accordingly abandon their dwellings in search of some convenient spot, where they forthwith construct a *balagan*, or light summer hut, and immediately commence their hostilities upon the piscatory tribe. Most of the Nishney-Kolymskites have regular country-houses of this description at the mouths of the several creeks and rivulets, which they begin to visit in April, in order to prepare for the campaign. In the middle of May, when the merchants arrive from the fair of Ostrownoye, on their return to Yakoutsch, the whole population abandons the little place, leaving the whole town to the guardianship of one Cossack sentinel, and perhaps one or two old women, whom age prevents from joining in the general pursuit.

"Spring is the most trying season of the whole year. The store collected during the summer and autumn has usually been consumed for some time; the fish do not always make their appearance immediately, and the dogs, exhausted by their winter work, and yet more by the severe fast to which they have for some time been subjected, are too feeble to allow their masters to avail themselves of the *nast*,* to catch a few elks and wild reindeer. Famine then appears in its most horrible form. Crowds of Tungusians and Yukaheers come flocking into the Russian villages in search of some subsistence. Pale and ghost-like, they stagger about, and greedily devour every species of garbage that falls in their way. Bones, skins, thongs of leather, everything in short that the stomach will receive, is eagerly converted into food. But small is the

* When the warmth of the spring sun thaws the surface of the snow, it freezes again during the night, whereby a thin crust of ice is formed, strong enough to bear a sledge with its team of dogs. In this condition the snow is called *nast*, over which the elks and reindeer are pursued during the night, and as, owing to their greater weight, they are constantly breaking through the ice, they are caught by the hunters with little trouble.

relief they find; for the unthrifty townspeople are by this time almost as ill off themselves, and living upon the scanty remnant of fodder stored up for the use of the dogs, so that many of these faithful and valuable animals perish nearly every year of hunger. There is a storehouse established by the government, where rye-flour is sold to every comer; but the expense of conveying it from so enormous a distance enhances the price to such a degree that few are able to avail themselves of the facility thus afforded them. Although the additional accommodation is granted them of not paying before autumn, still there are not many who can afford to give twenty rubles for a pood of flour which moreover has often been damaged during the protracted journey it has had to perform. Three of these periods of horror did I witness, during three succeeding springs, and even now I shudder when I reflect on the scenes of suffering which I beheld, and of which it would be utterly impossible for me to attempt a description.

It is just when famine is at its worst that relief arrives. Suddenly countless swarms of birds make their appearance. Swans, geese, ducks and several descriptions of snipes. These are the first heralds of spring, and at their coming hunger and want are at an end. Old and young, men and women, all that can walk or run, now rush out with guns, bows, and sticks, to kill as many as they may. In June the ice breaks up, a profusion of fish comes crowding into the river, and all hands are in movement to avail themselves of the short season of grace to provide a store for the coming year. But here a new misfortune often assails them. The stream is not strong enough to float away with sufficient rapidity the mighty mass of ice. These accumulate in the narrows and shoals, and the water, arrested in its course, quickly overflows the whole of the low country, and, if the inhabitants are not quick enough in driving their horses to the hills, the poor animals are infallibly lost. In the summer of 1822 we had such an inundation at Nishney-Kolymsk, which came upon us so suddenly that we had only just time to take refuge with a few of our most indispensable articles upon the flat roofs of our huts, where we were forced to remain for upwards of a week. The water rushed with fearful rapidity between the houses, and the whole place looked like a little archipelago of house-tops, among which the inhabitants were merrily rowing about in their canoes, paying one another friendly visits and catching fish.

More or less these inundations occur every year, and when the water subsides the main fishery with nets begins. Fish form the chief food of man and dog, and for the yearly consumption of the hundred families that compose the little community of Nishney-Kolymsk, at least three millions of herrings are required. Many other kinds of fish are caught at this time, among which is the *Nelma*, a large description of salmon trout, but the first fish are generally thin, and are mostly converted into *yukhala* for the dogs; that is to say, cut open, cleaned, and dried in the air. From the entrails an abundance of train oil is obtained, which is used for food as well as for fuel. The *yukola* is distinguished from the *yukhala* merely by the selection of a better kind of fish, and by greater care in the preparation.

The proper season for bird hunting is when the animals are moulting, when having lost their feathers they are unable to fly. Large detachments are then sent off from the fishing stations, and numbers of swans and geese are killed with guns, bows, and sticks. The produce of this chase is

aid to have diminished greatly of late years. Formerly it was no unusual thing for the hunters to bring home several thousands of geese in one day, whereas now they are content if they can catch as many during the whole season.

While the men are fishing and hunting, the women make the best use of the interval of fine weather, to collect the scanty harvest which the vegetable kingdom yields them, in the shape of a few berries and aromatic herbs. The gathering in of the berries is a season of gaiety, like the vintage in southern climes. The young women wander about in large parties, spending the nights in the open air, and amusing themselves with song and dance, and other innocent diversions. The berries themselves are preserved by pouring cold water over them, and freezing them, in which condition they form one of the favourite dainties during the winter. Besides the berries, they collect at this time the *makarsha*, a mealy root found in large quantities in the subterranean storehouses of the field-mice. The young girls appear to have a peculiar tact in discovering the magazines of these little notable animals, whom, without the least remorse, they plunder of the fruits of their provident industry."

Such is life on the Kolyma during the short summer, a season of activity for all, for in addition to the chief occupations of which we have just laid a brief epitome before our readers, there are many other, though less momentous, calls upon the industry of the inhabitants. Their huts perhaps want repairing, their boats have to be mended, and in the forest the traps must be looked after. The Russians at Nishney-Kolymsk are supposed to set about 7500 traps in the neighbouring country, which are visited about eight or ten times during the winter, and at each visit they expect to find something in every tenth trap. The animals mostly caught are sables and foxes. The elks, the wild reindeer, and the wild sheep, also offer an attraction for the adventurous hunter, while others, more ambitious, wander forth in search of the mightier bear. The bear-hunters are the heroes of the Kolyma, and tales of their marvellous achievements form the standing topic during the long winter evenings, when old and young crowd about the warm *tshuval*, to while away their idle hours by the songs and traditions of their Russian ancestors as well as of their adopted land.

The best friend of man in almost every clime is the dog, but in Northern Siberia existence would scarcely be possible without the aid of this invaluable animal. All along the Arctic Ocean the dog is almost the only beast of burden. He is harnessed to the light sledge, or *narte*, which will carry no inconsiderable load, and in which, during winter, the natives perform journeys of incredible length. The Siberian dog bears a strong resemblance to the wolf. He has a long pointed snout, sharp upright ears, and

a long bushy tail. Some of them have short hair, others a tolerably thick fur, and they are met with of all imaginable colours. Their size also differs very much, but a dog is not thought fit for the sledge if less than one arshin and two wershok high, and one arshin and five wershok long.* Their barking resembles the howling of a wolf. They always remain in the open air. In summer they dig holes in the frozen earth to cool themselves, and sometimes they will spend the whole day in the water to escape from the persecution of the gnats. Against the intense cold of winter they seek shelter by burying themselves under the snow, where they lie rolled up with the snout covered by the bushy tail. Of the cubs, the males only are usually kept, the females are mostly drowned, only one or two being entertained by each father of a family to preserve the breed. The rearing of these dogs forms an important occupation, and requires no little skill and judgment. A dog may be put to the sledge when a year old, but cannot be subjected to hard work before his third winter. The team of a sledge seldom consists of less than twelve of these dogs, of whom one is used as leader, upon whose breeding and docility the safety of the whole party depends. No dog must be used as a leader unless he be perfectly obedient to the voice of his master, nor unless the latter be certain that the animal will not be diverted one moment from his course by the scent of any kind of game. This last point is one of the highest importance, and if the dog has not been well broken in, but turns to the right or left, the rest of the dogs will immediately join in the pursuit, when the sledge is of course overturned, and the whole pack continue the chase until some natural obstacle intervene to arrest their course. A well-taught leader, on the other hand, not only will not allow himself to be seduced from his duty, but will often display the most astonishing tact in preventing the rest of the team from yielding to their natural instinct. On the boundless tundra, during a dark night, while the surrounding atmosphere is obscured by the falling snow, it is to the intelligence of his leading dog that the traveller is constantly indebted for his preservation. If the animal has once been the same road before, he never fails to discover the customary halting-place, though the hut may have been completely buried under the drifting snow. Suddenly the dog will remain motionless upon the trackless and unbroken surface, and by the friendly wagging of his

tail announce to his master that he need only fail to work with his snow-shovel to find the door of the hut that offers him a warm lodging for the night. The snow-shovel on these winter excursions appears to be an appendage without which no traveller ventures upon a journey.

In summer the dog is no less serviceable than in winter. As in the one season he is yoked to the sledge, so in the other he is employed to draw the canoe up against the stream, and here they display their sagacity in an equally surprising manner. At a word they halt, or where an opposing rock bars their progress on the one side, they will plunge into the water, swim across the river, and resume their course along the opposite bank. In short, the dog is as indispensable to the Siberian settler, as the tame reindeer to the Laplander. The mutual attachment between the Siberian and his dog is in proportion to their mutual dependance on each other. M. von Wrangel relates remarkable instances of the extent to which he has seen some of the people carry their fondness for their dogs. In 1821 an epidemic disease broke out among the dogs in Siberia, and carried off many thousands of them.

"A Yukaheer family had lost the whole of the twenty dogs of which they had recently been possessed, and two newly-born cubs were all that remained. As these animals were still blind, and without a mother's care, it scarcely appeared possible to preserve them. The Yukaheer's wife, to save the last remnant of the wealth of her house, resolved that the two dogs should share the milk of her breast with her own child. She was rewarded. The two adopted sucklings thrived wonderfully, and became the ancestors of a new and vigorous race of dogs."

The sufferings of the poor inhabitants, in consequence of the loss of the dogs, through the epidemic malady that raged in 1821 and 1822, were dreadful in the extreme. Yet will it be believed, that an order was once actually issued by the government at St. Petersburg, to destroy all the dogs throughout the north of Siberia, "on account of their consuming such quantities of provisions, and thereby occasioning such frequent famines." The order was not executed, because it would have required the whole Russian army to enforce the command, and after a while means were found to enlighten the rulers upon the absurd tyranny of their proposed "reform." We see thus that England is not the only country where a colonial minister will at times indulge in the most extravagant vagaries.

Let us now accompany the Siberian into the interior of his hut, to which he returns as soon as the frost has put a stop to his fishing and hunting. The walls are care-

* Three Russian arshins make seven English feet, and each arshin is divided into sixteen wershok.

fully caulked with clay and moss; a fresh mound of earth is collected outside; the *tshuval* is repaired, and fresh ice panes fastened into the windows. All this is seldom finished before the beginning of December. Then the several members of a family begin to creep more and more closely around their warm hearth, where a crackling fire yields the native of the arctic zone his only substitute for the absent sun. The flame of the *tshuval* and of one or more lamps is then seen glimmering through the icepanes, while from the low chimney arises a glowing column of smoke, carrying up with it, every now and then, a complete shower of sparks. The dogs crouch about the house, and three or four times a day, at tolerably regular intervals, more frequently perhaps when the moon shines, they raise a most tremendous howling, which is audible to a great distance over the plain. A low door, lined with the skin of a reindeer, or, if possible, with that of a white bear, admits the stranger into the interior of this dwelling. There the father and his sons are seen mending their nets, or making bows, arrows, and hunting-spears. The women are seen sorting and dressing the furs which the men have perhaps brought home from their last visit to the traps, or they may be engaged in the feminine task of repairing their own or their husbands' garments, on which occasions the sinews of the reindeer are made to supply the place of thread.

The dainties prepared by the culinary skill of the Kolymaska matrons are not exactly calculated to excite the appetite of a Parisian gourmand. Fish and reindeer flesh form the invariable *pièces de résistance*, and train oil is the constantly recurring sauce. Yet, even with these scanty materials to go to work upon, female ingenuity is seldom at a loss to vary the bill of fare. An accomplished French cook will boast of his ability to dress eggs in 365 different ways, and the housewife on the banks of the Kolyma shows herself almost equally inventive. Thus we have cakes made of the roe of the fish, or of the dry fish flour pounded in a mortar. Then the belly of the fish is chopped small, and, with the addition of a little reindeer flesh and makarsha root, thickened with train oil, the delicate compound appears before us in the shape of a savoury forced ball. Smoked reindeer tongues are seldom produced, unless in honour of a guest, and small slices of frozen fish eaten raw are esteemed in these distant regions as highly as the *glace à la vanille* at the Café de Paris. Salt never enters their food, but is always produced if a stranger partakes their meal. Tea and sugar are seen only at the tables

of the wealthy, on which occasions the *yukola* or dried fish supplies the place of toast or biscuit, bread being a delicacy which few can afford to indulge in. Flour, always an expensive article, is seldom seen except among the aristocracy of the place, and is generally used for the composition of a beverage called *saturán*. This is prepared by roasting the flour in a pan, and stirring it into a paste, with a little melted butter or fish oil. Upon this is poured boiling water, and the infusion is drunk warm out of cups. Our author assures us the beverage is both nutritive and agreeable; but he had gone through a three years' seasoning, and custom may go far to reconcile the palate even to the *bonne bouche* of a Siberian cuisine.

Flirtation, courtship, love, and jealousy, still maintain their empire over the youthful heart, even in the remote north. It is the daily office of the young ladies of Kolymask to fetch water from the river, where a well is cut in the ice. Here the love-sick youth never fails to watch for the arrival of his mistress, and manifests his attachment by filling her pails, and perchance even carrying them home for her. Such an act of gallantry is looked on as a formal declaration of love, and always excites the envy and *médiance* of less favoured rivals. The hole in the ice is the daily gossiping place for the young of both sexes, and we can easily believe what we are told, that the fair damsels are exceedingly careful that the water pails shall be freshly filled every day.

Shortly after M. von Wrangel's arrival at Nishney-Kolymask, the little place was put quite into commotion by the arrival of Capt. Cochrane, whose delightful account of his *pedestrian* excursions through these regions are already well known to the British public. Our countryman remained some time there, and manifested a wish to accompany the expedition over the ice of the Arctic Ocean, for which the Russian seaman was preparing; 'but such an increase to our party,' says our author, 'on a journey where every additional pound weight of luggage had to be seriously considered, would have occasioned so many difficulties with respect to sledges, provisions, and the like, that I deemed it expedient not to avail myself of his offer.' Disappointed in his wish to join the main expedition, Captain Cochrane contented himself with accompanying a small party to the fair of Ostrownoye, whither von Wrangel despatched one of his officers to cultivate the good graces of the Tsheskoes, whose country he was about to visit. Previously to the departure of the Englishman, however, our author determined to astonish the good peo-

ple of the town by a splendid entertainment in honour of the stranger.

'It was on Twelfth Night that I invited all the élite of the place to a *wetsherinka* or ball. I chose one of the largest houses for the occasion. It belonged to a Cossack, who happened to be something of a violin player. The ball-room, about eighteen feet square, was sumptuously illuminated by several lamps of train oil. The walls and benches, having been subjected to a washing (an operation which it would be impossible to say when they had last undergone,) were ornamented with some attempt at drapery, and on the floor some yellow sand was scattered. By way of refreshments for the ladies, I had procured tea and lump sugar, together with a few plates of cedar-nuts. The supper consisted of some fish cakes, yukala, and frozen reindeer marrow. At five o'clock our guests appeared, in their best furs, and their gaudiest holiday attire. After the few first exclamations of wonder and admiration at the luxury and splendour of the entertainment, the ladies took their seats on the benches along the wall, and commenced singing some of our national melodies. The younger part of the company amused themselves with a variety of *jeux innocens*, and danced slowly and heavily, as though it had been a task, to the unaccountable tones which the not very pliant fingers of our musical host, an old reindeer hunter, contrived to draw from his cracked fiddle, two of the strings of which were of reindeer sinews, the other two of twisted silk. The men were grouped around the *tshuval*, and seemed exceedingly to enjoy the little addition of brandy which I offered them as a qualification to their tea. At ten o'clock the party broke up, and my guests departed with endless assurances of gratitude for the costly manner in which I had entertained them. Nor were these mere set speeches; on the contrary, they were honestly meant, for even in the subsequent years of our stay, the magnificent and delightful *Prasdnik* was often referred to, as a bright point in the gloomy uniformity of their customary manner of living.'

M. von Wrangel found on his arrival at Nishney-Kolymsk, that the necessary preparations for his expedition had been neglected, and all his endeavours to collect the requisite number of sledges, and the requisite quantity of food for the dogs having failed, he was obliged, for that year, to renounce his journey to the north over the icy surface of the Arctic Ocean. Not, however, wholly to lose his time, he determined to attempt a month's excursion along the coast, of which only a very small portion was at that time known. The inhabitants had long stood greatly in awe of the Tshuktshi or Tsheskoës, and had therefore seldom ventured further than the Baranow Rocks, which were deemed the frontier mark of the Russian territory. It was known, however, that the Tsheskoës themselves were little in the habit of venturing so far towards the Russian line, the coast from the Baranow Rocks to Cape Shelagskoi being generally left unoccupied by both parties, as a sort of neutral ground. Our author resolved accordingly to devote

the time that remained to him to a survey of the coast as far as the above cape.

The place of rendezvous was Sukharnoye at the mouth of the Kolyma, a "town" consisting of two uninhabited houses, to which a few families are in the habit of repairing during the fishing season.

"Fifty versts before reaching Sukharnoye we lost sight of the stunted shrubs, and found ourselves on one unbounded plain of snow, unbroken, unless here and there by an occasional fox-trap. A man accustoms himself, no doubt, to everything in time, but the first impression produced by this gigantic shroud admits of no comparison with any other object in nature, and night, by obscuring the spectacle, comes as a positive relief."

M. von Wrangel had sent one of his officers, as we have already seen, to the fair of Ostrownoye, a scene of which a lively description has been given by Cochrane, and with which we will therefore not detain our readers, though the spirited report of M. Matuschkin is one that will well repay perusal. It was while the one party was absent at the fair, that the gallant lieutenant, with another of his officers, started for Cape Shelagskoi. Nine sledges were prepared; three for the travellers, and six to carry fish for men and dogs; and as this species of travelling is one which none of our modern tourists have as yet had an opportunity of describing, we will endeavour to give our readers some idea of the appearance of the little caravan at starting.

We have already seen something of the winter travelling costume in these regions; and when it is borne in mind that the party contemplated a month's excursion in February over the ice of the Polar Sea, it will be taken for granted that none of the multitudinous appliances of furs on furs would be left behind. During the whole period of the journey, they could not once hope to obtain the shelter of a hut; the protection of an iceberg, to keep off the north wind, was the utmost they could look for when encamping for the night. A fire even was a comfort by no means to be relied on; for unless they found a sufficient supply of drift wood along the coast, it would be impossible for them to cheer their night's lodging by indulging in the luxury of a blazing log. These points must be borne in mind when estimating the delights of an Arctic sledging party.

"The articles we carried with us were the following:—a conic tent formed of reindeer skins, two hatchets, a pocket lantern, a few wax lights, a plate of iron to light a fire on, an iron tripod, a tea-kettle, a boiler, some changes of linen for each of us, and a bear skin as mattress, with a double reindeer skin counterpane for every two of the party. Our instruments were—two chronometers, a second

watch, a sextant with a quicksilver horizon, a spirit thermometer, three amplitude compasses, one of these with a prism, two telescopes, a riband measure, and a few other trifles. Provisions for five men for a month: $2\frac{1}{2}$ pood of rye biscuit, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pood of meat, 10 pounds of soup tablets, 2 pounds of tea, 4 pounds of candied sugar, 8 pounds of groats, 3 pounds of salt, 39 portions of strong spirit, 12 pounds of tobacco, and 200 pieces of smoked Yukhala. The cargo of each sledge was about 25 pood, tightly packed, and so closely fastened by means of thongs, that the sledge might be overturned many times without the least danger to any part of the contents. Perched upon the centre of the narrow vehicle sits the driver, his feet resting on the runner of the sledge, ready at a moment's notice to jump off. Immediately behind our drivers, Mr. Kosmin and myself sat perched, much in the same manner, likewise ready every moment to jump off, in case of our carriages losing their balance. Although each sledge bore 25 pood, yet it glided so easily over the frozen snow, that a man could have pushed it along with one hand; accordingly, the dogs, when the way was good, would run their ten or twelve versts in the hour."

The great inconvenience which attends this kind of travelling, consists in the difficulty of carrying a stock of food for the dogs. Thus, on the present occasion, three of the sledges were occupied by the travellers and their luggage, while the remaining six were almost exclusively occupied by fish for their cattle. This difficulty M. von Wrangel found means to obviate in some measure by burying a portion of the provisions in the snow, for a supply when returning; after which he sent the empty sledges back, and thereby husbanded his means. On this, his first journey, his magazines were found and pilfered by the bears, which placed the travellers and their dogs on exceedingly short commons on their return; but experience gradually taught them to make their snow cellars bear-proof, and in their subsequent excursions they almost invariably found their buried stores untouched.

The intense cold made it impossible for them to lay aside any part of their costume when preparing to make themselves "comfortable" at night, and even when they were fortunate enough to find an abundant supply of wood, they still suffered so much from the cold that they were frequently obliged to rise two or three times before morning, and warm themselves by running and jumping a little in front of the tent. M. von Wrangel made it a point, however, every evening to change his stockings; and his companion, M. Kosmin, had nearly lost the use of his limbs by neglecting this prudent precaution. The second or third morning after their departure, this gentleman complained that his feet were frozen. He was advised to change his stockings, which he had not done for two nights. "But when he pulled off his boots," says M. von Wrangel, "what was

our horror at seeing his stockings frozen fast to his feet. With the utmost caution we proceeded to relieve him from this painful situation, in doing which we found complete strata of ice of perhaps the tenth of an inch in thickness, within his stockings. Fortunately the feet themselves were not frozen, and after we had gently rubbed them with brandy for some time, he was completely restored." M. Kosmin was a Russian sailor, be it remembered, and surely it must have required all the iron constitution of his race, to enable him to overcome this little inconvenience with such perfect facility. The quantity of furs in which it was necessary for the travellers to encase themselves, made it of course impossible for the vapour thrown off by the skin to escape. This always occasioned moisture to collect about the feet during the day, and made it highly imprudent to pass a night without first taking care to secure the comfort of dry stockings.

The chronometers were perfectly useless, as it was impossible to protect them against the influence of the cold. M. von Wrangel carried them next his person during the day, and carefully took them to bed with him at night, cherishing them with all the fondness of a bridegroom. But all would not do. The delicate creatures could not live in a temperature of 40 degrees below the freezing point of Réaumur; the drop of oil within the works was converted into ice.

The two following winters were employed by our author in vain attempts to proceed northward, in search of the polar continent, the existence of which had long been an enigma, and which even the labours of this expedition can scarcely be said to have solved. At an inconsiderable distance from the coast, even during the most intense frost, the ice was always found so thin that the sledge was continually in danger of breaking through, a catastrophe that befel them on one or two occasions, though without any serious consequence. Beyond this thin crust of ice as far as the eye could reach, the sea was always open; but the horizon was seldom extensive, constant vapours issuing from the *Polinya*, as the open region of the ocean is called by the Siberians. Even in the severest winter the ice never extends more than 25 versts (16 English miles) to the north of the island of New Siberia,* and it is evident, from the experience of the past, that neither in sledges, nor in ships sailing from the Sibe-

* This leaves still 15° to the North Pole, and about 12° Southing from the pole, giving 27° for the *Polinya*, or open watery expanse, which certainly appears large, and is probably studded with islands, or contains a large polar land.

rian rivers, can any important results be obtained from future attempts to explore the Polar Seas. M. von Wrangel appears to abandon the hope that other navigators may be more fortunate than himself. It may seem presumptuous for landsmen like ourselves to hazard a contrary opinion; but while we were accompanying our Russian in his dreary excursions over the polar ice, we confess, the idea frequently suggested itself to our minds that his own remarks pointed out the only practicable means of reaching a more northern latitude. The impediment to his own progress (and the same remark applies to Lieutenant Anjou, who was employed, on a similar service, on a more westerly part of the coast) was always the open *Polinya*, in which very little drift ice was seen. The point therefore to be attained, is to get a vessel afloat on the *Polinya*. Every attempt to do this by sailing from the ports of continental Asia, has hitherto failed; but it remains to be shown whether a vessel built on the northern coast of one of the Laecheff Islands (on Koteluoi or New Siberia, for instance) might not be more successful. Even in the most severe winter, we have seen, the ice extends only sixteen miles to the north of these islands. Might it not then be possible for an officer to avail himself of the brief summer months, when the ice breaks up, to work his way through these sixteen miles? Once in the open water, he would have a fair field before him, and a few months' sailing might finally dispose of the long pending question relative to the existence of a large Polar land.

Russia has greater means at her command for the solution of this question than any other country; but there are no political impediments to exclude Englishmen from a participation in the enterprize. The expedition undertaken by Messrs. Simpson and Deane, along the north western coast of America, points out the only quarter within the British dominions from which farther attempts can advantageously be made, and the experience of Messrs. Anjou and von Wrangel indicates the means that must be employed to attain satisfactory results from those attempts. Some convenient locality might be selected near the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Abundant supplies of every kind could be forwarded thither during the summer, and in the winter means might be taken to ascertain, in sledges drawn by dogs, how far the solid ice extends to the north of the American continent. The dog alone appears adapted for this kind of service, for the heavier horse or reindeer would fall through the thin ice, over which

the dog passes with complete impunity; and experience has taught the natives of Siberia, that the dog is quite as applicable to the purposes of draught as any other animal, provided care be taken not to impose upon him labour beyond his strength. In a high northern latitude, indeed, even the reindeer is at a disadvantage when compared with the dog, for not only does the reindeer sink farther into the snow, besides breaking through the ice when thin, but the food for the reindeer is not so easily conveyed from place to place. We throw out these suggestions with perfect diffidence, and leave it to those better qualified for the task to inquire further into the practicability of the plan. In the mean time, let us, for a brief space, return to our adventurous author.

The journey northward, over the ice, was an undertaking of a far more serious nature than the little trip along the coast, with which M. von Wrangel had whiled away a portion of his first winter. He was now about to venture "out to sea," and had to prepare for even greater hardships than he had yet experienced. In the first place, drift wood he could scarcely hope to fall in with, and as only a small supply of so bulky an article could be admitted on the sledges, a warm fire was not to be thought of before his return to land. The only fuel taken with him was for the purpose of boiling water and making soup; and as soon as the cooking was at an end every spark of fire was extinguished, and the fragments of wood carefully replaced on the sledges. A Cosack belonging to the expedition was especially appointed to this part of the service. "He had to collect every splinter that fell on one side when the men were chopping up a log, and it was his business to see that no more was used than was absolutely necessary." The same extreme care and frugality was put into practice in the distribution of the provisions; all the bones and remnants of fish and meat were gathered together after each meal, and for the due discharge of this part of the service another special appointment was deemed requisite. A scanty supply of food and firewood was not, however, the only inconvenience with which the party had to contend. The sun's rays reflected from the dazzling surface of the snow were soon found to act most painfully, and before many days were over, every man was suffering from violent inflammation of the eyes. M. von Wrangel and his friends obtained relief by rubbing the suffering parts with spirit, and then covering their faces with veils of black crape. The sledge drivers had recourse to a more violent remedy, and one that few will feel disposed to

venture upon: they threw snuff into their eyes, "from which they suffered the most acute pain during the night, but were evidently much relieved on the following morning." Eventually, M. von Wrangel, to lessen the most serious inconvenience to which this kind of service exposed him, adopted the plan of travelling chiefly by night, and resting during the middle of the day.

An occasional bear-hunt, by the excitement and exercise to which it led, varied the monotony of their occupation, but for the most part the bears were frightened by the presence of so large a number of dogs, and seldom came within speaking distance. A successful chase, by furnishing a fresh stock of food for the dogs, was always a cause of rejoicing; if, on the other hand, the quarry got off, the party were doubly disappointed, first by the loss of the bear, and secondly by the exhaustion of dogs and men, which made it impossible to proceed much further for that day.

Easter Day is a solemn festival throughout the whole Christian world, but nowhere is it more solemnly celebrated than in Russia. Our author shows that even on the broad ice of the Frozen Ocean it is quite possible to mark the return of a particular day, by rendering it the honour due.

"Unprovided with every requisite for such a solemnity, we wished at least to unite in prayer at the same hour with our countrymen at home. A block of ice was carved and hewn with much care into the shape of an altar. Upon this was placed a picture of St. Nicholas, the Worker of Miracles, and before it we erected a staff, on which burnt the only wax light we possessed. M. Bereshnoi officiated as priest, and read the prescribed service of the day, while our Cossacks and sledge-drivers raised the choral hymn. Simple and unadorned as was our temple, the piety of the little congregation was sincere, and I may say, edifying. The festive banquet that followed was equally unpretending, consisting chiefly of some reindeer tongues,* reserved for the occasion, and a double allowance of brandy. What contributed more than anything else, however, to the cheerfulness of the day, was the extravagance in which we indulged, of not letting our fire go out. It was a moderate one, to be sure, but we all crept closely round it, and spent the remainder of the day, chatting sociably over the hardships and dangers we had passed, and the hope we all entertained of a safe return. No assembly was perhaps ever so cheerful and merry under similar circumstances, destitute as we were of everything that could in the most remote degree be constructed into convenience or enjoyment. Our chief comfort was, no doubt, our little blazing fire—a comfort of which we had so long been forced to deprive ourselves."

We have left ourselves no space to speak

* Mr. Latham informs us that the tongues we are in the habit of eating with the most unsuspecting innocence in this country under this appellation, are prepared from donkeys.

of the summer excursions which M. von Wrangel and his officers undertook, chiefly on horseback, through the surrounding country, or we would here introduce some of his animating descriptions of the reindeer hunting and wild-goose catching, which we have read with interest, and which nothing but the length to which our remarks have already extended prevents us from quoting. His fourth winter was devoted to his great and last tour on the ice, which he extended as far as the island of Koliutskin, the same as that discovered by Captain Cook, and entered on his chart as Burney's Isle. On this tour it was that our travellers entered into friendly relations with the Tshuktshi, of whom one accompanied them a considerable portion of the journey, in his reindeer sledge. The Tshuktshi still persist, in what they have always maintained, that there exists a large extent of land to the north of their own country; and an old chief even declared that on a fine summer day, from some rocks situated a little westward from Captain Cook's North Cape, he had frequently discerned mountains covered with snow, at a great distance from land.

"But in winter, he said, the eye could not reach so far, and nothing was then to be seen. In former times, he added, large herds of reindeer had sometimes arrived across the sea, probably from that northern land, but, having been hunted and scared by the Tsheskoes and the wolves, had always returned again. He himself had once, in April, seen a herd thus returning, and had followed it a whole day in his sledge, but the ice became so uneven, that he was obliged to give up the pursuit. In his opinion, those mountains did not form part of an island, but of an extensive region, like the Tshesko land. His father had told him, that once upon a time, one of their elders had gone thither, with some of his men, in leathern *baydars*, or boats, but what they had found there, or whether they had ever returned, he was unable to say. He asserted most positively, however, that the country was inhabited; and, as a proof, he added, that a whale, wounded by spears pointed with stones, had a few years since been thrown on their coast. Now as none of the Tsheskoes used such spears, the whale could have been wounded only by one of the inhabitants of the unknown land."

The argument about the spear is one of very little value, as it is known that on the north-western coast of America, and more particularly on the islands about Behring's Strait, such spears are still used. The old chief, however, appears to have been an intelligent observer, for in the course of his conversation with M. von Wrangel, to make his explanations more clear, he took up a piece of charred wood, and drew a tolerably correct map of the whole line of coast, from the Baranikha to the North Cape, marking all the most important islands, capes, bays, &c. In fact so proverbial are the Tshuktshi

for their cheerfulness and readiness of apprehension, that the Siberian Russians have long designated them as the "Frenchmen of the Tundra."

During this his last journey, M. von Wrangel again attempted to get to the North, but the same natural impediments again opposed his progress, and before he could return to the coast, a violent tempest came on, which broke the ice, and left the whole party afloat on a fragment of about fifty fathoms in diameter, on which they spent a night of painful anxiety, thrown to and fro by the billows of the ocean, and in momentary expectation of seeing their little island crushed by the enormous *torossy*, or icebergs, which were dashing about in all directions around them. As soon, however, as the storm subsided, the several fields of ice became quickly connected, and the adventurous travellers were enabled to proceed on their journey, which, notwithstanding the danger they had just escaped, they continued in a northerly direction. They experienced a second storm, and were again set adrift on the ocean, but this time the fragment was of a much larger size, being composed of a number of connected icebergs. To return to the "continental ice" they had to construct a kind of bridge with loose blocks of ice, and again they renewed their endeavours to proceed to the North. "We did so," says our author—

"Rather for the satisfaction of knowing that we had left nothing undone that it was in our power to do, than with any hope of a favourable result. Till noon (23d March) we had clear weather, with a light wind, which towards the afternoon became sharp, when clouds began to gather over us, while from N. W. to N. E., as far as our eyes could reach, the horizon was covered by the dense blue vapour which in these regions constantly rises from the open ocean. Notwithstanding this sure token of the impossibility of proceeding much farther, we continued to go due north for about nine versts, when we arrived at the edge of an immense break in the ice, which reached in both directions beyond our visible horizon, and which at the narrowest part was more than 150 fathoms broad. The sharp westerly wind we could see was widening the gap, and the current that set towards the East was running at the rate of a knot and a half. We climbed to the summit of one of the loftiest icebergs, whence we obtained an extensive view towards the north, and whence we beheld the wide immeasurable ocean spread before our gaze. It was a dreadful, melancholy, magnificent spectacle! On the foaming waves were tussled about, as though they had been mere feathers, icebergs of enormous size; the grotesque and colossal masses lay one moment inclined on the agitated waters, and the next were hurled with awful violence against the edge of the standing ice. The collisions were so tremendous that large fragments were every instant broken away, and it was evident that the rampart of ice which still divided the channel before us from the open ocean would soon be completely destroyed.

It would have been idle temerity to have attempted to ferry ourselves across, upon one of the floating pieces of ice, for we should not have found firm footing on our arrival. Even on our own side fresh breaks were continually forming, which assumed the forms of rivers rushing in different directions through a continent of ice. *We could go no farther!*

"With a painful feeling of the impossibility of overcoming the obstacles which Nature opposed to us, our last hope vanished of discovering the enigmatical land, of the existence of which it was still not allowed us to doubt. We saw ourselves compelled to renounce the object for which during three years we had constantly exposed ourselves to every kind of hardship, privation and danger. We had done all that duty or honour could demand from us; it would have been absurd to have attempted to contend against the might of the elements, and *I resolved to return!*

"According to my reckoning, the point from which I returned was situated in $70^{\circ} 51'$ N. latitude, and $175^{\circ} 27'$ E. longitude, from Greenwich. Our distance from the main land, in a straight line, was 105 versts. On sounding we found $22\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water, with a clay bottom."

On their return they had to ferry themselves across many fresh breaks in the ice, the dogs swimming, and towing after them the pieces of ice on which the sledges rested. In many places the old track of their sledges was interrupted by large *torossy*, a proof that the storms they had experienced must have broken the ice to a great extent behind them. They were again overtaken by a storm, were again set adrift upon an iceberg, to which they were a whole day indebted for their preservation. At length, however, their frost-built vessel became a prey to the hurricane. The mighty *toross* was hurled against the field of standing ice, and the violence of the collision shattered at once the mass that bore our travellers, and the mass against which it had been flung.

"The moment of our destruction was at hand. But at this dreadful moment, when escape seemed impossible, the native instinct of every living being acted within us. All of us at the same instant sprung upon the sledges, and urged our dogs to their full speed without knowing whither we went. The animals flew across the sinking fragments, and reached a field of standing ice, where they immediately ceased running, conscious apparently that the danger was over. We were saved. Joyfully we embraced one another, and joined in thanks to God for our miraculous preservation."

And here we must close our notice of one of the most attractive works of the kind that has for some years passed through our hands. The expeditions we have described embrace from longitude 67° east to 175° east, the immense sweep of 108° of east longitude in the highest attainable Asiatic latitude, bringing us to Behring's Strait from the distant Ob. Here our distinguished countryman, Captain Beechey, meets us, and carries us on the American continent until

stopped by the same impediments with von Wrangel, but with his points of survey of a far more accurate description. Inferior only to the late deeply lamented Captain Kater, receivedly the best manipulator of instruments of his time, far exceeding even the late astronomer royal, whose excellence on that point is well known, all Captain Beechey's observations are of the highest possible accuracy. The American coast will soon, we trust, be perfectly ascertained from Point Parry to Point Beechey. Whether a large Polar land extends beyond these discoveries, will soon form the only remaining northern desideratum. In conclusion we have simply to remark, that we are at a loss to comprehend the motive of the Russian government in keeping M. von Wrangel's narrative buried for so many years in the archives of the Admiralty. The public, we are sure, will feel indebted to Mr. Ritter, of Berlin, for the German version, and we presume some of our own publishers will, before long, present the work to us in an English dress.

With respect to the extraordinary details in this article on the mammoth bones, one of our most eminent geologists has stated to us his conviction that the diminution of the mammoth in size, as we approach the North Pole, is untrue. He considers that different species are confounded. The quantity of these remains does not surprise him, as bones in similar proportion are found along the north shores of Asia and America. The temperature of the earth, he conceives, must have essentially changed. The mammoth was a hot-blooded herbivorous animal, and not adapted to a marine life. We subjoin these remarks, which are of high moment, we conceive, and lead to speculations on change of climate, soil, &c. almost endless. The fidelity of Hedenström is of course not impeached; even supposing him to be in error.

ART. V.—1. *Faust: a Tragedy, by Goethe, translated into English Verse.* By John Hills, Esq. London: Whittaker & Co. Berlin: Asher. 1840.

2. *The Faust of Goethe; Part the First; translated into English Rhyme.* By the Hon. Robert Talbot. *Second Edition, revised and much corrected, with the German Text on alternate pages, and additional Notes.* London: J. Wacey, 4, Old Bond Street. 1839.

3. *Faustus, a Dramatic Mystery; the Bride of Corinth; the First Walpurgis Night; translated from the German of Goethe, and illustrated with Notes.* By John Anster, LL.D. (of Trinity College,

Dublin,) Barrister at Law. London: Longman. 1838.

4. *Faust: a Dramatic Poem, by Goethe, translated into English Prose, with Notes, &c.* By A. Hayward, Esq. Third Edition. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street. 1838.

5. *Faust: a Tragedy, by J. W. Goethe, translated into English Verse, with Notes, and preliminary Remarks.* By John S. Blackie, Fellow of the Society for Archæological Correspondence, Rome. William Blackwood, Edinburgh. 1834.

6. *Faust: a Tragedy, translated from the German of Goethe.* By David Syme. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1834.

7. *Goethe's Faust, Part II., translated from the German, partly in the Metres of the Original, and partly in Prose, with other Poems, original and translated.* By Leopold J. Bernays, Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford. London: S. Lowe, Lamb's Conduit Street; and A. Bielefeld, in Carlsruhe. 1839.

8. *Goethe's Faust, translated into English Verse, with copious Notes.* By J. Birch, Esq. London: Black and Armstrong. 1839.

9. *Faust: a Tragedy, by J. W. Goethe, Part II., as completed in 1831, translated into English Verse.* Dumfries: Printed for the Translator by D. Halliday. 1838.

THE above translations of *Faust* are but a few out of the many with which the press has been lately teeming. They are mostly of the First Part. But now that Mr. Bernays has given a literal version of the Second Part, no doubt the attempts at its versification will be equally numerous. Evidence enough exists, in all this, that the production has a deep and abiding interest for the German student, whatever be its aspect to the general reader. Meanwhile, the book needs interpretation to both, and thanks, we are continually told, would be deserved by him who could solve the enigma supposed to be involved in a poem that affects at the same time both the strange and the true. Have we the key? We think so. But be this as it may, we will not miss it for want of strenuous exertion, but do our duty in the task, difficult as it is, to which we are called.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on the First Part of *Faust*, much, from the nature of the subject, still remains to be said; and, though our main design in the present article is to treat of the Second Part, yet, if only by way of introduction, it will be expedient to dwell briefly on the first.

We are disposed to concur with Mr. Bernays in opinion, that the "Prologue on the Theatre," with which the First Part of *Faust* is introduced, has been too seldom consulted, and believe that it may be taken as the key to the mode of treatment adopted by the poet. The poem was composed in pieces, at wide intervals of time, and was at last made up by selection and rejection, of fragments produced in moments of inspiration. We have no doubt that Goethe had in his mind this mode of composing the poem when he put the following words into the mouth of his Manager :

*Mr. Talbot's translation.**

"You rule the many by the mass alone ;
He who brings much will bring to many a one ;
Each picks up something for himself, at least ;
Thus all go home contented from the feast.
Who gives a piece in *pieces* sure to please is ;
With such a hash they'll best be satisfied ;
The banquet, then, not only spread with ease is,
But is a world more easy to provide.
In vain the bard a finished whole submits,—
The house is sure to tear it all to bits !"

And so Goethe had written his piece by bits and scraps.

The above passage we have given in Mr. Talbot's translation. It is almost literally rendered. It may gratify the reader to see how other translators have managed the same lines,—and will certainly enable him to form some conception of the different styles of the different versions. Dr. Anster's is exceedingly diffuse.

Dr. Anster's translation.

"Would you please many, you must give good measure,
Then each finds something in't to yield him pleasure ;
The more you give, the greater sure your chance is
To please, by varying scenes, such various fancies.
The interest of a piece, no doubt, increases
Divided thus, and broken into pieces.
Such a ragoût is soon prepared, nor shall it
Be otherwise than pleasing to each palate ;
And, for my part, methinks it little matters :
Though you may call your work a finished whole,
The public soon will tear this whole to tatters,
And but on piecemeal parts their praises dole."

This is paraphrastic. The following, we are afraid, is bald :

Mr. Hill's translation.

"The mass you can subdue with mass alone ;
Each picks out what he feels for him was meant ;
Who much brings, brings a portion for each one,
And in the end, all leave the house content."

* "Die Massa könnt ihr nur durch Masse zwingen,
Ein jeder sucht sich endlich selbst was aus.
Wer Vieles bringt, wird manchen etwas bringen ;
Und jeder geht zufrieden aus dem Haus.
Gebt ihr ein Stück, so gebt es gleich in Stücken !
Welch ein Ragout es muss euch glücken ;
Leicht ist es vorgelegt, so leicht als ausgedacht.
Was hilft's, wenn ihr ein Ganzes dargebracht,
Das Publikum wird es euch doce zerpfücken."

Give you a piece ? then give it piecemeal too,
You cannot but succeed with such a ragoût.—
As easily dish'd up too as invented !

What needs it a great whole to have presented ;
'That we would pull to pieces straight for you."

The following is comical :

Mr. Blackie's translation.

"The mass can be compelled by mass alone,
Each one at least seeks out what is his own.
Bring much, and every one is sure to find,
From out your nosegay, something to his mind.
You give a piece,—give it at once in pieces,
Such a ragoût each taste and temper pleases ;
And is as easy to the bard's invention,
As from the players it needs small attention.
In vain into an artful whole you glue it,
The public, in the long run, will undo it."

Mr. Syme has not translated this prologue.

So much will suffice for samples of these different versions. Brief and facile as the passage is, it yields the reader a fair notion of the comparative merits of the different versifiers, and relieves us from the necessity of quoting them again in connection. Mr. Hayward's prose gives us the original without alteration :

"You can only subdue the mass by mass. Each eventually picks out something for himself. Who brings much, will bring something to many a one, and all leave the house content. If you give a piece, give it at once in pieces. With such a hash, you cannot but succeed. It is easily served out, as easily as invented. What avails it to present a whole ? The public will pull it to pieces for you notwithstanding."

Agreeing so far as we have above expressed with Mr. Bernays, we cannot agree with him, however, in supposing that the whole is an accidental result. *Au contraire*, we apprehend that, however fragmentary the mode of composition, the idea of the entirety was always in the mind of the poet, though in execution it was developed in parts. For if there ever was an artist who proceeded from whole to parts it was Goethe ; and, indeed, we perceive in this very prologue the proof of the fact. Here, if any where, we learn what is proper to the true poet, and what he has to expect from the vulgar taste. To the level of that Goethe never meant to descend.

At the present time, when so great a desire is expressed on all hands for the regeneration of our native drama, this prologue may be consulted with immense advantage. The dramatic poet in England yet, notwithstanding all professions to the contrary, is held in the bonds of actors and managers. He would do well to imitate the bold independence of Goethe's poet, as declared in the following glorious verses,—more glorious in Dr. Anster's translation than in the original.

"Go and elsewhere some fitter servant find ;
 What ! shall the poet squander then away,
 And spend in worthless, worse than idle, play,
 The highest gift that ever nature gave,
 The inalienable birthright of mankind,
 The freedom of the independent mind,
 And sink into an humble trading slave ?
 Whence is his power, all human hearts to win,
 And why can nothing his proud march oppose,
 As through all elements the conqueror goes ?
 Oh ! is it not the harmony within,
 The music which hath for its dwelling place
 His own rich soul—the heart that can receive
 And hold in its unlimited embrace
 All things inanimate, and all that live ?
 Then nature, like a tired and stupid sloven,
 Twists with dull fingers the coarse threads of life,
 When all things, that, together interwoven,
 In happy concord still agreeing,
 Should join to form the web of being,
 Are tangled in inextricable strife ;
 Who then can cheer life's drear monotony,
 Bestow upon the dead new animation,
 Restore the dissonant to harmony,
 And bid the jarring individual be
 A chord, that, in the general consecration,
 Bears part with all in musical relation ?
 Who to the tempest's rage can give a voice,
 Like human passion ? bid the serious mind
 Glow with the colouring of the sunset hours ?
 Who in the dear path scatter spring's first flowers,
 When wanders forth the lady of his choice ?
 Who of the valueless green leaves can bind
 A wreath—the artist's proudest ornament—
 Or, round the conquering hero's brow entwined,
 The best reward his country can present ?
 Whose voice is fame ? who gives us to inherit
 Olympus, and the loved Elysian field
 The soul of MAN sublimed—man's soaring spirit
 Then in the POET, gloriously revealed."

With this extract we close our specimen quotations,—remarking that, for poetic force and diction, none of the versions before us is comparable with Dr. Anster's, upon whom we impress the duty of presenting the Second Part also in an English dress, so clothed as only he can clothe it, with the stores of a rich fancy, and the graces of true poetic feeling. We are inclined to permit to him most of the licences that he exercises,—the addition of figures, the accumulation of phrases, and whatsoever else shall give to his production the air of an original. Were he to do this, we should feel that then we had both parts of Goethe's *Faust* in a style thoroughly English, and thoroughly poetic. In a word, the two parts of "*Faustus, a Dramatic Mystery*, by Dr. Anster," would form an English Poem, delightful to peruse, and desirable to retain, as a permanent accession to an Englishman's library.

So far, however, from meaning by his "*Prologue on the Theatre*," that he had proposed any concession to popular taste in the composition of his extraordinary drama, it was evidently Goethe's design to throw the utmost possible amount of ridicule on the proceedings of the mere playwright. He looked with perfect contempt on mere stage

effects, and all rules for commanding dramatic success in the theatre. He cared nothing for their *drops*, their *flats*, or their *set scenes*. Nay, he boasts of converting the manager himself, whom he portrays as giving full license to the poet. Thus :

"What you can do, or dream you can, begin it,
 Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it.
 Only engage, and then the mind grows heated,—
 Begin it, and the work will be completed !
 You know our German bards, like bold adventurers,
 Bring out whate'er they please, and laugh at censors :

Then do not think to-day of sparing scenery,—
 Command enough of dresses and machinery ;
 Use as you please,—fire, water, thunder, levin,—
 The greater and the lesser lights of heaven.
 Squander away the stars at your free pleasure,
 And build up rocks and mountains without measure.

Of birds and beasts we've plenty here to lavish,
 Come, cast away all apprehensions slavish,—
 Strut, on our narrow stage, with lofty stature,
 As moving through the circle of wide nature,
 Hurry with speed more swift than words can tell,
 Rapid as thought—from *Heaven*, through *EARTH*—
 to *HELL*."

The remarks we have just closed are as necessary as the first scene of a well constructed play, to prepare the mind of our readers for the matter that shall follow. Goethe in this drama proposed to exhaust the present resources of theatrical representation, and to initiate new—to set an example of a dramatic production, wherein the poet should be perfectly unshackled. But though in this way he secured to himself the utmost amount of variety, out of which every one might pick something for himself, he was careful to provide for the unity of the entire argument;—a task infinitely difficult, to combine elements so manifold into an unbroken whole.

What was the argument ? and wherein lies its unity ?

These points are as perplexing to most critics, as the plot of *Hamlet* to the players. In both instances, it is the philosophical scope of the subject, and its anomalous treatment, that embarrasses many. The origin, progress, and destiny of man, symbolized in an individual;—such is the wide argument and such the narrow unity proposed by either poet. No less a weight than this lies on the persons of *Hamlet* and of *Faust*. Herein, however, consists the human interest, notwithstanding the preternatural machinery, of the two characters. They are representatives of the race,—and belong, therefore, to us all. It is *we* who are *Hamlet*, *we* who are *Faust*. Hence the propriety of the numerous incidents in these dramas. Symbolizing so vast a theme, the poet was called upon to introduce the greatest number of types that could be entertained consistently

with the unity proper to a work of art. Hence it is that, in these tragedies, a Shakspeare and a Goethe have poured out more of their minds' wealth, than in their other productions.

This analogy between these two master-pieces of dramatic art has never, to our knowledge, been previously instituted. Yet Goethe himself has almost guided us to it, by his incomparable criticisms on the princely Dane and his sore trials, in *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*.

Hamlet and Faust are at the beginning both students about to throw aside their books, and mingle in the business of the world. Our dear Coleridge must here come in for some degree of reprehension for his misappreciation of Goethe's poem.

"The intended theme of the *Faust*," said he, "is the consequences of a misology, or hatred and depreciation of knowledge, caused by an original intense thirst of knowledge baffled. But a love of knowledge for itself, and for pure ends, would never produce such a misology, but only a love of it for base and unworthy purposes. There is neither causation nor progression in the *Faust*; he is a ready-made conjurer from the beginning; the *incredulus odi* is felt from the first line."

Alas! so hasty a misstatement shows in the critic little love for his author. Coleridge never heartily admired Goethe; and without admiration there can be no just criticism. He synchronised rather with Schiller; and seems not to have proceeded beyond that original opposition which was so significantly illustrated between the two minds at the first meeting of the two poets. But how well did they succeed in reconciling themselves one to the other!—All human progress presupposes the motion of a point through mental space. The library is the scholar's paradise—with what pleasure Hamlet refers back to Wittenberg! The difference between him and Faust is that Hamlet has just left, and Faust is just leaving, the scene of his studies. Perhaps, in Goethe's estimation, the difference was still more minute. According to him, Hamlet "was calm in his temper, artless in his conduct, neither pleased with idleness, nor too violently eager for employment. *The routine of a university he seemed to continue when at court.*" Granted. But this university routine to Hamlet is still that of a pupil—to Faust it is that of a master.

"I have now," Faust exclaims, "by zealous exertion, thoroughly mastered philosophy, the jurist's craft, and medicine,—and, to my sorrow, theology too. Here I stand, poor fool that I am, just as wise as before. I am called master, aye, and doctor, and have now for nearly ten years been leading my pupils about—up and down, crossways and

crookedways—by the nose; and see that we can know nothing! This it is that almost burns up the heart within me. True, I am cleverer than all the solemn triflers, doctors, masters, writers, and priests. No doubts nor scruples of any sort trouble me; I fear neither hell nor the devil. For this very reason is all joy torn from me. I no longer fancy I know any thing worth knowing; I no longer fancy I could teach any thing to better and convert mankind. Then I have neither land nor money nor rank in the world. No dog would like to live so any longer. I have therefore devoted myself to MAGIC."

We have preferred, on a point so important as this, to quote the *literal* translation. The result is, that we feel compelled to decide that it is not a hatred of Knowledge of which Faust must be convicted, but a sense of the insufficiency of Learning. Fatal error! to substitute learning for knowledge. How strongly is the distinction between the twain marked in Goethe's poem. Hence his vehement contempt of mere elocution in the orator. It is his maxim that "Reason and good sense express themselves with little art;" and he demands indignantly

"Are mouldy records, then, the holy springs,
Whose healing waters still the thirst within?
Oh! never yet hath mortal drunk
A draught restorative
That welled not from the depths of his own soul."

How indignant, too, that the name of knowledge should be usurped by mere learning!

"Why, yes! they call it *knowledge*. Who may dare
To name things by their real names? The few
Who did know something, and were weak enough
To expose their hearts unguarded—to expose
Their views and feelings to the eyes of men,
They have been nailed to crosses—thrown to
flames!"

We have said that the condition of mind here exemplified indicates a degradation of it from a previous state of higher excellence. Alas! the story of the individual is here the story of the race! The human intellect has needed ever and anon (to use Mr. Blackie's words*) to be "roused to new life from the icy night of scholasticism, and surrounded by the glowing but unsubstantial morning clouds of a philosophy of feeling and imagination." How admirably these words coalesce with those of Faust. "What you feel not, you will not get by hunting—what gushes not from the soul is void of original delight." And in these facts, whether true of the individual or the race, we recognize the perpetually recurring symbols of man's

* We may state, by the way, that the preliminary remarks to Mr. Blackie's translation are excellent.

fall and redemption. But throughout his dark strivings, he "is still," says the poet, who places the maxim in the mouth of the highest authority, "he is still conscious of the right way."

We should nevertheless err if we supposed that the commencement of *Faust* symbolised the progress of the human mind from the mere formulæ of the schools into the demonstrations of experimental science and the philosophy of experience and induction. We must believe that the hero has passed through these also, together with all criticism upon them, and has perceived feelingly the nothingness of them. For above all things, we should bear in mind, with Mr. Thomas Carlyle, that Goethe, in this wondrous poem, has not treated its subject as lying so much in the past as in the present. He recognizes in the present the same mysterious relations of which all ancient superstitions (however obsolete in some instances) were symbolic. Thus interpreted, the fable of Faust is *true* for all ages. But then, in every age, according to the doctrine of the critic before us, it must be represented in different types at different times.

"Goethe's manner of treating it" [he writes] "appears to us, so far as we can understand it, peculiarly just and happy. He retains the supernatural vesture of the story, but retains it with the consciousness, on his and our part, that it is a chimera. His art-magic comes forth in doubtful twilight; vague in its outline; interwoven everywhere with light sarcasm; nowise as a real Object, but as a real Shadow of an Object, which is also real, yet lies beyond our horizon, and except in its shadows, cannot itself be seen. Nothing were simpler than to look in this poem for a new 'Satan's Invisible World Displayed,' or any effort to excite the sceptical minds of these days by goblins, wizards, and other infernal ware. Such enterprizes belong to artists of a different species. Goethe's devil is a cultivated personage, and acquainted with the modern sciences; sneers at witchcraft and the black-art, even while employing them, as heartily as any member of the French Institute; for he is a *philosophe*, and doubts most things, nay, half believes even his own existence. It is not without a cunning effort that all this is managed; but managed, in a considerable degree, it is; for a world of magic is open to us, which, we might almost say, we feel to be at once true and not true."

And now, we think, that we hear some cautious reader objecting to our definition of learning and knowledge. Do you, he demands, to the defiance of etymology, include the sciences in the category of learning? To which we reply, in the first place, that a scholar's acquaintance with a science does not necessarily extend to a manipulative interference with its processes. We speak of course of discursive scholarship. This kind of scholar is in general content with a book-learning of its means and results; and

we might observe that Faust is introduced to us in his library at his desk, and not in his laboratory at his furnace. We will, however, waive this; since the knowledge sought by Faust is not any kind that can be obtained by any such process of experiment. All that the modern applications of the Baconian scheme of induction can present to the student concerns *effects*. This is all that natural means can achieve. Faust asks for what they cannot confessedly give him—the knowledge of causes! Hear him.

"I have therefore devoted myself to magic; whether, through the power and voice of the spirit, many a mystery might not become known to me; that I may no longer with bitter sweat be obliged to speak of what I do not know; that I may learn what it is that holds the world together in its inmost core, see all the springs and seeds of production, and drive no longer a paltry traffic in words." "Ye instruments, too, forsooth, are mocking me, with your wheels and cogs, cylinders and collars. I stood at the gate, ye were to be the key; true, your wards are curiously twisted, but you raise not the bolt. Inscrutable at broad day, nature does not suffer herself to be robbed of her veil; and what she does not choose to reveal to *thy spirit*,* thou wilt not wrest from her by levers and screws."

This knowledge of causes, it is clear, is attainable by no natural means? By what means then? The preternatural. And what are they? Alas! instead of inquiring of the Microcosm, or the world *within* man, Faust takes to the Macrocosm or the world without; which, too, he presumes to interpret by a sign, or diagram. Contemplating this, he too hastily exclaims: "Am I a god? All grows so bright! I see, in these pure lines, nature herself working in my soul's presence. Now for the first time do I conceive what the sage saith, the spirit-world is not closed. Thy sense is shut, thy heart is dead! Up, acolyte! bathe, untired, thy earthly breast in the morning-red."

But it is not, to adopt the language of Crollius, "in the visible and comprehensible anatomy of the great world" that the mystery is to receive solution. Faust ere long perceives it. "What a show! but, ah! a show only!" He desires the *spirit* in and by which the show is substantiated. The *spirit* of the earth therefore must be invoked, since the mere "anatomy of the great world" answers not the human soul's desires.

No investigation of nature will serve the turn; but spirit must be revealed to spirit. In order thereto Faust must first, as it were, project his own, in order, by self-contemplation, to learn what spirit is, and how, in its mirror, the spirit of whatsoever exists is re-

* Mr. Hayward has here translated *Geist* "mind;" but it must be "spirit," if we would understand the force of Goethe's meaning.

flected. At first in a kind of Berkleyian mood he identifies both; but soon learns that they are twain, and one the superior—so superior as to transcend conception. "Thou art mate for the spirit whom thou conceivest, not for me!" Nor for him! no; for he shadows forth at once the whole *noumenal* creation and its Creator—even the very manifesting Power itself to the purest intuition of his own most interior being that man can contemplate; or, yet more abstract, of the ineffable source which presciently it pronounces. No marvel that Faust is subdued by such a "fulness of visions!" ("*fülle der Gesichte.*") Despair seizes on his soul. But how much of it is due to the "body of death," which has so perplexed both saint and sage? Ha! will not suicide at once deliver either from the ignorance which confounds, and demonstrate at once to the bold adventurer that "man's dignity yields not to God's sublimity?" To die then is to live!

Faust, however, makes no such experiment. For as he is placing a phial of poison to his lips, bells are heard ringing and chorusses singing, "Christ is risen!"—for it is the festal season of Easter; pregnant with the assurance of a new covenant. Faust declares that he wants faith to believe—but nevertheless refrains from dying—for he thinks on his childhood, when "the full-toned bell sounded so fraught with mystic meaning, and a prayer was burning enjoyment." His tears flow—earth has him again.

And now begins the dramatic action which is to solve in the end all Faust's perplexities, and restore him to the simple faith and innocence of childhood. But first he must be tempted in the world's wilderness;—and his tempter, according to the decision of Goethe's only competent critic, is "the Devil not of superstition but of knowledge." Let the reader recollect well the kind of knowledge! Nothing less than the knowledge of causation, of the inmost soul of things, will suffice the great desire of his spirit. All other knowledge—even including the religious instruction of his childhood—has failed; yet in such religion is more hope than in any thing—this primal, ultimate want has been re-excited, and demands satisfaction. His heart yearns for a revelation, and acknowledges its record in the New Testament. But here again he is perplexed with the letter of the Word; nevertheless some professors have pretended to penetrate its spirit. Some, like Swedenborg, for instance, have claimed the possession of a peculiar and personal revelation for the purpose. But what are they to Faust? The transcend-

entalisms of philosophy have reduced all these to their due value. Scepticism has done it, and Kant, the destroyer of all, has done as much both for them and scepticism. Faust can neither doubt nor believe. Nay, he is prepared to *deny* that any thing is either to be doubted or believed—and, lo! the spirit which *denies*, eliminated from the carnal nature, stands before him; the Mephistopheles, who will admit nothing—no affirmation, whether positive or negative—who takes nothing for granted—for whom no principle exists—the antagonist of all inquiry and endeavour, to which nothing appears but what is deserving of annihilation—to whom no decision is possible, because no assumption is probable. Yet, after all, this negation of identity is rather a vague desire than an attainment, and makes little progress. Something yet unaccountably opposes itself to nothing; and identity triumphs over the annihilating efforts of the fiend.

Such is the necessary end of *all* speculation! Thus is reason herself baffled. A practical course of action is desirable. Come, says Mephistopheles, "away into the world with me"—the field of the senses is the true sphere of exertion for man.

At this point the poetry of the drama commences—for, until the subject of a poem is reduced to the sensuous it is unavailable for the artist's purposes. "Poetry," says Milton, "should be simple, sensuous, and impassioned,"—Goethe required no less. His great complaint of Schiller was (according to Eckermann) that he preferred ideas to nature; Goethe, for his own part, studied the symbol more. Thus, in regard to the Helena, which forms so efficient a portion of the second part of Faust, Goethe rejoiced that "all had sensuous life, and on the stage would satisfy the eye. More," he adds, "I did not wish. If only the crowd of spectators take pleasure in what is obvious, the initiated will detect the higher meaning. Such has been the case with the Magic Flute, and other things of that sort." Goethe evidently too preferred the Second Part of Faust to the First, because of the superior objectivity of it. Of the First Part he said, that it was incommensurable, and that all attempts to bring it nearer to the understanding are in vain; adding, that "it should be considered that the First Part is the product of a somewhat obscure era in my mental progress." Such are the remarkable differences that often exist between authors and readers.

The reason why the Second Part of Faust has failed of its due appreciation is, perhaps, owing to its comparative want of obscurity.

No one can fail to believe with Goethe that the "very obscurity of the First has a charm for men's minds, exciting them to thought, as all insoluble problems do." Shall we, however, gain popular consent to the greater clearness of the Second Part? The appeal must not lie in any popular court. The argument is elevated altogether away from the popular mode of perception. It addresses itself not to the actor in life's busy scenes, as does the tale of poor Margaret, sacrificed that Faust may grow wiser by experience, and saved in the next world because the sinner in this met with forgiveness from the Eternal Mercy:—but it appeals to the operative intelligence itself, to the artist's sense of skill and the powers that belong to the best developed natures. In the classical carnival, Goethe was accordingly careful of the picturesque effect of the mythologic figures. In these and other arrangements he was solicitous that while the whole was incommensurable, the parts should be clear and significant. Eckermann points out corroborations of this, which we have already indicated to our readers.*

This is an important rule of art, and there can be no student of either Faust who has not almost consciously felt its influence. By reason of it, while the Whole offers an insoluble problem, each Part is distinct and plain enough. Goethe desired that we should contemplate the entire fourth act of the second Faust in this manner; as bearing "a quite peculiar character, so that it, like a by-itself-existing little world, need never touch the others, and is only connected with the whole by a slight reference to what precedes and follows it."

Goethe seems very much to have plumed himself upon his *Classical Walpurgis Night*—and, however much undervalued by some English critics, held that a mind less prepared and developed than his own would have found the work impossible. He compared it with the old Walpurgis Night, which "is monarchical, the devil there throughout being respected as chief"—while the *Classical Walpurgis Night*, he tells us, "is republican: in it all stand on a plain near one another, so that each is as prominent as his associates, nobody is subordinated or troubled about the others." But it will here be convenient to quote again from Eckermann direct:

" 'And,' said I, 'the classic assembly is composed of sharply outlined individualities, while, on the German Blocksberg, each individuality is lost in the general witch mass.'"

" 'Therefore,' said Goethe, 'Mephistopheles

knows what is meant when the Homunculus speaks to him of *Thessalian* witches. One acquainted with ancient times will have many thoughts suggested by these words (*Thessalian* witches), while, to the unlearned, it remains a mere name.'

" 'Antiquity,' said I, 'must be very living to you, else you could not endow the figures with such fresh new life, and use them with such freedom as you have.'

" 'Without a life-long acquaintance with plastic art,' said Goethe, 'it would not have been possible to me. The difficulty lay in observing due moderation amid such plenty, and resolutely avoiding figures that did not fit into my plan. I avoided, for instance, using the Minotaur, the Harpies, and other monsters.'

" 'We then spoke of the conclusion, and Goethe directed my attention to the passage—

Rescued is the noble limb
Of the spirit-world from the bad one:
For he who toils and ever strives
Him can we aye deliver:
And if indeed with him a part
Love from above hath taken,
The blessed armies him will meet
With heartiest of welcomes.*

" 'These lines,' said he, 'contain the key to Faust's salvation. In himself, an activity becoming constantly higher and purer, eternal love coming from heaven to his aid. This harmonises perfectly with our religious views, that we cannot obtain heavenly bliss through our own strength, unassisted by divine grace.'

" 'You will confess that the conclusion, where the redeemed soul is carried up, was difficult to manage; and that I, amid these supersensual matters, about which we scarce have even an intimation, might easily have lost myself in the vague, if I had not, by means of sharply drawn figures and images from the Christian Church, given my poetical design the desirable form and compactness.'

These notices of the poet's manner of proceeding are invaluable, as letting us into the secret of his plan of construction—the purely artistic method in which he performed his task. As the production of a very old man, it is a miraculous piece of work; but we go not along with them who use the argument of age as an apology for its comparative inferiority. Most sequels have been inferior to the original poems; but not so this of *Faust*: we are of opinion that Goethe was right in the feeling that he entertained of its excellence. Some reasons for this will probably suggest themselves to the reader in the course of our remarks.

The English public have now ample means of deciding this or any other question that may arise as to the poem. One translation in literal prose, and another in nearly as literal verse, may now be had. For the former we are indebted to Mr. Bernays, whose thorough acquaintance with both languages has enabled him to do for the Second Part of *Faust*, at once, and once for all, what the First Part wanted long in vain—a

* Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XXXV.

* Bernays' translation.

correct prose version. Previous to Mr. Hayward's translation, every possible error was committed in the metrical versions that were attempted; but the first appearance in English of the Second Part is under every advantage of accurate rendering. We cannot overvalue this great benefit, and shall be inclined to rate it very high, if we consider the difficulties of the undertaking. These were of a very uncommon character, including new forms and phrases of German construction, and a world of allusions, in which errors may very readily be made. Every thing, too, in this Second Part, depends on minute points—it being the intention of the author to suggest more than he expressed. It may almost be said that every line is symbolical of some moral lesson or intellectual maxim—has reference to some recon-dite research, or some elaborated conclusion from a wide treasury of learning or argumentation.

Extravagant notions have been formed of the solution which Goethe was to give of the problem of man's destiny at the conclusion of his poem. Even Mr. Hayward seems disappointed that, after the very impressive statement which had been made at the outset of such problem, the poet should leave us with a most orthodox theological decision, which no churchman would be disposed to dispute. We think, however, that it is a mistake to consider Goethe as the setter-up of new doctrines. He seems even to have had a repugnance for them, and was more led by authority than may be supposed. He was no innovator—wanted no new creeds, though not stedfast in existing forms—but as he chose an old legend for his fable, simply adapting its shape to modern modes of opinion, so he preferred, for the most part, old beliefs with a new interpretation. He meant not to impress the reader, as Dr. Anster supposes, either with the opinion that the human being only needs increase of light to release him from error and perplexity, or that a removal of inconvenient circumstances is the ultimate rescue for which man has to hope. On the contrary, it is clear that he insists upon a change of nature and heart as constituting the redemption of man, and considers this of so difficult accomplishment, that, though by the divine mercy an individual may be justified on earth, yet no sanctification is possible for any one but in heaven.

Nor was it needed that a new way of salvation should be pointed out by the poet. It is indeed no part of any poet to invent theological or metaphysical dogmas—his concern is with the illustration of ideas, by means of apt symbols in nature and experi-

ence. What we have gathered from Eckermann shows that Goethe aimed at nothing more than this—he sought to be a poetic artist, but no revealer. In fact, he was only too little of an enthusiast; the temper in which he most delighted appears to have been the ironic. Men and their interests were to him but the counters, which served his purpose well enough as the materials to be combined and opposed in a work of art. He seems to have survived all sympathy in the actual business of life. Whatever sympathy or enthusiasm may be shown in the First Part of *Faust*, none is left in the Second. There is in the First some passion—some emotion; but the pathetic, whether beautiful or sublime, is altogether wanting in the Second. It is an epic satire.

We can easily imagine, that in such a poem, having man for its subject, the most heterogeneous elements would mingle, and the more confusedly the better. Shadowy to the extreme, accordingly, is the sequel before us—shadowy and unreal. Pharsalian fields and Gothic castles mingle in one and the same dream; sphinxes and seven-leagued boots appear together; Hebrew and Greek mythology are identified; and Helen Rediviva blends visions of the classic and romantic—of the past and the present; the whole presenting a *Märchen* of the most extraordinary kind, in which (to adopt Mr. Bernays' statement) "plains and mountains in the land of no where; emperors and rival emperors, marshals and archbishops, fools and fanstasts, nameless and dateless," unite to perplex the visionary. We have, however, failed to study the work sufficiently, if we have not discovered, in this immense variety, a beauty and a completeness, such as belong to few works.

Bear we in mind, however, that this specific work was not meant for the public, technically speaking. For popular productions of all sorts, Goethe seems to have had latterly a most thorough contempt and wise scorn. We refer our readers again to the *Foreign Quarterly*, No. xxxv., where Eckermann's conversation with Goethe is fully detailed.

The true critic therefore will be slow to condemn these productions on the score of their unpopularity. He will concede the point at once, and will then be prepared to contend for the propriety of the poet's conduct. Heaven knows we have enough of writing *down* to the vulgar mind—we have enough of Jack Sheppardism; the age stands in no need of such fare, if it have an appetite for it. But we want, deeply want, authors who by education and rank are fitted to treat the loftiest subjects with true dignity,—au-

thors who have leisure and means to bestow the last polish on their productions,—authors who would write *up* the general taste, instead of degrading their own to the market level. Let us therefore hail these different versions, however imperfect they may be, of a noble poem, embodying the wisdom and life-long experience of a man whose opportunities of observation and ability to turn it to account were such as few can realize. It is true, that we cannot much praise the metrical translation of our Dumfries friend, but that shall be welcomed until we get a better. Meantime, be it known, that it is not wanting in fidelity, if in elegance. And the same observation applies equally to the version now before us by Mr. Birch, which in some places has the merit of closeness to the original beyond most translations, but is strangely capricious in its metrical arrangements.

Elegance,—the utmost elegance and polish, however, are required of him who shall undertake to translate the Second Part of *Faust*. The German original, is, in its versification, almost, if not quite, unrivalled. The translator should not suffer a defective line to remain. An imperfect rhyme even should not be permitted. The form of such a poem is greatly more important than the substance. Its minute arrangements should be all of a pleasing tendency; its parts must charm, in order that the whole, spreading as it does intentionally beyond the comprehensible, may not be suspected of inartificiality. The poet, once convicted of bungling in the minor points of his art in which mere versifiers may excel, forfeits all claim to our faith in those higher branches of endeavour which are obvious to but few, and perhaps understood by none. All this is well provided for in the original, and should be realized in the translation.

An adequate translation of both parts, notwithstanding the excellence of Dr. Anster's and Mr. Talbot's versions, is yet a desideratum in English literature. But in order to this, the translator should be possessed, as far as possible, with the spirit and scope of the poem. Having attained to the requisite insight, he should then keep as close, both in measure and phraseology, to the original as possible. The alteration of a single word will sometimes disturb the poet's meaning. Above all, he should avoid being more verbose than his author. He should not seek to decorate more than the poet has already done. This is the one only fault of Dr. Anster's version, that he writes not in Goethe's style, but in his own. We want the sharp, decided, frequently dry, and bald form of expression, that distin-

guishes the German. We are jealous of artifices of style—of accidental images—we demand verbal fidelity. We do not want a translator like Pope, who supplies images not in his author, however elegant in themselves, but a fidelity equal to that displayed in the celebrated version of the *Odyssey* by Voss. We would not have the translator solicitous for poetical diction. There is nothing of this in the part of Mephistopheles, and he must look the prosaic expression full in the face, and give it in all its native bareness in the one language as in the other. We know the difficulty of this: we give full credit to Dr. Anster when he says, "In our language it is scarcely possible to preserve the form without somewhat of the colouring, or at least of the conventional language of poetry. Scarcely any skill will enable a writer of verse to preserve the colloquial diction throughout; and I fear, that were he perfectly successful, the effect would be in a little time that of tediousness. With all his mastery, and with his unequalled humour, Swift is surely tedious; Butler, if still read, is felt to be a weary study; and more than the name of Byron, who is certainly more readable than either, is probably little known." All this is true, but must be put up with. Besides, in the *Faust*, there are other passages as well as the sneering and the sarcastic—passages of sentiment, reason, and passion; and if all were to be rendered poetically, there would ensue an apparent deficiency of that skill which requires a proper distribution of light and shade. Let the Mephistophelian irony be rendered therefore as literally, yet as carefully, as possible, avoiding all shifty expletives and false rhymes, and then leave the part to its fate. It will all turn out to be in proper keeping.

We are desirous of assisting any future translator in the proper conception of his task. Would he apprehend the scope of the poem? Let him read the last lines:

Chorus Mysticus.

"All that doth pass away
Is but a symbol;
The Insufficient *here*
Grows to Existence;
The Indescribable
Here is it done;
The ever-feminine
Draweth us on."*

These last two mystical lines indicate the

* *Chorus Mysticus.*

"Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichniss;
Der Unzulängliche
Hier wird's Ereigniss;
Das Unbeschreibliche
Hier ist es gethan;
Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan."

principle sought by Goethe to be embodied in Faust's loves. The scene, which the Chorus Mysticus concludes, celebrates Faust's glorification. We are informed by the younger angels that they had been enabled to rescue the soul of their hero chiefly by means of the roses which they had received from the hands of love-hallowed penitent women, and to which was attached an influence so potent that even Mephistopheles and his imps were subdued by touches of affection that proved irresistible. There is a great and beautiful meaning veiled under the seemingly ludicrous catastrophe of the poem, in which the old fiend is made to fume so hotly in love's flames. Goethe had told Madame de Stael that he designed to scandalize the religious world by returning Mephistopheles to heaven, and including him in the salvation intended for Faust. This, though a part of his Pantheistic system, he very wisely left alone; and, instead, prepared a mere puppet-show kind of ending, in which he continued his purpose of reducing the highest truths to the humblest symbols, and presented the Vice of his miracle-play as quite bewildered with the beauty of young angels. In some of the verses (though a tone of levity, the demon property from which Mephistopheles can never consistently part, is purposely preserved throughout) the sublimer significations are apparent, *e. g.*

"Is this indeed Love's element?

My frame entire in flames is standing,

I scarcely feel how in my neck it burns!" &c. &c.

Beauty is throughout the attracting power whose influence is to allure man to the highest aims. What though, as in the case of Margaret, it lead to sin and sorrow, yet, as the daughter of Love, Beauty is desirable, and the happiness desired by the lover is a creative and genuine Socratic good. What if the love be without fidelity? Are we not counselled by the Platonic moralist to proceed onward from beauty in one form to beauty in many, or in all, until we rest at last in the love of the absolute beauty itself? This love for beauty, it is clear, had to be generated in the heart of Faust, during the first part of the drama. But the beauty was mortal as the form in which it was worshipped and then neglected. Of this guilt Faust at the commencement of the Second Part has repented.

Mr. Bernays affords us a fine intuition into the object of the Second part: "The Second Part opens with a chorus of good spirits, pouring the streams of Lethe over the anguished mind of the seducer; a plain mythos of the soothing powers of repentance, by which sin is washed away, and peace is restored to the troubled bosom."

But in addition to this we must add, that the Faust of Goethe is an adumbration of the spirit of the poet's times. Perhaps this is alluded to in the well-known passage of the scene with Wagner: "My friend, the past ages are to us a book with seven seals. What you term the spirit of the times is at bottom only the author's own spirit, in which the times are reflected. A miserable exhibition, too, it frequently is! One runs away from it at the first glance! A dirt-tub and a lumber-room!—and, at best, a puppet-show play, with fine pragmatistical saws, such as may happen to sound well in the mouths of the puppets!" We learn from Eckermann, that it was Goethe's intention that we should conceive Faust to be 100 years old at his death. We may therefore look upon the entire work as shadowing the century in which Goethe lived, and from his book we must endeavour to interpret "the author's own spirit, in which the times were reflected." The plan allowed the poet to reflect himself throughout in it; accordingly we find, upon a reference to the *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, that the feelings he ascribes to Faust in connection with the joyous bells and songs of Easter, were the very same that he experienced himself when a boy! Rightly, however, to interpret either the spirit of the poet or his times, we must look into our own spirit, and peruse there carefully the reflection of both. This the reader must do for himself; we could not, even if we had now space, do it for him.

Notwithstanding this application of the old legend to the present time, the details of the original fable are preserved in the general platform of the poem. To understand, therefore, who the emperor is to whom Faust is introduced, we must go back to the past. It suited Goethe's purpose to leave the emperor unnamed; and for this he had warrant in the doubt as to the personal identity of the historical Faust. There are in fact two Fausts—one the printer, and a latter one, the hero of magic. It is true, indeed, that some of the *Volksbücher* ascribe to the Emperor Maximilian what is generally told of Charles V., viz. that Doctor Faust conjured up before him the apparitions of Alexander the Great and his queen; but the other tricks, which were played before Cardinal Campegio and Pope Adrian, agree better with the age of Charles V. than with that of Maximilian. It is quite possible, however, that Faust may have exhibited his magical skill before both these emperors, who reigned from 1492 to 1553, Maximilian dying in 1519; at all events, even the date of Maximilian will never bring us back to the era when Faust the printer was

in his glory. Goethe, in the Second Part of *Faust*, has, in Mr. Blackie's opinion, "most wisely left the matter in uncertainty, by not mentioning the name of the emperor before whom he makes Faust play off his pyrotechnic tricks, which seemed to metamorphose his imperial majesty into a king of salamanders."

In the masquing scene there is much intentional obscurity. The emperor takes the part of Pan—Faust, of Plutus—and an unborn soul assumes the shape of a boy-charioteer. But on this last curious point hear Goethe himself, in Eckermann :

" 'We spoke of the boy Lenker.'

" 'You have discovered Faust under the mask of Plutus, Mephistopheles under that of Avarice ; but who is the boy Lenker ?'

" 'I hesitated, and knew not what to say.

" 'It is Euphorion,' said Goethe.

" 'But how,' said I, 'can he, who is not born till the third act, appear here at the carnival ?'

It required some mysticism to get out of this naive inquiry :

" 'Euphorion,' Goethe replied, 'is not a human but an allegorical being. In him is poetry personified, which is bound down to no time, no place, and no person. The same spirit who is afterwards pleased to appear as Euphorion, is here the boy Lenker, like ghosts which are present every where, and can appear at any hour.'

This proves the very arbitrary arrangement which sometimes Goethe adopted. Ghost and mere personification, however, as is the character of the boy-charioteer, it had also a flesh and blood reference to the things and persons of the century which the poem, as we have seen, intentionally illustrates. Goethe seems to have had a higher regard for Lord Byron than posterity will probably sanction. The part of Euphorion had especial reference to England's noble Child, of whom the German poet thought that he "could not make any man the representative of the modern poetical era except him, who undoubtedly is to be regarded as the greatest genius of our century." "He," said Goethe, "is neither classic nor romantic, but the reflection of our own day. He suited me in every respect, with his unsatisfied nature and his warlike tendency, which led to his death at Missolonghi. It was neither convenient nor advisable to write a treatise upon Byron : but I shall not omit to pay him honour at proper times. I thought of a different close for Helena at one time, but afterwards, this of Lord Byron pleased me better." Byron is none other than the child of Faust and Helena, the magically begotten Euphorion, brought up to maturity in a magic cave. Of all this, the reader will make what he can in perusing the poem.

There is a perplexed mixture of history and allegory in the whole of the interlude—intended to represent the genesis and exodus of both classic and romantic poetry, and the influences that led to the production of the Byronic School.

We believe that no man, after this statement, will accuse Faust of guilt for having forgotten poor Margaret in the arms of Helena. Plain enough it is to all, that this liaison is of a very intellectual character at all events. Adultery with Helena of Troy, by the Faust of the nineteenth century ! Could this have ever been understood literally ? How easy were the solution, even if Goethe had not given it himself—the union of the classic and romantic, and its offspring, the poetry of the cycle which has just closed. In all this, Faust is not so much an individual as the type of his species. The episode of Wagner and the Homunculus which the former chemically constructs, are designed to adumbrate the scientific attributes of the age. But the speculations and manipulative methods of the closet are but for a period. Man would apply these to the condition of the species and of the earth. Annihilate we do not space and time by railroads and steam-carriages, and by even swifter mental currency the electric telegraph ? It is required that reason should begin to bear upon the outer world, and modify it to her own high aims. Faust has also his task to perform—he would reclaim land from the sea—and, having obtained from the gratitude of the emperor, for whom he wins a battle by magical aid, the grant of an extensive line of coast, performs the feat. But what can satisfy the infinite desires of sovereign reason ? What though Faust has won a world from the waves ; there is a cottage of an honest old couple that impairs his prospect. The inconvenience must be removed by fair means or foul. Mephistopheles being the agent, foul means are preferred—the cottage and its inhabitants perish in flames. Faust may now enjoy his prospect—but his steps are dogged—Guilt, Want, Care, and Misery are at his heels—and blindness has plunged his eyes in night. Still would the blind old man be busy. Surrounded with workmen, conducted by Mephistopheles as their overseer, he enjoys the highest possible triumph, and falling back, dies with words of exultation on his lips. Whereupon Mephistopheles suggests the signification of the whole in these few words—"No pleasure satisfies him, no happiness contents him ; so is he ever in pursuit of changing forms."

Such is the state of man. Charmed and attracted by ideal beauty, in the early peri-

ods of the world and of life, man sees a Helen in every female form he meets, a charm in the rudest arrangements of nature or of life—by reason of the witch draught in the body of humanity; next intellectual pleasures delight, and then rational; these gratified, the more active joys of conquest, dominion and ever-teeming invention demand realization. But in vain—the proper objects of these far-reaching wishes are neither visible nor earthly—they await us in eternity.

In the scene of Faust's salvation, Goethe has adopted the church symbols, and carefully introduced the Virgin Mother, as the abiding incarnation of the Spirit of Beauty. In all this Goethe has been careful to intrench himself within the recognized and precedented; but he was not always willing to content himself with old images. Thus in the first act he actually creates a new company of mythological personages, having no foundation for his invention but a statement in Plutarch that in ancient Greece the Mothers were spoken of as divinities. Goethe's commentators have been terribly puzzled with these same goddesses; but Eckermann has now settled the question. The Mothers of Goethe are the creating and sustaining principles from which all phenomena on the surface of the earth proceed. Whatever ceases to breathe, returns in its spiritual nature to them, and they preserve it until a fit occasion rises to embody it anew. All souls and forms of what has been, or will be, hover like clouds in the Hades that is their dwelling. Thus are the Mothers surrounded, and the magician must be able to enter their dominion, if he would obtain control over the forms of beings, and have power to call back previous existences to teeming life. The eternal metamorphosis of earthly being, birth and growth, destruction and new formation, are also the unceasing care of the Mothers; and, as in all which receives new life on earth, female influences are most busy, these creating and sustaining divinities are thought of as females, and may rightly receive the name of Mothers.

The poem must, in fine, be apprehended as a whole. Let us not, however, forget that the whole of this singular poem is confessedly incommensurable, though the parts of which it is composed are meant to be intelligible enough. Parts?—they are rather many wholes included in one universal whole; so segregated are they each in its entirety from the others, and yet so subtilly related with all. Let us now learn that the point of art with Goethe in this poem was not to solve the riddle of the universe, but to create as great a riddle, by presenting in

a poem a certain totality of symbols in an order of arrangement which was a secret in the mind of the author. In such a work it was scarcely possible that any thing not having some indefinite relation to so indefinite an aggregate could be introduced. Accordingly, he has interspersed, particularly in his *Walpurgis Night*, allusions to his literary contemporaries, and points of mere temporary and local interest, as serving to produce a feeling of heterogeneity, highly favourable to his aim. It matters not whether we can or not explain these minute references, the mind may rest well content with the broader outlines and more striking incidents, particularly those which are characterized either by pathos, imagination, or philosophic insight. The whole—such is the burthen of this extended song, and teaching the moral too rather by example than by precept—"the whole is a mystery—it is only the parts that can be understood." The poet sought not to reduce the wonderful to any level of interpretation, but left it at the end of his labour the very wonderful that it was at the beginning.

The analysis which we have now concluded shows clearly enough why poems written in imitation of *Faust* have failed. Their authors have entirely mistaken the end and method of their model. They have in general instituted their composition as a means of lashing themselves up into states of ideality and strange and wild vagaries of passion and modes of treatment. All this is erroneous. Goethe's scenes were not steps in a chase after new revelations—not so many throes for the parturition of new and daring speculations. Instead of all this, he sought merely to accumulate and to arrange an immense multiplicity of expressive symbols, in illustration of truths that never have been doubted and defy invention. These truths he possessed in utter calmness of soul, and had no anxiety but how to dress them forth, and with what exponents to accompany them. In every line, accordingly, there are traces of masterly execution, and a union of the meditative and the active, of which no other instance exists, except Shakspeare's *Hamlet*. The Prince of Denmark, however, died in his youth; *Faust* lives to an extreme old age, and offered therefore a wider field for examination.

The sublime argument of both dramas furnishes intuitive testimony to the soul's immortality, as a fact. In the action of both dramas, we repeat, it is shown that there is no earthly greatness that can satisfy man, no human goodness sufficiently positive to content, satiate, or quench this longing of the spirit for the infinite and the

divine. In the consciousness of this fact, the apparent world dwindles and dwarfs itself ; at most it is but a phantasma, a fiction, a fable. In the perusal of *Faust*, we cannot help surrendering ourselves to this conviction, "The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal." In the delivery of this lesson, Goethe's hero, like his own conception of Shakspeare's, "is without a plan, but the piece is full of plan ;"—and its plan is that of Providence, in which the sun shines on the evil and the good, and the wheat and tares grow together *until the harvest*. Be it so—this is the mystery of the Creator—this is the mystery of the true poet ; acknowledge it with reverence and in silence : such is the part of the wise reader and the judicious critic.

ART. VI.—*L'Ecole des Journalistes, Comedie en cinq Actes et en Vers*. Par Madame Emile de Girardin. Paris, 1839. (School for Journalists, Comedy in five Acts, and in Verse, by Madame Emile de Girardin.)

DRYDEN has defined a play to be "a drama, a comedy, or tragedy, or *any thing* in which characters are represented by dialogue or action." This generic term may, therefore, not inappropriately be applied to the heterogeneous production before us. In our language we have certainly no specific, fitting and exclusive epithet, for a composition professing to combine the liveliness of the vaudeville and the pleasantry of farce, with the wit of comedy, the pathos of melo-drama and the thrilling interest of tragedy.

The authoress herself, with the greatest sang-froid and apparent self-satisfaction, explains in her preface the plan of her work, which she considers and pronounces to be "novel." In this opinion, at least, she will find the majority of her readers ready to agree. We translate the passage to which we have alluded.

"The plan of this work being somewhat new, the author thinks it right to give some explanation of it. In the first act, *L'Ecole des Journalistes* is a vaudeville, and is sprinkled with pleasantries and puns ; in the second, it is a sort of farce, in which the comic of the subject is exaggerated in imitation of the greatest masters ; in the third act it is a comedy ; in the fourth it is a drama ; and in the fifth it is a tragedy. In the style there is the same variety ; in the first act it is satirical ; in the fourth it is simple and grave ; in the fifth it aims at being poetical. *The author willed that it should be so.*" [L'auteur l'a voulu ainsi.]

However different from other works in this particular, the preface to the "*Ecole*" is by far the most interesting portion. We read it before perusing the work itself and we read it after, for we hoped therein to find the key to what has to us been a mystery : viz. that such a work as the "*Ecole des Journalistes*" should have created the sensation ascribed to it in Paris. Now the value of a sensation in the French Capital, the glory of having created it, is well known to be every thing ; it may not last long, but the delight of it, "till by wide spreading it disperse to naught," is intoxicating.

But to explain the portion of the enigma we have succeeded in unravelling it will be necessary to enter into a few details with regard to the position of the author, and her connection with the press of France. Madame Emile de Girardin is the Delphine Gay, who in early life publicly recited her poems at the Pantheon, and whose stories of "*Le Lorgnon*" and "*M. le Marques de Pontanges*" have been highly applauded in France, and a good deal read in England. By all the periodical writers of the day she was lauded to the skies ; with them she was the Corinna of France, and they vied with each other in praising and encouraging her talents and making them known to the world. The Journalists, therefore, now say that in writing against *them*, as it was they who contributed to her reputation, Madame de Girardin is like an ungrateful child, and that she has taken up arms against the parent that fed, cherished, and honoured her.

There are of course more sides than one to the question. Madame de Girardin pronounces "*école*" to mean "*lesson*." The words school and lesson have certainly a strong link of connection between them in most minds, but we doubt whether the readers of Molière and Casimir De la Vigne, or the lovers of the inimitable "*School for Scandal*," would consent to consider them as synonymous. Supposing, however, the word *école* to mean only a simple lesson to such as may be in a condition to profit by it, and to writers of journals in particular, the instruction, or rather meaning, to be deduced from her work seems to our northern understandings to amount to this :—"Gentlemen journalists, if you continue to write as you have done, see how I will show you up ! It is my intention (*I have willed that it should be so*) men and women shall write, artists paint, and sculptors carve, what they please and how they please, and journalists shall be annihilated. My pen, like the good scimitar of Alraschid, shall cut your swords in pieces."

Leaving it to the journalists of the day,

who have not yet exhibited many symptoms of intimidation, to digest this threat, we return to Madame de Girardin herself. Her great defect consists in drawing no distinction between the clever journalist and the venal scribbler. She has taken a writer who will calumniate for pay or until he is paid, as the type of an enlightening and enlightened class. It is as if she were to offer a Thurtell or a Robespierre as specimens of human nature. In her contemplation of the abuses of journalism, which we admit are flagrant though comparatively few, she has overlooked its uses, which are incalculable and many. She has provoked a spirit of inquiry respecting journalists which leads to their exaltation, and which certainly disparages her work. She has been so unjust to the noblest spirits of her age and country, that it is good to remind her who have been recently, or who are at the present moment, journalists in France.

It is not by such editors as Martel and Pluchard, the two contemptible and degraded beings Madame de Girardin has thought fit to introduce in her "*Ecole*," that the "*Journal des Debats*" or the "*Constitutionnel*" have obtained their European celebrity. Thiers has been the editor of the "*National*" and the "*Constitutionnel*," and he now writes for the latter.* This is less remarkable on the other side of the channel than it would be in England. There has not been for the last twenty years a single minister in France (the ministers of war excepted) who has not been the editor of or writer in a newspaper. The same may be said of every political character of importance and of every literary person of celebrity. Without going back to the days of Mirabeau, Madame Roland, Bailly, Barnave, Lameth, &c. who were all journalists in their day, in the author's own time there have been Benjamin Constant and General Foy. And in the present day there is Chateaubriand, he who has wrestled in journals with apostolic zeal for peace and liberty and faith, and there is Guizot, the author of *L'Histoire des Progrès de la Civilisation* and *Les Mémoires de Washington*, which are only just published, and there is Villemain, the eulogist of Montaigne, Cousin, Mauguin, Barrot, Berryer, the two Bertins, &c. &c. The literary list is not less rich in illustrious names than the political. Alexandre Dumas, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Jules Janin, and a host of others, are all writers

in journals; not to forget Madame Emile de Girardin herself, who, under the name of Le Vicomte de Launay, has long been a contributor to "*La Presse*." In a word, all good writers in France, either have been, are, or will be journalists. It is impossible it can be otherwise; newspapers with our continental neighbours being much more powerful and universal engines than they have yet been with us. Smaller in size, they are more redolent of general interest. In them nations discourse together; the present, past, and future, are all appealed to and discussed. Every thing is revealed to the public. Every body is praised or attacked—often no doubt unjustly and unfairly; but here lies the abuse. This is the alloy that appears to be inevitable in all things earthly, and which amalgamates so much too readily with what would otherwise be the pure and shining ore of human intelligence.

In the columns of a newspaper truth and calumny often walk hand in hand. Malevolence and malignity can there revel at will, and as long as malevolence and malignity exist in the human heart they will revel somewhere,—in the private whisper, if not in the public newspaper,—in the anonymous letter, if not in the libellous paragraph. And let their scene of action be where it may, there will always be some ill-natured, as well as many credulous and innocent, persons to lay the untruth to their souls, and to believe it. And this, not alone from a too willing ear for that which is evil, but from an incapability of comprehending that such envenomed slanders could be invented. Moreover, curiosity is piqued, the imagination awakened and amused, people listen to calumny because they love truth, and the falsehood, when first circulated, gives to the hearer all the pleasure of a discovery. It is, alas! eagerly grasped at, and in nineteen instances out of twenty as eagerly and quickly disseminated.

The press, then, is really guilty of much injustice, of numerous cruelties, and of many crimes; but, on the other hand, it is great, useful, honourable, and beautiful, and enlightens as it spreads. There is a soul of goodness in it that must ultimately prevail. Now, as the encouragers of calumny are not certainly to be found among the most intelligent of mankind, it may rationally be hoped that the evils created or inflicted by the press will eventually by the press be cured.

But to return to the "lesson" intended to be conveyed in the work before us, and to the author's own explanation, which must not certainly be lost sight of. The dramatic personæ are—

* Such, indeed, is the passion of M. Thiers for the vieux métier, that, not content with French journals, he writes in the English. The "*Morning Chronicle*" contains repeated leaders by this minister. How far the *Chronicle* can justify itself on this point to the English public we know not.

Martel, the editor of a journal called "*La Vérité*."

Pluchard, the responsible conductor of the same journal.

Jollivet, Griffant, and Blondin, contributors.

Doricourt, minister of the interior.

Mons. Guilbert, a rich banker; Madame Guilbert, his wife; and Valentine, their daughter, who is also the wife of Doricourt.

Edgar de Norval, a young officer, engaged to a sister of Valentine.

Morin, an artist.

Andrew, his servant.

Cornelia, a dancer, &c. &c.

All these personages do not appear in the first act, which, it is to be remembered, is a vaudeville. Martel, Pluchard, and the contributors, are introduced, and a wretched set they are. All of them, "Men who go about to cozen for une, and be honourable, without the stamp of merit." Martel, however, shines supreme among them in baseness and dishonour. M. Guilbert and Edgar de Norval are also seen in the first act, and the name of Morin (of whom more hereafter) is frequently mentioned. To render Pluchard, and his respectable coadjutors, more interesting, they come on the stage in a state of intoxication. In this condition the proof sheets are distributed to them by Martel, and the "pleasantries" promised by the author seem to arise from the errors of the press. *Empereur* is misprinted *Empirique*, and *Autriche*, *Autruche*. The first number is however pronounced to be a model. Immense success is prognosticated by Martel, who is afterwards fetched to his wretched home by the unworthy and degraded Cornelia. Such a woman, Madame de Girardin ought scarcely, we think, to have introduced at all. The act then closes with the following soliloquy by Edgar. As he pronounces it he is gazing on Martel, who has just quitted him.

"This then is the power known by the name of journal! Collective loyalty and absolute tribunal! A judge without talent, a fabricator of irony, who kills a man of genius with words. A pampered epicure who battens on death. A madman, who sets Europe on fire, and resigns himself to sleep. A would-be poet, a great soul sunk in idleness, who, without love, is the slave of a dancer! These people are all destitute of good faith, and betray one another. And such are thy guides, O my poor country!"

Poor indeed! if such men as Martel do guide it, and poorer still if men like Martel are placed among its "great souls!" Of what materials can the base by possibility be made?

It need hardly be remarked that the incidents in the first act are neither startling nor numerous, or that the dearth of interest in spite of the "pleasantries" is extreme. The scenes however must not be regarded as passages that lead to nothing, for they do

lead to a great deal of absurd reasoning and morbid pathos. Edgar's speeches being always in perfect harmony with the preface, he may fairly be considered as the mouth-piece of the author. The inference to be drawn from his melancholy forebodings is nothing less than that France, "*la belle France*," is on the eve of being packed up in a newspaper and sent out of Europe!

But proceed we to act the second, the farce of the author. The estimable Martel is here seen in his *bureau*, which is represented in most admired disorder. He congratulates himself on the absence of the worthy Cornelia, who is at the theatre practising a step. He elegantly abbreviates her name to "*Nelie*," (oh! mother of the Gracchi, what wholesale profanation) and proceeds to apostrophise her in the following strain of affectionate sentiment: "*Nymph! I idolize thee; but I like to know thee happy far from me*," (he likes her best at a distance; considering the sort of person "*Nelie*" is, this is very natural.) "*My greatest pleasure is to think of thee.*"

The happiness of thinking of *Nelie*, we are sorry to say, does not last long. She returns unexpectedly, and seems only to return to expose in every possible way the weakness of Martel. She has been called the antique Cornelia in Martel's own journal, "*La Vérité*," and is excessively angry and violent in consequence. He appeases her by the most absurd flatteries. Restored to good humour, she seeks to obtain a new muff at his hands; but he, not being *en fonds*, endeavours to persuade her that her velvet shawl will very well supply its place, that buds moreover are bursting, and lilacs coming forth, in short that summer is at hand, and muffs useless. "*Nelie*" however perseveres in her demand till the arrival of Mons. Guilbert obliges her to quit the bureau. The rich banker comes to complain of an article in "*La Vérité*" which has occasioned a loss to him of twelve thousand pounds. Martel promises the reparation of a contradictory article on the following day, and assures him that "*a good journal is a docile courser, which when well mounted can go everywhere*," meaning, we presume, that it will stop at nothing. Mons. Guilbert is not, however, to be pacified. The return of "*Nelie*" to the bureau reveals to the banker Martel's way of life. He reproaches him with it, and his reproaches are overheard by the angry Cornelia. On the departure of Guilbert she searches among Martel's papers for an article formerly written by himself, and calumniating the wife of Guilbert. Martel at first rejects the idea of publishing it, because it will give pain to Valentine, the

daughter of Madame Guilbert, but a few persuasive words from the fascinating Cornelia decide the question, and the article, base and cruel as he knows it to be, is dispatched for publication. A scene subsequently takes place between Martel, Pluchard, and Andrew, the servant of Morin. The injuries of Morin are herein again discussed, and the last scene of this strange eventful second act consists of clamorous demands from all sorts of people for patronage, and "honourable mention" in Martel's journal. We have been thus minute in the analysis of this act, because we wished to show how very comical it is! The censor has unquestionably secured the Parisian public from the saddest of all attempts at fun. He has in our opinion been most discreet in rejecting this wholesale charge against the press without either wit, elegance, or truth.

The third, fourth, and fifth acts might be condensed and reviewed together; for although all founded, as we think, on mistaken principles, they are not entirely destitute of interest. We will, however, take them separately. It is to be regretted, for the author's sake, that she did not boldly plunge into the midst of things, and commence with the third act. For although her work would still have been untenable in principle and faulty in execution, it would not have been the discredit to her that it now is. She would have saved us from the odious Martel, and have spared herself a humiliating lesson. The two first acts of "*L'Ecole des Journalistes*" must, we think, have practically taught Madame de Girardin that what is utterly base and vile creates neither mirth, laughter, nor interest. Had she wished to establish the truth of Pope's couplet,

"Vice is a creature of such hideous mien
As to be hated needs but to be seen,"

she could have hardly chosen a more fitting illustration than the unprincipled Cornelia, a woman, destitute of understanding and feeling, solely occupied by her own miserable avarice and despicable vanity, not even possessing the redeeming trait of affection for the being she impoverishes and degrades.

We are now introduced to Madame Guilbert, her daughter Valentine, and to the artist Morin. Edgar de Norval continues his ceaseless and senseless philippics against journalists and journalism, and in the meantime remains the bosom friend of the profligate Martel.

Morin complains to Valentine that after *forty* years of success he is neglected, that the minister, the chamber of deputies, king, lords and commons, in short, are all guided

by the oracular voices of the journals; that those voices have been raised against him, and that he and his talent have been sacrificed (after forty years of success!) to their fury. Valentine kindly sympathises with M. Morin. We wish we could do as much. But we really feel that any human being, who can boast of forty years of success in any line, should have his heart overflowing with gratitude to God, and benevolence and kindly feeling to his fellow men. His mouth should be filled with thanksgivings, and not with upbraidings, and his thoughts should be thoughts of peace. Out upon the diseased sensibility that would make M. Morin's a case deserving of general sympathy. The circumstance of this character being taken from real life, does not in any degree alter our view of it. M. Gros, whose whole history under the name of Morin, has been but too faithfully given by Madame de Girardin, did complain, and most unjustly, of the journals. In the days of the empire he painted fine historical pictures, among others, "*Napoleon at Eylau*," just engraved in this country by Lucas. From the French nation he received not only the artist's best and dearest guerdon, fame, but the wealth of a prince, together with the consideration and honour due to his genius. He numbered more years of success than Raphael did of life, and then, (with grief do we record it,) because a young and ingenious competitor was preferred before him, committed suicide. Regret at this act all feel, and none would envy those who contribute to working up this state of sensation; but let us not be told he was a victim to any thing but the errors of his own mind—to overweening and most ungenerous pride—to an ambition that was ill-starred, because it was ill-woven. The trumpet of fame had sounded too loudly in his ears, and it had stunned him. He was a child of genius spoiled by the adulations of the world.

The most sensible sentences in this play are decidedly those uttered by Valentine in arming others against newspaper paragraphs. We are therefore the more sorry for her, when we find her philosophy no coat of mail to the arrows of "*La Verité*," when aimed against herself.

She says to Morin—

"What! Do you fear them? as for me, I own
I gaily brave their formidable power.
The power of journals is perhaps injurious;
Despising, we escape its influence."

But when Valentine reads an article in "*La Verité*," entitled "*The Minister and the Lover, or the Mother and Daughter*," and finds it applicable to herself, she is overwhelmed with most natural sorrow.

The name of Lorville is substituted for that of Gilbert, and the history of Valentine's mother given nearly as follows. Madame Gilbert is represented as having been passionately attached to a man of talent, and of having aided his advancement in life. But one day a billet-doux, intended for herself, falling into the hands of her husband, his suspicions are aroused. "He goes to sleep uneasy and wakens jealous," and feels it necessary, for the tranquillity of his mind, to banish his suspicions or his wife. The wife, however, extricates herself from the difficulty by asserting that the billet-doux was from a party in love with their daughter, and begs her husband to accord his consent to her union with him. The credulous husband is of course satisfied. The lover of the guilty lady becomes the husband of her daughter, and the calumnious article concludes by stating that the parties all live happily together, the charmed world granting its affection to the happy trio.

Valentine recognizes at once her husband and mother as the parties designated, and indignantly exclaims, "Oh the wicked statement." She repels the accusation as a shameful untruth, and is angry with herself for noticing it at all. But by slow degrees, circumstances come back to her memory which make her believe that her husband was indeed the lover of her mother, and that she has been their unsuspecting victim. The person to whom she reveals what she has read, is of course Edgar de Norval. She begs of him to hasten his marriage with her sister, and to permit her to accompany him and his bride when they go away, in order that her dreadful despair may not have any witnesses. It is impossible not to sympathise with the affliction of the gentle and amiable Valentine, but the following scene, strange indeed to English heads and hearts, happily sets all to rights again. The mother confesses to her daughter that she did love the man who is her son-in-law.

Madame Gilbert.

What ! have I wronged thee, Valentine, in aught ?

Valentine.

They who have no remorse, are in their own eyes Ever innocent.

Madame Gilbert.

If I have made thee suffer, now complain,
There must be no reserve with me, my child,
Why dost thou tremble, and become thus pale ?
Speak, for this coldness—

Valentine.

—Indicates respect.

I dare not give my griefs to utterance ;
Oh ! do not force me to disclose my wrongs.

Madame Gilbert.

I can no longer bear suspense like this ;
I ask, and I expect an explanation.
Whence this despair, and why these bitter words ?

Valentine.

It was you, my mother, who united me
To your own lover. You it was, who formed
This odious tie.

Madame Gilbert.

Listen to me, my child.

Valentine.

No ; I hear nothing.

Madame Gilbert.

It is submission that your mother claims.

Valentine.

Madam, I feel myself no more your child.

Madame Gilbert.

Malice has done its worst ; poor child, be calm.

Valentine.

Farewell ! I go ; be happy without me.
You love my husband—I restore him to you.

Madame Gilbert.

Come—

Valentine.

No ! I see thee but as his mistress.

Madame Gilbert.

How can I tear this error from her heart ?
But courage ! Let her rage exhaust itself,
She would hear nothing now.

Valentine.

O misery !

To be heart-stricken by a hand so dear ;
To find betrayal in maternal arms ;
A mother's hand to bless the guilty tie,
Dishonouring her child ! Stifling in her soul
Her filial duty and her woman's love :
Deliv'ring her to vows, and dark suspicions ;—
Blasting in one day all her days, and that
At twenty ! And a mother, of her children
The pride and honour ! Ah, 'tis infamous.

Madame Gilbert.

But happily, my child, such things are not.
Now listen ; it is time, and it must be ;
The pain of this confession matters not.
I see thee dogged by horrible suspicions,
I must betray the secret of my life,
'Tis true, I loved thy husband.

Valentine.

Well :

Madame Gilbert.

In spite

Of all my efforts—

Valentine.

Madam, this I know.

Madame Gilbert.

But he ! he knows it not ! he ne'er hath read
My wounded soul, nor known my guilty thoughts.
And this avowal of my love, which stifles
Utterance,—I confess to thee alone.

I struggled long to overcome my weakness,
 Yet his fine talents and his noble heart,
 Those greatest gifts which every where are felt,
 Attracted, charmed, and hurried me along ;
 Of him I would have claimed assistance,
 Mad hope ! for which I cruelly was punished.
 His mind was tranquilliz'd by grave pursuits,
 While my poor heart, by every new success
 Of his, was agitated more and more.
 Alas ! it was imprudent, now I feel it ;
 How dangerous is it to admire and love !
 I struggled vainly 'gainst a fatal passion,
 And should have fallen. But one night at a ball
 He saw thee, Valentine, and I was saved.
 Yes, from that moment thou alone hast pleased
 him.

Well, so I love thee it does not afflict me.
 His cares for thee caused me nor grief nor anger ;
 I pardoned thee, my child, for pleasing him,
 Did justice to myself, and giving pride
 Another channel, placed the whole of mine
 In thy young beauty ; Yes ! I felt with gladness
 That in my innocent soul maternal fondness
 Was far the strongest passion ; then I taught thee,
 Day after day I taught thee, how to love him :
 And in thy growing love my heart grew pure.
 And in a year, when thou becam'st his bride,
 If then my tears were seen, or I seemed jealous,
 'Twas not of thee with him ; but oh ! of him
 With thee ; for then, my child, I felt and feared
 That in thy heart my place was gone.

Valentine.

Oh mother !

Madame Guilbert.

My conduct has been publicly condemned.
 As long as thou wert ignorant of all
 I've now revealed, I willingly supported
 Outcries against me ; but the time is come
 To justify my outraged honour.

Valentine.

Struggles like these, which tower above our race,
 Look lofty to mankind, and are as crime.
 The world is soon alarmed by sentiments
 Thus noble. It sees in their excess deep perils
 It cannot comprehend and yet condemns.

Madame Guilbert.

But come, my child,—come to thy mother's arms.

Valentine—falling on her knees (she sobs).

No ! at your knees, mamma ! forgive me.

Madame Guilbert.

Nay ;

These horrible suspicions were not thine."

The scene closes by Valentine's telling her mother she derived her information from a journal, and declaring that she will never read another as long as she lives.

We do not ask our readers to imagine such a scene as the foregoing between an English matron and her youthful daughter ; we know it would be asking the impossible. The whole affair is inconsistent, unnatural, and preposterous. We are ourselves of that portion of the world, that neither approves nor comprehends sentiments so inordinately fine as to savour of crime and immorality. Mothers, who by gentle precepts and amiable example, train their daughters to be good wives, and in their turn good mothers also, are preferable in our eyes to tragedy heroines, who sacrifice their lovers

to the happiness of their children, by converting them into sons-in-law.

The entire scene is given to show the extreme materials Madame de Girardin has chosen to make out her case against the journalists in the melo-dramatic part of her performance. In what way she justifies to herself the having raked up an old and painful calumny really promulgated in Paris against one of the most intelligent and courageous of the supporters of the press, we cannot divine. If the press would have been to blame for publishing such a slander, is Madame de Girardin herself quite blameless for having sought to give the same slander dramatic celebrity ? The lady cannot but be aware, that every body at all acquainted with the gossip of Paris, will without difficulty be able to give real names to the mother, daughter, and lover. Has she done wisely or well in reviving to these deeply injured individuals the remembrance of their wrongs ? If she intended to take their part, the interference was uncalled for and unnecessary, the parties themselves having adopted the only dignified and high-minded course in such cases—they have lived down the calumny.

The man against whom this domestic persecution was levelled knows that the popular voice is the most uncertain of all things ; changeful as the chameleon or the weather. The insults, injuries, sarcasms, and fury of the press, are to him what the blows of the battle-axe and the thunder of artillery are to the military hero. He knows they are the result of his position, and that they must be braved and borne. Amid the clash of parties, his soul has remained serene, and we do not think he can feel very much obliged to the author for reminding the world of what he has endeavoured to forget, or showing where and how he has been wounded. There is, however, another view to be taken of even such a heartless and heart-rending calumny as has been cited. But at this side of the question Madame de Girardin never even glances. She sees the evil of a slanderous invention, but her vision does not extend to the beneficial effects resulting from a published truth.

In the fifth act (the poetical and tragedy act) the catastrophe of Morin's death takes place. Andrew, Morin's servant, reads in "La Verité" an eulogium on his master, and in order that Morin may be sure to see it, places the newspaper on a box of colours in the painting-room. But Morin has previously resolved on dying, and dispatches Andrew with a note to Edgar de Norval, apprising him of his intention. We do not know how Edgar de Norval managed it,

but he seems to have been equally the friend of injurer and injured, that is, of journalists and their victims. The following are a few passages from the final soliloquy of Morin :

"'Tis art alone that gives the artist life.
Well ! when his art is lost, the artist dies !
All now is o'er ; this work, so beautiful,
Which was *my due*, is given to another.
A kindly hand in vain protected me,
The blow was not to be avoided.
My enemy succeeds, and hope is gone.

(*Morin perceives the Journal which is lying on the box of colours.*)

The paper here again ! I'll see't no more.
(*He tears the paper to pieces, and throws the fragments far from him.*)

It is my rival, chief of the new school,
'Tis Jardy who will paint the cupola,
And I have nothing ! My name is contemned.
Is this then the reward of all my labours ?
Then, is there no enduring triumph here,
If the mad judgment of a wretched few
Can forty years of bright success destroy
In one brief day ! And such success !

* * * * *

* * * * *
Alas ! how blest I was,
When, after a great victory, the emperor
Selected me to chronicle its issue,
And said to me, before my jealous rivals,
'Ah ! Morin, we've been labouring for you.'
Those words still linger in my flattered ear ;
And what ! Are such success and such renown
Destroyed for ever, and by senseless fools,
Who sell at random wordy insolence,
And make unto themselves a livelihood
Out of my glory ? Because I am old,
They strike at me without or fear or danger,
Nor have I sons to vindicate their sire.

(*He walks about the painting-room and contemplates his pictures.*)

My pictures ! witnesses of my dark woe,
Receive my last adieu ! Hope of my name ;
Oh ! may that name by you become restored,
And death commend me to posterity.

(*He opens a strong box filled with newspapers, which he unfolds ; he then puts a copy-book, sealed with black, into the box.*)

Upon this heap of injuries I place
My will ; of my long tortures it contains
The fatal history. The poison known
That ate away my life, I shall be pardoned
For shortening its course. Now in my fall
To-day I feel 'twas criminal to have
An idol in the world. Guilty I was
In this ; my youth e'en to impiety
Carried the love of art. To portray well
Upon my canvass light or shade, the sea
To swell, or bid the sails of ships to tremble,
To paint a look, a smile, or lightning's flash,
I would have sold my spirit to the damned.
My art—it was my life !—had all my dreams.
I loved my children less than those I taught.
Two days I wept for buried friends, no more ;
But my ungrateful pupils weep I still.
Faithful in all my sentiments to art,
Woman to me was only as a model.
Beauty the only virtue that I prized,
I asked of woman neither truth nor love.
I gazed upon her joy with eye profane,
And calmly traced her fine pellucid tear !
I was a painter ever : without fear,

Without remorse, I loved to question Death
On all his darkest secrets. Yea, with God
I wrestled. Nature's Author was to my
Distorted pride only in art a rival !
Aye, jealous of his glory, I reproached him
With his sunbeam on which I could not seize.
But God has punished me, and most severely ;
For having lived by pride, I die by shame !
(*He goes out, concealing his face with both his hands.*
Valentine at the same moment appears at the top of the stair-case.)

We stop not to remark on the disordered sensibility or extreme selfishness exhibited in many of these sentences. But we should really like to know to which of Morin's errors Madame de Girardin attached herself the most, or which she thought the most deserving of the sympathy and admiration of the world. Was it the self-idolatry and hood-winkedness which prevented him in his old age from seeing any thing in this beautiful world save himself and his own pictures ? Or the heartlessness which he avows, and which made him incapable, and, we think, unworthy, of either love or friendship ? Or was it his utter want of commiseration with all other votaries for fame ? Or his insensibility to the splendid beauties of nature, except as far as he could copy them ? Or his entire want of all pious feeling and gratitude to God ?

It has before been stated, that Morin is intended as an impersonation of M. Gros. The only difference in the real destiny of the artist and the imagined history of M. Morin, being in the manner of their deaths. Monsieur Gros, we believe, threw himself into a horse-pond. Madame de Girardin alters this fact, and makes Morin throw himself from a window. In this she has shown some taste, the one mode being certainly a degree more dignified and less disagreeable than the other.

The Parisians said of M. Gros, when he persisted in exhibiting pictures without a vestige of his former genius, "C'est dommage," the journalists echoed the public, and repeated "C'est dommage." We in our turn re-echo the journalists, and re-repeat again and again, "C'est dommage." It was a pity that M. Gros did not know how to submit to growing old ; for that appears to have been the only evil he had to bear. It is a pity, too, that Madame de Girardin has thought fit to tread so heavily on the ashes of the dead, and remind the world that although M. Gros, from his excellence in art, and his love of it, deserved a niche in the temple of Fame, he was morally undeserving of the concomitant blessings showered on him by his country. It is a pity, too (but this is to mingle the ludicrous with seriousness,) that Madame de Girardin should make Morin choose so inopportune a mo-

ment for putting himself to death. Valentine really deserved better at his hands than that he should destroy himself at the precise moment he had fixed for taking her portrait.

Valentine, when she comes in, is followed by her mother, and subsequently by Andrew. In a short time it becomes known that Morin has committed suicide. Edgar de Norval and the journalists all arrive, the former to join in the lamentations of Madame Guilbert and her daughter, and the latter to be reproached as his murderers—with how much truth, we leave the reader to decide. Martel, too, turns most unfairly against his former allies, and informs the spectators if it had not been for journals he should have been a poet! He does not inform us how much criticism it requires to destroy the poetic faculty, which we regret, for the knowledge might have been useful. We might, perhaps, have thereby discovered what portion of animadversion would prevent Madame de Girardin from writing another "Lesson to Journalists." Neither does Martel explain if it were by a critical process he had been rendered the poor and contemptible thing he was. For, let it be remembered, that Martel was not only *not* a poet, but an exceedingly base and bad man.

This highly consistent and very interesting play terminates by Valentine declaring she loves her mother better than ever, and by Edgar de Norval taking on himself the editorship of "*La Verité*," which Martel gives up. He descends into the arena, and makes himself the accomplice of journalists, in order to conquer them. He knows he shall be sacrificed, and that in offering himself as an example, he must become a victim; but, like another Curtius, he generously throws himself into the gulf before him, and trusts that his grateful country will one day bless his misfortunes, and comprehend his love!

Edgar de Norval is, therefore, most likely intended as the representative of Monsieur Emile de Girardin, the husband of the authoress, and who is the editor of "*La Presse*" newspaper in Paris. In this fact, in all probability, is to be found the history of the writer's bitterness against the journalists of France, the same whip that lashed her hero "Martel" out of poetry having lashed her husband into editorship. M. Emile de Girardin had the great misfortune about two years ago to kill, in a duel, Armand Carrel, one of the leading political writers of his day. Respected by all parties and greatly beloved by his friends, the journalists of the same political opinions as himself made his death the subject of bitter invectives against the adversary who had deprived him

of life. The circumstances of M. de Girardin's life which would least bear inspection were dragged to light. Private pique possibly, therefore, instigated the tirade of Madame de Girardin against journalism.

M. Jules Janin has published in the "*Artiste*" a most courteous, generous, and gentlemanlike letter on the subject of this play. Nothing can exceed the beauty of his defence of the Parisian press. We feel for Madame de Girardin while we read it. He upbraids her so forcibly, but praises her so nobly and so delicately, that we think some compunction must have visited her heart when she read it. M. Janin has certainly overrated the literary merit of her work, but this gentleness of judgment under the circumstances reflects infinite honour on his gallantry and generosity.

For ourselves, after the best attention we could give to Madame de Girardin's work, and a fair consideration of all the known and conjectured facts on which it is founded, we reluctantly pronounce it inadequate either to the cure or exposure of the evils of the press. Its whole style of sentiment stilted and unnatural. The subject, in itself incapable of dramatic action, feebly drawn, poor in outline, with no depth either of reason or argument to compensate for the want of wit, and the utter dearth of morality. The only virtuous man victimized in futurity, and the impersonation of talent in Morin accompanied by such disgusting immorality, profaneness, and heartlessness, that if journals push such men from our path, we have to bless their action with the same degree of warmth with which men hail the blast of the desert or the convulsions of the Andes as purifying the physical, and not involving them in the process.

In propitiation of this mighty power thus recklessly braved by Madame de Girardin, and with the intention of indicating the nobility as strongly at least as this lady has attempted to show the degradation, we subjoin the following lines on the Press by the late Rev. T. Greenwood, B. A., Trinity College, Cambridge. We trust that time will develop more golden arrows from the same glorious quiver, which have long lain in repose since the gifted writer passed to God.

"The Press! the venerated Press!

Freedom's impenetrable shield;

The sword that wins her best success,

The only sword that man should wield.

Deign, Britain's guardian, still to bless

Our isle with an unfettered Press.

"Unfetter'd! Who or what shall bind?

No chains a tyrant could devise:

This essence of immortal mind

Rends, Samson-like, their feeble ties;

Springs with fresh vigour to the fight,
And puts forth thrice its former might !

"Fetter the Press ! Attempt to throw
A bridle o'er the roving breeze :
Instruct it at your will to blow ;
Impose restrictions on the seas.
Dotards ! as soon shall these obey,
As the Press crouch beneath your sway.

"Look to the past ! When despots bade,
As Canute once, the waves retire ;
If for a moment they were stay'd,
'Twas but to mock, not shun such ire,
Daring to wait the stern rebound,
Power has been crush'd and grandeur drown'd.

"Look to the future ! What has been,
Instructs us what is yet to be ;
A pause but seems to intervene—
The Press is by its nature free ;
And every effort to enslave,
Courts but the overwhelming wave !

"'Twill come, 'twill come,—that ample tide,
Which o'er the delug'd earth shall roll :
A sea of knowledge deep and wide,
Impetuous if it meet control.
Genius shall to the flood allure,
And science keep the waters pure.

"While all that hate shall melt away,
Like clouds before the morning sun,
Preparing through a summer's day.
His course in god-like pomp to run.
Error shall quit each happy shore,
And ignorance be known no more !

"The Press ! the glorious Press ! to her,
The herald of that age divine,
I turn, her humblest worshipper,
And lay this offering on her shrine.
O ! would she but extend to me
Her boon of immortality !"

ART. VII.—*Vermischte Schriften, grösstentheils Apologetischen Inhalts*, von A. Tholuck, Dr. der Theologie und Philosophie, Konsistorialrath und ordentl. Professor der Theologie an der Königl. Universität Halle, Wittemberg, &c. &c. (Miscellaneous Writings, principally in Defence of Religion, by A. Tholuck, Dr. of Theology and Philosophy, Counsellor of the Consistory, and Professor of Theology in the Royal University of Halle, Wittemberg, &c. &c.) Hamburg, 1839.

THERE are few subjects upon which more ingenious remarks have been made, more curiosity excited, and more real ignorance displayed, than the religious phenomena of the intellectual but visionary people to whom Europe is indebted for so many interesting discoveries in science, history and philosophy, to which also it must refer so many pernicious

sophistries and specious delusions. When the barrier was first removed which the ungenerous policy of Napoleon had for many years interposed between Germany and our own country, many bright hopes were kindled in the spirits of enthusiastic students in England, dissatisfied as they necessarily felt with the cold, superficial philosophy taught in our universities, and struggling with impotent effort against the formal dogmatism of the theologians of the last century. The cloudy genius of Coleridge found in the strange atmosphere of German mysticism congenial nutriment, and reflected in distorted splendour rays of most attractive but mysterious brilliancy. Nor did the minds of other great writers, such as Scott and Wordsworth, escape the fascination. With regard to the effects in other departments of literature, much valuable information has been communicated in the pages of this Review, and in the writings of Carlisle and others ; but the theology of Germany has been as yet but partially and incompletely investigated ; although the very audacity of its attempt, the singular varieties of its productions, and the immense reputation of its professors for erudition and ingenuity, ought to have engaged more philosophic and candid minds in a work that well repays the labours of research. English writers on the subject have either fallen into the snare of disguised infidelity, and translated and disseminated by their personal influence some of the most dangerous works which prepared its way, or have been impeded by a bigotted adherence to mere external forms in their attempts to analyze the productions, and appreciate the real tendency, of the theological writings of Germany. Neology in the mean time has made most alarming advances. Originating, as we shall presently show, in the study of English free-thinkers and Socinians, it soon assumed a very different aspect, and attained to a more systematic development in the works of the learned Germans, and when reimported into the country of its real birth it was regarded as a stranger, and dreaded as an unknown and most perilous foe. To give a concise but comprehensive view of its early origin, the causes that prepared its success, its gradual and continual development and present extent, will be the principal object of this article ; the materials being principally drawn from a dissertation in the second volume of Tholuck's Miscellaneous Writings.

But we have first a few remarks to make, which we trust will not be uninteresting, upon the position which the learned and pious author occupies among the polemical

writers of the present epoch, and the circumstances under which he commenced his honourable career.

When we had terminated our youthful studies in the noble university, to which its scions are indebted for so much unmingled good, we well remember the intense interest with which we looked towards the kindred Saxon nation—kindred in blood, in manners, to a considerable degree in intellect, and, above all, in religious faith. Forewarned of danger we certainly were, but could hardly believe that the countrymen of Luther, the descendants of the pious reformers, had utterly abandoned the faith of their true-hearted ancestors. We conceived it indeed possible that ritual observances and Church establishments had been partly remodelled and partly abolished, nor in our youthful presumption were we fully aware of the importance of these outposts of the faith, but we could not be induced to believe that the internal spirit had departed. We expected to meet with much vague mysticism, visionary systems, and presumptuous speculations, upon subjects above the reach of human understanding, but still we trusted that far beneath the stormy agitations of the upper waters a mighty under-current of true religious faith was pursuing its onward course, and would finally prevail. With these feelings we visited the schools of Germany,—and what was the result of our observations? Most embarrassing certainly. full of anxious doubt, of fear, at times of despondency, yet not altogether uncheered by rays of hope. Whether that hope was itself a delusion, a mere subjective feeling, derived not from the real aspect of the world, but from principles of faith grafted early in the heart of a Churchman, and intertwined with his very existence—a feeling that casts the hues of its own brightness over the emptiness and falsehoods of a society which is entirely sunk in materialism or practical infidelity,—these are questions which can hardly yet be clearly answered, since the solution depends in a great degree upon the future. When we were in Germany we heard Deism taught openly in the theological schools. De Wette's *Einleitung*—a work which utterly repudiates all miraculous agency, and treats believers in it with condescending pity as unenlightened, or with sarcastic derision as bigotted or hypocritical, was actually the text-book for theological students in the first university we visited.

In the lectures of the celebrated Arabic professor, who condescended to shed some of his illumination upon the strange legends and wild poetry of an inferior branch of the Semitic race, remarkable in a psycholo-

gical point of view principally for their aberrations from common sense, for their absurd credulity, and extraordinary delusions—for such was the light in which the admirer of the Koran and Hariri regarded the books of Holy Writ, we heard all prophecy denied, explained away, or rejected as spurious. We can hardly refrain from smiling when we recall the scared astonishment with which two or three English students first listened to the professor's interpretation and commentary upon the second psalm, which he unhesitatingly referred to the age of Cyrus. We can look back with quiet wonder to the scene, although our conviction received a rude shock by such an assertion, made unostentatiously, and as a demonstrated fact, by one esteemed for his moral character, and respected for his extensive learning—for we fortunately did find out at length that this, with thousands of similar so-called discoveries, was a baseless hypothesis, and returned, smarting indeed and nearly exhausted by the mental struggle, to the pure faith of the Church. Such, we fear, was not the case with all; such wounds rankle long in the heart, and unless there be within a well-founded healthy conviction, powerful enough to resist and throw off the poison, it spreads rapidly through the intellectual frame, and produces the worst of deaths—the death of the spirit.

In the pulpits of Germany what were the doctrines expounded? The preachers in the universities were for the most part men of extraordinary learning, very eloquent orators, remarkable for the ingenuity of their evasive interpretation, and for a rich flow of attractive and commanding language; but their doctrines were a mere nominal Christianity, for although with unblushing effrontery they continually spoke of the sacred truths of vital religion, and made copious use of the well-known symbols of faith, they evidently attached to them a signification entirely different from the real. Yet with all these just causes for despondency we could not quite despair of the nation—we saw that, as in the days of Hilary of Poitiers, the hearts of the people were purer than the minds of the priests—we found, very rarely indeed, but yet we did find some noble spirits among the studious youth who had not bowed the knee to Baal. We met in our frequent wanderings through the villages and country towns with many a pious and simple-hearted pastor, who, though unable to compete with the haughty antagonists of faith in erudition and dialectic subtlety, yet clung with undivided allegiance to the truth, of which he felt an inward assurance, unassailable by the keen weapons of world-

ly sophistries. We found the honest and well-taught peasantry thronging the house of God, wherever a faithful minister declared with earnestness and simplicity the undiluted truths of the Gospel, and deserting that house when desecrated by unbelief or falsehood, however speciously disguised. With these facts—facts which could not be denied, though most distasteful to the prevailing faction of the times—before our eyes, we felt warranted in looking forward with confidence to the final issue:—in hoping that the re-awakened spirit of Germany would at length cast off its disgraceful fetters; that learning, followed out to its legitimate results, would strengthen and confirm the historical proofs of revelation; that with equal abilities, equal learning, equal skill in the employment of logical weapons, some lofty spirit would at length arise to emulate the glory of a Leibnitz, a Pascal, and our own Paley, Butler, and Chalmers, in the triumphant vindication of religious faith. Such even at that dark epoch did we believe would be the case, and waited with unwearied expectation for the appearance of a knight of the Cross. That expectation is now to a certain extent fulfilled. Trained in the rationalists' school, intimately acquainted with all its winding and subtle arts of delusion, Tholuck, Olshausen, Storr, Knapp, and Hengstenburg, with a few kindred souls, have reassumed the helm and hauberk's twisted mail, the impenetrable shield, the keen weapons of Christian faith. The conflict between them and the party of infidelity is even now in its mid-career; some indeed of the hoary enemies of Christ have deserted in time the standard of rebellion, but we have strong grounds to believe in appearance only; yet many, blinded by their unspiritual fanaticism, (for it is a most absurd mistake, if not a voluntary lie, to assert that fanaticism is the product of religious error solely or principally,) many, like the foul libeller whose so-called 'Life of Jesus' met with a well-merited castigation in this work, have dared a last charge, and the little band of the faithful are even now contending against a numerous host of desperate and unscrupulous foes. May England send across the seas the loud voice of grateful sympathy, and cheer them in their honourable warfare. For should those witnesses be silenced,—should the merited doom of total spiritual darkness fall upon that almost apostate nation, fearful would be the consequences, not only to Germany, but, as we firmly believe, to our Church and nation. The establishment of irreligion in that land, save where Romanism might prevail, stifling all thought, and enveloping the conscience in meshes far more artfully woven than in

the old days of ignorant credulity, would certainly tend greatly to encourage the endeavours, and forward the success of the self-called Socialists in England.

We cannot help believing, although we know how bigotted and narrow-minded our feelings must appear to those who purchase at an easy rate the praise of enlightened liberality by the toleration of vice, who recommend patience when the ship is burning, and bid us look on quietly while the lighted match is falling in the magazine beneath us—we cannot help believing that at present there is great danger here, and on the continent, on the one hand, of spiritual tyranny, not the less formidable because separated for a space from the civil power; on the other, of abominable vice based upon atheism, for never, since the days of Protagoras and the Athenian sophists, have the principles of licentiousness and crime assumed so formidable an aspect,—been so consistently and systematically developed. Yet, great as is the danger, we say again, we look forward with confident hope to the result. If the wise and good in all nations will combine their efforts,—if all who hold the fundamental truths of vital religion will act in communion, in the spirit of charity and love, and,—disregarding all minor points in matters of discipline, and even doctrine, if not unquestionably pernicious as well as false, look always and only to the principal duty and highest privilege of a Christian—the maintenance and defence of religious faith.

Augustus Tholuck is an author of no ordinary calibre; he is already known, and most advantageously, to theological students in England and America, for his able Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, of which great use has been made by Professor Stuart of Andover, and although some opinions require to be modified (for we could hardly expect that a mind, however vigorous, could at once throw off the shackles of early prejudice), we believe that a translation of those works would be very acceptable to the English reader. He has also published a most important work on the Credibility of the Evangelical History, in which he has refuted the sophistries, and exposed the misstatements of Strauss, in almost every detail—a work of which we do not hesitate to assert that, for fairness of exposition, profound learning, critical acumen, and above all, for a sound healthy spirit, it rivals or excels any composition of a similar character produced in Europe for many years. We regret deeply that the *Life of Jesus* by Strauss has been translated into French, and thus rendered accessible to many of our countrymen, who are less

qualified by their education to detect the falsehoods and guard against "the rhetoric that hath so well been taught its dazzling fence," than the young men for the most part of learned and highly-cultivated minds, who are enabled by their knowledge of the German to appreciate the original work. This being the case, we are inclined to think that a translation of Tholuck's refutation of Strauss ought to be written by some of our young theologians; and if, as is too probable, pecuniary difficulties impeded the publication, we think that one of the universities would be willing to undertake it. It is no doubt very advantageous to our Church, to explain, comment upon, and familiarize the English reader with the productions of Tertullian, Cyprian, and other fathers of the primitive Church, and we entertain a very low opinion of the intellect of those who dream that Popery is taught by the records of early Christianity. Oxford then does well to bestow much learning and assiduous labour upon the long-neglected study of ecclesiastical antiquities—but we hardly believe that they meet the most pressing danger of the day. Judging, as far as we can, from our own experience of the influences at work among our collegiate youth, we should be inclined to think that a sound, candid, and thoroughly learned treatise upon the same subject as that which Strauss has so shamefully perverted, would just now be exceedingly desirable. If such a work be not soon produced—and it is not the work of a day, it would require long and patient inquiry, guided by critical discernment and enlightened zeal—in the meantime a good translation of this work of Tholuck's would be a blessing to our country; it would recall many, it would preserve more, from very dangerous error.

The contents of the two volumes whose title stands at the head of the present article are peculiarly interesting. As the title indicates, they are generally apologetic, rescuing with ingenious and learned criticism some very important passages and doctrines from their enemies, clearing up the difficulties of geology, and the objections founded upon the variety and dissonance of languages, the contradictions of pagan records, and the discoveries of science which have sometimes with sincerity, but more frequently with malignant satisfaction, been brought to bear against the Mosaic account of the creation and early history of man. Some very eloquent, and we think important, discussions upon subjects better suited to the pages of a theological review will also well repay the student's labour, and we shall feel happy if this general eulogium allure many readers

to the perusal of the work. As we stated above, the present article will be devoted to the analysis of a tract which stands first in the second volume, the title of which may be thus translated: *Outlines of the History of the Revolution which has taken place in German Theology since 1750*. The accomplished writer thus prefaces his subject.

"We shall attempt to produce a brief outline of the history of a religious revolution, which is unexampled in its character. With respect to the old religions of Greece and Rome there came a period, when they lost their authority over the spirit of man, at least over the higher classes of society, yet the priests always remained the guardians of the sanctuary. France also, nor in a lesser degree, Protestant England, has seen infidelity predominant among the higher classes, yet it was always the priestly order—whether from pure, or impure motives, whether skilfully or unskilfully—which undertook the defence of religion. In Germany, on the contrary, since the middle of the preceding century, a disbelief in the fundamental truths of Christianity has been developed, which has found its supporters principally among the priestly order, although many of them were not unconscious, that this tendency would at the same time undermine the foundation of the Church establishment. That in Germany circumstances assumed so different a form from that in the countries alluded to, may be accounted for by two causes. 'The want of independent authorities in the Church armed with sufficient power, such as the Church of England possesses, as well as the Catholic Church, and especially the theoretical tendency of the Germans, so peculiarly directed to scientific research, who fancy it a greater impiety to show inconsistency in science, than in practical matters to undermine institutions the most influential and most consecrated in the opinions of the people.'

How far Tholuck is right in assuming these two causes as sufficient, remains to be seen. The want of regularly constituted church authorities, of Episcopal government, the laxity of discipline, even where discipline was possible and called for by the people and the government, and especially the actual absence of fixed, unvarying articles, such as our Church happily possesses, were main causes which favoured the dissemination of heterodox and pernicious opinions, we think unquestionable; nor are we inclined to believe that Mr. Rose, in his most valuable work upon Protestantism in Germany, has at all exaggerated the evil consequences of such deficiencies. But the second part of the proposition is stated in a form we cannot approve of. That a wild, aye, and dishonest spirit of speculation was the real source of heresy Tholuck sees and proves most distinctly in this work, and we should have been better pleased had he assigned to it a more appropriate epithet than love of knowledge. That in many of the nation there was a genuine want and longing for a state of knowledge better adapted to Christianity, than the meagre and bigoted

theology of the period immediately preceding the outbreak of neology, we are by no means disposed to deny, but see no sufficient grounds to believe that such persons were the originators of the movement. Our author does in fact admit that another leading cause was heartless infidelity, and as after all it is most probable that his views are in accordance with our own, we must consider the mitigated form of the expression as a perhaps excusable artifice to soothe the irritability of national vanity.

The history commences with a sketch of the state of theology about the middle of the last century, of which we believe very little is known in England. The last mighty champion of the Lutheran Church against the Calvinists and Pietists, the learned Löschner, died A.D. 1749. At Wittenberg the theological professors were men of decent mediocrity, temperate opponents of Pietism. At Halle, the stronghold of Pietism, the energetic zeal of former years had degenerated into an anxious and timid defence of principles yet unabandoned. Siegmund J. Baumgarten was the only star, as Tholuck expresses himself; nor have his rays, we believe, traversed the sea. At Leipzig we meet with more illustrious names: Ernesti, then a youth, the learned Deyling in the evening of life, and the talented and pious C. A. Crusius, a disciple of Bengel, whose influence was, however, limited to a small number of devoted followers. Göttingen, under the active superintendence of von Münchhausen, produced some very celebrated theologians—the erudite Lorenz von Mosheim, and the distinguished professor of theology and oriental languages, J. D. Michaelis. Frankfort on the Oder boasted of a Jablonsky, Tübingen of its estimable, learned, and pious Chancellor Pfaff, the ecclesiastical historian Weissmann, and Cottar, the learned editor of Gerhard's *Loci*, a book well known in this country. The professors in the other universities we pass over, as a catalogue of obscure names is equally devoid of interest and instruction. Although nearly all the great theological writers of the day were more remarkable for a lukewarm, tolerant spirit, than for a hearty faith, the influence of Christianity was still deeply and extensively felt. In the preceding years Halle had produced most beneficial effects upon the whole of Germany. Its schools were thronged, numerous destitute orphans were educated by the charity of the university, and in the first twenty-nine years of its existence, when a powerful spirit of religion prevailed among its professors, no less than 6032 theological students received there an excellent education. According to our author Germany

had never since the time of the Reformation produced so many truly pious preachers, and lay members of the Church, as toward the end of the first half of the eighteenth century. A long catalogue of such names is given by him, and due praise bestowed upon the simple hearted and pious communities of the *Herrenhüter* or Moravian brothers.

Such was externally the flourishing condition of the Evangelical Church in Germany at the time when the spirit of unbelief was preparing an invasion. It contained in itself the hidden principles of dissolution, which we have already alluded to, and which we would in part more completely describe.

In the first place a very pernicious tendency was visible in the writings of the theologians, who began to separate piety from its invaluable defender, sound and extensive learning. The mystic dreamers looked with suspicion upon all human acquirements, and the class immediately above them bore a very close analogy to the Calvinistic party in our country. With the exception of Hebbel, which was assiduously studied at Halle under the auspices of the active and excellent J. H. Michaelis and his nephew E. B. Michaelis, very little was achieved by Christian professors. The stern unbending dogmatism of the orthodox school on the other hand repelled many conscientious and honourable men, and the German Church appears to have been very nearly in the same position as the English under the first two sovereigns of the house of Brunswick, to which few who love their church look back with other feelings than regret,—with, however, the immense disadvantage of having no fixed universal articles of faith, round which the good and wise have ever in this land been able to rally and make a successful defence. The spirit was departing; and the relaxation of the discipline, and the deadening influence of a false liberality, exposed the nation to the numerous assaults made upon it from without,—and which we now proceed to examine in detail.

The external forces which, in co-operation with the internal influences for ill, are declared by Tholuck to have been the most detrimental to religion, were—1st, The influence of Wolf's philosophy—2d, The influence of the English Deists—3d, The influence of France, and lastly the reign of Frederick of Prussia. These are very interesting points, and, as we think, the author displays equal ingenuity and candour in discussing their nature and effects.

The philosophical system of Wolf is principally remarkable for its dry, logical dogmatism, and to students familiar with the imaginative and visionary speculations of a

Schelling and Fichte, it is almost inconceivable that such a school should ever have originated and succeeded in Germany. A short account of the author, who, we believe, is not much known in England, will in some degree explain his popularity and influence. Wolf, who was professor of mathematics at Halle in 1706, had inspired many young men and theological students with admiration for his philosophical views and method, before his reputation was established by any other publication than the "*Philosophia practica universalis*." The principles of his pious, but somewhat narrow-minded, colleagues soon led to his dismissal, but contributed more than any single cause to the increase of his fame. Before his return to Halle in 1740, his influence was so firmly rooted, that theologians, jurists, medical and literary students adapted their discipline throughout to his principles and method. In theology his celebrated scholar Baumgarten, appointed to the professorship in 1734, was followed with an enthusiasm utterly incomprehensible to any one who at present reads his productions, so remarkable are they for their tiresome arrangement, and dull spiritless style.

In placing Wolf's philosophy at the head of the evil influences, however, we must remember that no direct tendency to infidelity is to be found in his works, or those of his immediate disciples. The chief injury it did to religion was superinducing a cold formal character, such as the Germans are disposed to look upon as the effect of Locke's writings in England. They talk an immense deal of nonsense on the subject of *mental type*, denying of course Locke's notions on the subject of innate ideas, but we have never heard them orally, nor seen them graphically, illustrate their principles in an intelligible form. Of course English education proceeds on Locke's principles, and is entirely opposed to the German "*Bildung*." The German mind is not accurate but imaginative. Locke has denounced the imagination perhaps too strongly in terming it a *fraud upon the reason*. Yet does the German mind greatly bear out our noblest metaphysician's principle. Hence their dislike to Locke from a moral consciousness, we conceive, of some truth in his notion, and of their illustrating a mental monstrosity in some degree. To resume our subject, Wolf was certainly, as the last-named philosopher, a believer, inclined even to a superstitious observance of external forms; and if, as has been asserted, but can hardly be proved, the principles of Leibnitz, which form the basis of Wolf's system, when systematically developed, lead necessarily to

fatalism and the pantheistic impiety of Spinoza, neither philosopher was at all conscious of such a tendency. Wolf's discipline and method were adopted readily by the Roman Catholic priesthood, and the aged philosopher alluded with evident self-complacency to the fact, that his books were used in the Jesuit schools of Rome, Vienna, and Ingoldstadt. But though the form might adapt itself to any and all religions, the effect was visibly and uniformly evil. The sermons of the last century—we are speaking of Germany, although the observation would not be very uncharitable if applied to England—were singularly cold and unspiritual. Philosophical definitions were generally employed in addresses to Christian congregations. Even the termini technici are frequently substituted for scripture phraseology, the Being who represents to himself the universe at once, for the Deity, *harmonia præstabilita*, the harmony of things, *ratio sufficiens*, &c. And in the discourses of the ordinary preacher, the style was formal and tasteless to an incredible degree. Our Saviour descended from the mountain, whereupon the preacher proceeds to define a mountain as an elevated place, &c.—and hundreds of examples might be adduced of naiveté, which it is almost impossible to read without suspecting a wag-gish intention, and this bare formalism was rendered disgusting by the most overweening conceit.

But a more serious evil was the distinction introduced by Wolf between natural and revealed religion, declaring that the former was matter of demonstration, the latter of faith—a distinction which at once opens the flood-gate to the deluge of infidelity. The followers of Wolf, as usual, went much farther than he intended or foresaw. Baumgarten did not indeed propound any positive heresy himself, but he cheered on the youthful Semler in his most mischievous career. The most singular production of the school is the paraphrase of the Bible, published at Workheim, A. D. 1735, with the title "*The Sacred Writings before the Time of the Messiah Jesus*." The first Part, in which the Laws of the Israelites are contained.* In this strange work an attempt is made to convey the general sense of the original in the idiom, and in accordance with

* Die göttlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus. Dereste Theil, worinnen die Gesetze der Iisreelen enthalten sind. The singular orthography is an attempt to imitate closely the Hebrew forms, a principle followed, as we have remarked, in the late edition and translation of the Pentateuch at Paris.

the habits and philosophy, of the 18th century. We give a specimen of the manner in which this design is executed, since we should not be surprised to see something of the same kind in England. The beginning of Genesis is thus rendered:—"1. All worlds, and our earth itself, were in the beginning created by God. 2. Now with regard to the earth in particular it was at first entirely waste; it was overhung with dark mists, and surrounded by water, over which violent winds began to blow. 3. But it became soon somewhat more light, as Divine Providence ordained:" and so forth. The writer of this precious stuff was Lorenz Schmid, a professed disciple of Wolf, who was pleased to approve of the general plan of the work, with a gentle reproof of the young author's indiscretion. Nor does Mosheim appear to have been greatly dissatisfied with its tone and tendency. The time, however, was not yet ripe for such an attempt, and the impudent and conceited author paid dearly for his presumption. He was arrested by a decree of the Imperial court, but afterwards was lucky enough to effect his escape at Anspach. At a later period he published a translation of Tindal's vile work "Christianity as old as the Creation." Tindal himself received, with Bolingbroke and all the Deists of the time, complete demolition from the hands of Leland, in a work which, though well known, can scarcely be too deeply commended for its plain good sense and judicious management.

The second influence is one that we regret deeply to find occupying so prominent a place in the dark records of infidelity, a regret which is increased by a profound conviction of the truth of the charge, and which is only alleviated by the hope that as the influence of England has been so powerful for ill, it will be no less powerful when exerted for the spiritual weal of Germany and of the rest of Europe. Tholuck speaks of the English Deists in these terms:—

"By far more considerable than has been hitherto supposed, or was on the first glance visible, has been the influence of English Deism upon Germany. We find among the English what is found neither in France, nor in Holland nor Italy; they possess already in the first half of the 18th century a tolerably complete system of rationalism. It would well repay the labour, to collect the views of the English Deists in matters of criticism, interpretation, doctrine, morals, and ecclesiastical history; it would be easy to show how rationalist ideas belong exclusively to later times; it would then also be evident how little foundation there is for the assertion of Dr. Bretschneider, that the immense advances of science in the 19th century have engendered rationalism. While French Deism, with the single exception of Bayle, contended only with wit-

ticisms and raillery, English Deism availed itself of the arms of learned investigation, and on this account their writings produced a much profounder impression upon the profound German than the French deistical works. Since the very commencement of the 18th century the English Deists were generally known in Germany, partly by German translations, though not frequent, partly by the medium of the French, by refutations of their works, or by large and numerous extracts in the periodical and popular works of the time."

Toland's pernicious book "Christianity not Mysterious," his Amyntor, Tyndal's "Christianity as old as the Creation," were answered by numerous professors, and some respondents more remarkable for zeal than discretion. The latter work appears to have produced an immense sensation; since in England, France, and Germany there appeared no less than one hundred and six answers. Lilienthal was the most distinguished antagonist of Deism in Germany. But not only the deistical works were extensively read in that country, but also to Baumgarten, Rösselt, J. D. Michaelis, Spalding, and even Schleiermacher, it is indebted for translations of our most valuable writing on the Evidences, such as Lardner's Credibility, and Leland's Deistical Writers. We are at the same time unwillingly compelled to admit that there is some truth in Tholuck's remark upon the character of some of those great works, though stated, we think, with much exaggeration, and too little of the charity and reverence which should guide a Christian divine when speaking of such men as Tillotson, Paley, and Butler:—

"These translations, and even the English writings in defence of religion, contributed in a remarkable degree to dilute and enfeeble the old Christian faith of the German theologians."

And again, after pointing the cold, rationalist tendency of the writings of John Taylor, the Presbyterian, a very learned and judicious writer, he quotes with great approbation the following remarks of Ernesti:—

"The Chancellor Pfaff is grieved that deistical writings have been translated into German, and with sufficient reason; but he is consoled by the consideration that the works written in defence of Christianity have also been translated. This consolation is by no means satisfactory. We have remarked that in these writings very seldom any thing is said which in the main points could offend a Deist, as we will show forthwith by the example of a celebrated writer. John Taylor, in the preface alluded to (viz. to the Epistle to the Romans) is speaking of the kingdom of God under the Gospel, and after giving a general description, endeavours to show that it is widely distinct from, and elevated above, natural religion. When, however, we come to an explanation in what this distinction and excellence consists, we find nothing but natural religion under a brighter light, and with clearer revelations of privileges, motives and hopes, than the wisest philosophers ever knew. That is to say, nothing but natural religion, revealed immediately

by God. This, which was formerly the Socinians' style, is at present the general system of English writers, who are so much praised and esteemed. The Deists cannot understand their own interest when they oppose this so vehemently, or show dissatisfaction with it, since in the main points it coincides with their own."—*Neue Theol. Bibl.* i. p. 115.

We are sorry, then, to see that, according to Tholuck and Ernesti, the way was opened for Neology by the English Deists, and that, while the outworks of Christian faith were defended, the internal principle, in which its vitality peculiarly consists, was betrayed by cold and but half-converted apologists. This is not a fitting place to discuss the question: to a certain extent we agree with them, but think that the charge is far too sweeping, and that a great deal of their harshness arises from a misconception of the character of our judicious and temperate writers.

The next preparatory cause is stated to be the influence of the French character and literature. It is indeed very amusing to remark the pliancy of the German; looking ever for *Bildung*,* as if conscious of natural ungainliness, the German youth without the self-centered pride of the English aristocrat, or the busy vanity of a Parisian merveilleux, continually exposes himself to ridicule by his vain attempts to assume manners essentially unsuited to his character. The German wants independence, and this want is readily avowed and severely satirized by their best writers—we believe it is in some degree to be attributed to the political condition of the nation, but still the cause lies deeper. We know no creature more thoroughly humane, warmhearted, and honest, more overflowing with the milk of human kindness, enlivened by frequent glimpses of eccentric, but always good-natured humour, than a German who is satisfied to be a German; but a heavy bumpkin dressed up as a man of fashion, is not a whit more ridiculous than a German baron who imitates the friskiness of Parisian wit, or the fine ton of a high-bred Englishman. We speak feelingly, for we sympathise too strongly with our Saxon kindred not to feel ashamed at the fact that foreign influence produced such deep and enduring effects.

The infidelity of France was of much older origin than the philosophists, to whose writings it is generally attributed. The

strange medley of open debauchery with the most degrading superstition, which disgraced the courts of Louvre and Versailles under the princes of Valois and Bourbon, could not fail to produce contempt for all principles apparently connected with such mummeries. The pious Michael le Vassor, Père de l'Oratoire, afterwards a convert to Protestantism, in the preface to his work entitled "*De la Véritable Religion*," gives the following description of Parisian society in the year A.D. 1658:—"On ne parle que de raison, de bon gout, de force d'esprit, de l'avantage de ceux qui savent se mettre au dessus des préjugés de l'éducation et de la société où l'on est né. Le Pyrrhonisme est à la mode sur beaucoup de choses. On dit que la droiture de l'esprit consiste à ne pas croire légèrement et à savoir douter en plusieurs rencontres. Qu'y a-t-il de plus insupportable et de plus chagrinant que de voir nos prétendus esprits forts se vanter de ne rien croire et traiter les autres de simples et de crédules, eux qui n'ont pas peut-être examiné les premières preuves de la religion?" (They only converse on reason, fine taste, mental power, on the advantages of those who know how to place themselves above the prejudices of education, and of the society in which they were born. Pyrrhonism is in fashion on numerous subjects. They argue that right-mindedness consists in not believing on slight grounds, and on suspending the judgment after numerous interviews. What is there more insupportable and annoying than to see our pretended "esprits forts" boasting of believing nothing, and treating other men as simple and credulous, when they themselves have never examined even the first principles of religion.) Might not this be easily taken for a description of Parisian society, in 1780? It is true that the Jansenists formed a noble exception to the general depravity about that time, but so great and intellectual a nation as the French really are, after all deductions made on the score of national vices, which we are not disposed to underrate, is never without some faithful adherents to the truth. But we hasten to consider the effect upon the neighbouring people. Tholuck is not inclined to accord much efficacy to Voltaire's deistical writings, as he justly demands what could a German scholar learn from a theologian like Voltaire, who looked upon that absurd Jewish fable, the Toldos Jeschu, as one of the most important documents for a history of Christ, and in an inquiry into the authenticity of the Mosaic writing, actually shows his ignorance of the meaning of the word Pentateuch? See *Philosophie de l'Histoire*, p. 221.—"Nous sommes convaincus que si les livres

* An Englishman considers education as a means for developing his abilities, fitting him for a profession or public life, not to speak of higher motives, as the strengthening of principles; but the German wants to be fresh cast, moulded into a new form—and what is the result? Read Wilhelm Meister.

de Moise, et de Josue, et le reste du Pentateuch !" (We are convinced that if the books of Moses, Joshua, and the rest of the Pentateuch.) But trifling as was the effect of these writers, with the exception of Bayle, upon the learned world, their corrupting influence upon the upper classes of German society, was terrific. In those days every German prince, count, baron, and freiherr, whose revenues sufficed to defray the expenses of the visit, held it to be his first duty to risk his fortune and his innocence in the metropolis of the civilized world, as Paris proudly designates itself, that he might return with the reputation and polish of an "homme comme il faut" to his dear stupid fatherland. And there, alas ! he found many a court, like that of Frederic of Prussia, which, if possible, outdid the Palais Royal in blasphemy, if not in wit. There, stripped of his armour of defence, of the respectable prejudices, and the sound principles of early education, he fell naturally and irretrievably into the current of vice and infidelity. A most characteristic description of the growth of irreligion under such influences is given by Laukhard.

One other cause also favoured the rapid dissemination of these germs of ill. The reign of Frederic, called the Great, was a fearful scourge, the consequences of which still affect powerfully the spirit of Germany. A king who never spoke of the clergy but with the contemptuous epithets of die Fafen, die Chekers—for Frederic loved to pronounce his vernacular tongue like a foreigner—who answered every application for official promotion on the part of a minister with "I know nothing of the Chekers,* if he is habile;" a king who looked upon all positive religion as a *préjugé*, and exercised his wit in moments of pleasantry upon no subject so willingly as upon the faith and professors of Christianity; a sovereign, at the same time, whose atrocious immoralities were glossed over by the specious talents of a wit and a genius, for Frederic was both, and who was looked up to with deference and slavish awe by all who surrounded him, necessarily exerted a most pernicious influence upon the religion of his court and nation.

But Frederic was far from confining his attacks upon religion to scoffing and raillery, as most of the *soi-disant* philosophers of that most ignorant, yet insolent and presumptuous school, for which he had so strange a predilection; he was, like Julian, a persever-

ing and ingenious persecutor of the Church, displacing all those whose talents and learning rendered the cause of religion respectable in the eyes of the world, and observing, with vigilant malice, the movements of all who professed the Christian faith. And the favour which was then withdrawn from the deserving, was proffered freely to any foes of religion, however disgraceful their conduct and character might be. Voltaire, Maupertuis, d'Argens, and the infamous cynic La Mettrie, basked in the sunshine of royalty, and Bahrdt, of whom we shall have occasion to speak presently, was received with the most flattering attentions by Zedlitz the minister, whose prolonged authority was in a high degree detrimental to the interests of morality and religion.

Such were the influences at that time at work in the heart of the German people, preparing the way for a general national apostasy. A philosophy in which dry formal dogmatism had abolished all living truth; clergy narrow-minded and persecuting in their orthodoxy, or secretly unfaithful to their sacred trust; theological learning without piety; mysticism without learning, ingenuity, or common sense: readers chilled, deadened and perverted by the study of English deists and semi-deistical divines: a nobility thoroughly contaminated by the contagion of Parisian vice, and fancying themselves men of taste and elegance, because they had followed the easy examples of licentious profligacy: the studious youth in general dissatisfied with the present, and looking forward with feverish anxiety for a new and totally different intellectual nutriment:—Such was the state of things when there appeared a man who resumed, in his own strangely blended nature, most of the faults, and by his talents supplied many of the wants, of the time—we speak of Semler.

There are two kinds of writers at all important epochs of intellectual reformation or transition, who for very different reasons attract the attention of a philosophic student of humanity. The former like a Socrates, a Plato, or a Bacon, are elevated by their comprehensive and powerful intellect far above the misty and varying currents that disturb the lower atmosphere of thought; they stand, as it were, upon an inaccessible height, from which they command an extensive view of all that has been achieved by their predecessors for the amelioration of man's condition, moral and intellectual, and appreciate all that is true and enduring in their discoveries: men who form the central point between the past and the future—who see with the prophetic eyes of genius, and direct the attention of their intellectual suc-

* Thank heaven we have no synonym for the word as yet. Our clergy have not yet been branded with such a nickname.

cessors to the paths by which they can most speedily and surely attain the one grand object of noble minds, the improvement of their fellow-creatures. A mind of kindred feeling, though far inferior in power, and concentration of purpose, will see in their works the whole scheme of humanity, and those names will shine with permanent and increasing splendour so long as a single heart beats with love for his brethren. But the other species, though infinitely less attractive, offers several inducements for attentive observation. They are men who, without self-consistency or internal elevation, convey a tolerably just idea of their epoch by following its tendencies, by reflecting its prejudices, by sympathizing with its defects, by combining in themselves most of its characteristics for good and evil. Such men are generally remarkable for extensive desultory reading; for considerable ingenuity in working out details; for a rapid, though superficial, comprehension of all phenomena of mere temporary interest; and above all, for unconnected and impotent attempts to realize their vague conceptions. England at the present day abounds in writers of this kind, who are fostered by the general development of certain faculties, by a brilliant but very incomplete education, which produces a dazzling effect, set off by a facility of style acquired so easily in a literary community remarkable for its graceful mediocrity. As we do not wish to rouse the susceptible feelings of the irritable genus, we forbear to instance one or two of this class, but have said enough to show in what sense we consider Semler as a personification of the German rationalist—not as the author, the head, or the cause, but as a fair and complete specimen.

It is but just to state that Semler was a man of pious sentiment, educated in the Christian faith, and thinking as a Christian whenever his wounded affections recalled his wandering spirit to the only source of consolation. The faithful description of his feelings on the death of a beloved daughter excites a strong interest for the man, and should teach us to judge of his aberrations with charity, though it ought not to blind us to the tendency of his writings. Ständlin, in A. D. 1791, was well aware of that tendency; in his excellent work entitled "*Critik des Systems der Christlichen Religion*," p. 342, he says, "Semler's dogmatic writings appear to me in fact to contain all the germs of theological scepticism, however little he may have been conscious of the fact." We do not entirely agree with Tholuck's appreciation of Semler's character, and shall not hesitate to appropriate his facts and rea-

soning as far as they coincide with our own.

The writings of Baumgarten in early life produced a great effect upon Semler, and prepared his mind for the unsteady scepticism we have alluded to; nor was the philosophy of Wolf neglected by the young scholar, although without any abiding influence upon his fickle character. From the unlimited atheism of French sciolists, he was preserved partly by his religious education; partly by his natural aversion to light and gay literature, in which the superficial tribe who followed in the wake of Parisian infidelity conveyed their deleterious principles. The learned Bayle is the only French writer to whom he alludes frequently, and whose work he strangely considered as an excellent preparation for theological studies,—a most perilous experiment for an unregulated imagination and unsettled principles. He read also with intense interest the Commentary of Whitby, a very learned but most unspiritual work, and the eccentric Whiston, whose critical labours he had attacked in one of his earliest publications, "*Vindiciæ plurium præcipuarum lectionum Codicis Græci N. T. adversus Gulielmum Whistonum*, Hal. 1750. The religious opinions which still survived in that transitional epoch, prevented his forming a system of consistent neologism, and induced him to frame a plan, so peculiarly the expression of his idiosyncrasy, that it suited few among his contemporaries, and was the cause that, notwithstanding his extensive reputation, he founded no school, and left no successor.

We have spoken of his disposition as the principal cause of his peculiarities. In his autobiography, *Lebenbeshreibung*, Th. i. p. 70, he speaks of his remarkably sanguine temperament, and Tholuck, who is somewhat addicted to physiological speculations, considers this in combination with a certain meanness and poverty of spirit (which he calls *Spießbürgerlichkeit*) as a sufficient explanation of them.

"Here," says Tholuck, "we find not that serious and thoughtful spirit which in its desires to unveil the enigma of the present and the past, pauses reverentially before the ways of science, to consider which may conduct him most readily to his goal, and to pursue it with that caution produced by the longing for the fixed, unvarying Truth, and with that sacred earnestness which proceeds from the consciousness that he stands before the sanctuary of humanity. Semler was a *helluo librorum*, who said with Logan, 'I love to smell better than to eat.' Without system or method he read now Selden de *Diis Syriis*, now Brentius and Schneppius, then pursued the alchymist traditions in the *Cosmographia* of Neander, and in Theophrastus Paracelsus; now laboriously investigated Vossius on the Septuagint, and Richard Simon on the Old and

New Testament, or the scholastic Quodlibetarii and Quidlibetarii, or attempted to digest the enthusiastic ravings of a Weigel and a Guttman."

There are indeed intellects so penetrating and comprehensive that from the most dissimilar and discordant materials they can elicit sparks of universal truth, but the generality of readers of this cast fritter away their time and talents in vain attempts to acquire the omne scibile. We believe that many scholars who have thus misused their natural powers, have read with a painful thrill the keen words of Pindar, *Ὁς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει ψεφνός ἀνὴρ Ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνεῶν οὐποτ' ἀτρεκεῖ* Κατεβα ποδὶ μυρίαν Δ' ἀρετὰν ἀτελεῖ νοῦς γυεταί. N. Carm. 3, 70, ed. Heyne, Oxon. We continue Tholuck's remarks.

"In Semler we find nothing but interesting notices; with all his sagacity in isolated facts and observations, he is but an empty-headed fellow. As is frequently the case with sanguine temperaments, he is rich in happy remarks, but separate flashes of summer lightning are not daylight. He had no power of combination or concentration. Such is his character as a student. But Semler was also a remarkably vain man, elated beyond bounds by the applause of his cotemporaries, depressed even to despondency by every unfavourable review."

We shall form a pretty correct opinion of the man if to these characteristics we add that his soul was without power of imagination, without depth of feeling or elevation of ideas, moving ever and only in the lower regions of thought, and all these defects exaggerated and confirmed by the deadening effects of a life wasted in petty intrigues and miserable squabbles.

We are obliged to pass over the interesting notices given by our author of Semler's education and gradual formation, although replete with instruction and warning, and proceed to indicate the general result of his labours in the several departments of theological learning. We must at the same time beg our readers not to be surprised by any inconsistencies or direct self-contradictions in his unconnected declarations. It is precisely the uncommon variableness of doctrine which he endeavours to demonstrate. Not penetrating into the heart of faith, never guided by the internal light which is ever refused to the shallow and vain, he sees nothing in religion but contradictions and differences, and boldly hazards the extraordinary assertion that all possible opinions in the Church are fair and satisfactory, provided that Christianity conduces to what he calls moral improvement.

The first department in which he introduced his plan of reform, a word sadly misemployed in more branches than one of the great science of humanity, was biblical

criticism. In early life he had displayed great ingenuity in two academical dissertations on the works ascribed to Macarius (which, however, sufficiently indicated the character of the man to a shrewd observer,) and threw himself with unbounded and filial reverence into the arms of Bretinger, the Swiss critic, who had rendered great services to the critical student by his edition of the Septuagint and various other works. We have not at present the intention or opportunity of estimating his character as a philologist, but confine ourselves to the consideration of his influence upon later rationalists. In the first place he shows the greatest levity in altering the received text, and whenever manuscripts vary, or words occur not evidently indispensable to the sense, is apt to reject them upon slight or no authority as mere glosses—a very dangerous proceeding, of which many instances are adduced by Tholuck. In more general criticism his doctrinal errors are equally conspicuous. He defends with great learning and talent the right of the early reformers to investigate the canon of Scripture, and claims the same privilege for himself and his cotemporaries. But how does he avail himself of this unquestionable privilege? By an assumption which none but fanatics, or artful sceptics, are in the habit of making. In his work on the Free Inquiry into the Canon of the Old Testament, p. 36, he says "the peculiar proof of the divine origin of a book is the internal conviction of the truths therein contained;" that is, the fides divina, which is otherwise termed the testimony of the Spirit in the heart of the believer. Following this conviction, which of course is entirely subjective, and varying according to the faith, sense, judgment and honesty of the individual, and which we may easily suppose was of a very peculiar character in such a mind, he quietly rejects the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, and the books of Chronicles; and considers the authenticity of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings and Daniel, as very questionable. As to the Pentateuch, he refers to his favourites, Simon and Vitranga, who had proved forsooth that these books, and Genesis more especially, were composed of different materials of uncertain antiquity, and thought it probable that the original work was lost during the Captivity, and recomposed by Ezra. As these sweeping hypotheses were nowise the result of critical or historical research, but merely proceeding from a distaste to the books themselves, we may readily conceive how vast a field was opened for more hardy and unscrupulous followers. The same wild and

impious course was adopted with the New Testament, and there seems no reason why any and every portion of Scripture upon the same principle should not be rejected at the discretion of any individual, if unsatisfactory to his fastidious taste.

We must also take into consideration the prodigious effect produced by the writings and authority of Semler upon the new-fangled system of biblical interpretation and commentaries, of which, under the somewhat pedantic appellation of Exegesis, the Germans were, a few years since, so proud, and which indeed tinged very deeply the works of a late very learned and influential prelate, and certain distinguished authors in our own country. This exegesis depends principally upon one leading idea of Semler, which, as it was blended with a certain portion of truth, was singularly persuasive, viz. that all the contents of the Bible, prophetic, miraculous, or doctrinal, are essentially modified by circumstances of time and locality, and can only be understood when those circumstances are correctly appreciated. As corollaries of this mischievous proposition, we are informed that all precepts and dogmas are equally liable to variation, and that they must be interpreted into the sounder philosophical language of the eighteenth century, before they can be applicable to these enlightened times; and therefore, that a judicious abridgment of the Bible, with a sound exegetical commentary, reducing the book of the Spirit as nearly as possible to a system of pure Deism, was the most desirable means of religious instruction. It is true that Semler's own method of explaining the effects of local and temporal influences was far from being generally adopted, owing partly to the instability of his views, and partly to the facility of unlimited novelty of accommodation, which every hungry student hoped to present in a more attractive and more saleable form; and that his paraphrases were soon disused and superseded, owing to his very inelegant, unreadable Latinity; (for which, by the way, the German theologians are generally remarkable;) yet the foundation was laid, upon which DeWette, Rosenmüller, Paulus, Ammon, Bretschneider, &c. have erected the glittering ice-palace of Neology.

In doctrines we may easily imagine the result of Semler's labours. He considers all the peculiar and vital dogmas of Christianity are mere accommodations to Jewish prejudices, little more than local ideas, under which he does not hesitate to include the colossal idea of the Kingdom of God. According to Semler the awful Jehovah is but a national Deity; the terms Mediator, Re-

deemer, Justification, no longer intelligible, and all the good that is to be derived from revelation is a general improvement of man's moral condition. With infinite self-complacency, which our readers have doubtless been often amused with in the shallow sceptics of ordinary society, Semler looks down upon those who, as he asserts, are more anxious that a man "*de diabolis bene multa credat, quam ut insignes leges amoris studiosissime observaverit.*"

But the department in which, above all others, the immense reading of this eccentric man produced the greatest effect, was ecclesiastical history; and here we cannot but express our regret that so little has hitherto been accomplished by our learned and orthodox divines: it is disgraceful to a Christian country to have no standard work on this important subject; but we hope and believe that ere long the want will be satisfied. As to Semler, we may easily imagine the bitterness and ingenuity of his attacks upon Catholic orthodoxy. These are the terms in which he speaks of the Christian writers of the two first centuries.

"The sources of most ideas prevalent at that time were far from genuine, the Alexandrine version, and many spurious Greek apocryphal writings, full of fanatic ideas and dreamy absurdities. It is particularly to be regretted that scarcely any thing remains of the so-called heretic writings. From many fragments it is easily seen that they must have been much better worth reading than the wretched treatises of the Catholic parties."

As Semler was entirely devoid of that penetrating intellect, which discerns, under the mask of apparent and superficial opposition, internal unity wherever it exists, he is totally without sympathy for such spirits as Tertullian, Augustine, Bernhard, or Thomas Aquinas. Every phenomenon is explained and judged according to the opinions of his own age and country; and with a wanton levity, which we grieve to see in some of our own theologians, he treats as absurd fanatics all who preached chastity and celibacy to the licentious Greek, and with zeal, whether wise or unwise, certainly excusable in a period of the most corrupt self-indulgence, mortified the flesh with its lusts in solitary retirement. The general effect of Semler's labours in Church history is thus ingeniously and most truly described by Tholuck.

"As in this branch of theology he was ever rich in novel discoveries, and frequently produced interesting facts from sources inaccessible to others, his writings on ecclesiastical and doctrinal history were extensively studied; and in those who read them carefully, as well as in those who had a merely superficial acquaintance with them, the general impression was, how astoundingly ill off the Church

was until the time when the illuminating spirit (die *Aufklärung*) waved her torch, how very little good had been effected by Christianity through so many ages, and how many wrong-headed enthusiasts had acquired an illustrious reputation in theology. The natural consequences among the young and enthusiastic was a general dislike and contempt for the study of the fathers and history of the Church."

In England we are well aware that the same feeling prevailed, though not to the same extent, but there are strong symptoms of a happy change. Without an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers, even the less talented among them, it is impossible fully to appreciate the transforming and renovating effects of Christianity upon the heart of man; without a very different knowledge of Church history than can be acquired from the cold Mosheim, or the bigoted Milner, or the desultory Jortin, an entirely false idea of our national worship and the relation in which we stand to the great Christian communities of Europe must necessarily prevail. In Germany also the first rays of a second dawn are tinging the atmosphere of thought, and ere long we trust that such things as these will be for ever forgotten in the fulness of a purer light.

We have dwelt thus long upon the character of the "immortal Semler"—as he is called by an author of no trifling authority in this country—for two reasons. First, because the opinion of a man like Tholuck is sufficient to prove that the severe judgment passed by Mr. Rose in his valuable work "on the State of Protestantism in Germany," p. 75—83, is not to be attributed to national prejudices or narrow views, as has been rashly asserted; and secondly, because we consider that in Semler are shown very fairly the tendencies of neological scepticism in a mind not totally divested of pious sentiments. To enable our readers to judge of their ultimate consequences upon the heart and intellect, we must give a concise account of the notorious Bahrdr, of all the leaders of this school the most remarkable for his talents and for his unbounded profligacy. Expelled from Leipzig, where he had been private teacher of theology, on account of a disgraceful transaction with a common prostitute, from Giessen for heterodoxy, and lastly driven from his position as superintendent at Dürkheim, in the Principality of Leiningen-Dachsburg, by the decree of the imperial court, and the pursuit of his creditors, this martyr of the truth, as he calls himself, fled to Halle, A. D. 1779. In other countries of Germany at that time the laws still forbade the promulgation of opinions avowedly sceptic, but Prussia offered an open field to every innovation, a

nations of its sovereign, but to the character of the people, who generally take the lead in all great intellectual movements of the German nation. We are indeed happy to state that Prussia has of late years partly atoned for her past offences by a school of profoundly learned and orthodox divines, but at the time when Bahrdr visited Halle it was the citadel of rationalism. Its professors seem to have been strangely perplexed by his arrival; his disgraceful conduct in private life prevented them from receiving him with open approbation; although it is very probable that his extraordinary talents, easy elocution, and lively wit, all devoted to the great object of their existence, the beating down the stronghold of antiquated prejudices, and erection of the glittering edifice of intellectual pride, inclined them to look with secret complacency upon their brilliant, but suspicious ally. Teller, at any rate, and the minister Zedlitz, were elevated by their position above all such trifling scruples, although the latter warned him seriously of the necessity of observing decency at least, lest people should imagine that the discoveries of the exegetical school were founded rather upon the desires of the heart than the conclusions of the understanding: an expression remarkable for the consciousness of unsound principles which it betrays. In depicting the rapid progress of infidelity in the heart of the man, we must apprise our readers that it is a true, though highly coloured portraiture of the feeling at work among the youths of the Universities. Bahrdr began his studies by the *Dogmatik* of Crusius, then much decried for their mystic orthodoxy, and a superficial tinge of devotion, or, at any rate, correct opinions imbued his youthful spirit at Halle. But very transient was their effect upon one who regarded all attainments only as a means of gratifying a pampered vanity. He describes in lively colours the bright illumination of his mind when from the lectures of Fischer he first discovered that a dictum probans, a clear and decisive text upon the most important doctrines, might be explained away or rejected as spurious. On arriving at Giessen he asserts that he had lost nothing of his orthodoxy *except* the doctrine of the Trinity, original sin, and the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. In this university he succeeded in disbanding the belief in the reconciliation of man with God through Christ; and, as he informs us, in consequence of an afternoon conversation with a thorough free-thinker, happily transformed the doctrine into a scheme of moral amelioration. The full light, however, burst upon his awakened spirit at Halle. Semler's writings

overthrew all belief in the inspiration of Scripture, and the last faint struggles of the apostate to retain a vague faith in revelation, on the ground that Christ could by no possibility have discovered by his unassisted reason so perfect a system of morality, were quieted by Eberhard, who satisfactorily proved to the willing neophyte that Christ had taught no essential truth, which had not previously been declared by Socrates. But Bahrdt's own description of his final conversion is too characteristic and too instructive to be omitted.

"My soul now fell into its last fermentation; the impressions of education yet struggled within—but without power. Reason forced her way onwards with might. She stormed me with Semler's facts and Eberhard's possibilities. At present there wanted only a sensation to set the understanding upon its legs, that it might run off with the last bundle of prejudices, and fling it in the sea of oblivion. The sensation came. I remember no more on what occasion I was arguing some point against Trapp on the ground that his assertion appeared to me opposed to divine revelation. Enough: Trapp, in whose presence I happened thus perhaps, for the first time, to profess a belief in revelation, of which he certainly had expected to find no trace in so clear a head as mine, burst out into so hearty a laugh, cried out with so genuine an accent of good-humoured surprise: 'Heigh, heigh, the sensible Bahrdt believes in revelation. O Büttner, do listen,' (Büttner was talking to some of the company,) 'Bahrdt is still a believer.' Then sounded the knell of my faith. I was ashamed."

It is not our intention to follow this heartless, unprincipled infidel through the disgraceful scenes of a life passed in a tavern, kept by himself, where he turned his great talents to a double account, as ministers of his vanity and support of his reckless extravagance and licentiousness—or at the head of a secret society of illuminati professing and disseminating opinions nearly akin to those of Owenism—or in prison, where for a short time he underwent the due penalty of his ribald calumnies. Nor can we dwell upon his fearful sufferings in the last days of a mispent existence, terminated by a loathsome disease, the consequence of his own debaucheries. The history is fraught with awful warnings, but touched upon chords too deep toned for the pages of any but a religious publication. We can only say that the fears expressed by Mr. Rose, p. 195, are fully warranted by the profligacy of the students of that time as described by Tholuck.

With a brief survey of the state of the German universities under these influences we conclude our notice of this interesting work. At Frankfort we meet with two well-known professors, Töllner and Steinbart, the first appointed in 1756, the latter succeeded in 1774, and taught there until the commencement of the present century.

Töllner advanced with slow but certain step on the path of rationalism; he never openly abjured the truths of Christianity, it is true, but he evidently considered it beneficial only so far as it confirmed and extended the truths of natural religion, and their influence upon the happiness of mankind. But Steinbart receives from the neological journals an approving admiration, which sufficiently indicates the character of his writings. "No man," says the *Kirchen und Ketzer-Almanack*, "has overthrown and annihilated so many idols of the Church system. His predecessors were satisfied with attacking isolated errors, yet with a reserve that disguised their real system. This man has not merely demolished the old house, but he has erected a new palace in its room." Of Königsberg, Grieswald, and Breslau we have little to say, as the professors, following the same course, are little known in England. At Duisburg the learned Grimm led the way to Neologism, and Krummacher, whose later productions are so popular here, commenced life under the same banners. But the influence of Berlin is too important to be passed over hastily. Within the period we are considering, the names of Berliner and unbeliever were synonymous, and the opinions then prevalent are thus powerfully described by Oetinger, A. D. 1777. "They of Berlin know nothing of the Lord of Glory; they are bewildered with the vapouring presumption of the Leibnitzian philosophy; they know nothing of the grace of God, nothing of man as he draws near in spirit to the throne of grace;" in short, of any doctrine that distinguishes Christianity from Deism, or that cannot by some logical artifices be resolved into the principles of common reason. Now we must remember that Berlin was the centre of German nationality; that its professors, in learning, talent, above all, in refinement of manners and the graces of social intercourse, gave the tone to Prussia and all Germany. Here Sack, Teller, Spalding, in conjunction with the chief counsellor of the consistory, Dietrich, established the neological system thoroughly. In the case of a preacher at Gielsdorf, who avowed his belief that the Scriptures were not the word of God—that morality is distinct from religion as heaven from earth—that Jesus was the greatest naturalist—that his resurrection, as a mere occurrence, is wholly unconnected with doctrine, and that Moses was a deceiver,—the tribunal under Dietrich's presidency pronounced that the man if not a Lutheran, was to be considered as a Christian preacher! It would be superfluous to adduce more proofs of the state of religion at Berlin.

Göttingen was not far behind in the race. Rationalism was not taught in any university so barefacedly as by Eichhorn, and as the professors were men of extraordinary learning, its influence was tremendous. At its first foundation it boasted of Mosheim, Michaelis, and Hielmann, who certainly did very much to pave the way for their successor, J. D. Michaelis more especially. He appears to have been utterly devoid of pious sentiments, (by no means an universal failing in German theologians—for there are many like Semler, in whose hearts a religious education and moral life have preserved some seeds of faith uncorrupted by the venom of scepticism,) and although he strenuously defends the outworks of revealed religion, he is regardless or unconscious of the wounds rankling within. As Tholuck happily expresses himself, "Eichhorn did no more than strip the theology of the *homo naturalis* of the skin of supernaturalism, in which she moved so awkwardly, and presented her to the public without disguise."

At Jena we meet with Paulus, Augusti, and Henke, whose popular history of the Church is principally composed with the view of displaying the mischiefs of dogmatic orthodoxy, and we are sorry to hear that it is much read at present in Brunswick. At Erlangen the well-known Rosenmüller, who in his late *Compendium* of the *Commentaries* on Isaiah has changed the form only of his exposition, retaining all the opinions denounced by Mr. Rose. At Kiel, Marburg, Giessen, &c. more or less openly the same opinions are promulgated, and to close our long, and, we fear, tedious enumeration, nearly all the educational institutions of northern Germany, schools, gymnasia, universities, and pulpits, are occupied and administered by men to whom the very name of vital religion is odious, who treat its dogmas with supercilious contempt, or assault them with frantic hatred.

We cannot dismiss the subject without a few words upon the possible consequences of this extraordinary fermentation in the spirit of Germany. We are profoundly convinced that all great events, however terrible or pernicious in their immediate effects upon the agents themselves, and their misled contemporaries, tend ultimately to the instruction and benefit of humanity. With all the evil, the voluminous, ingenious, and erudite works of the most distinguished neologians, have, we think, already produced much good; they have thoroughly shaken and sounded every stone of the Church of Christ; they have removed some rubbish that had accumulated in the outcourts; they have demolished many tasteless decorations added

in later ages; but, above all, by their impotent and frustrated assaults they have demonstrated to the candid observer the adamant strength of the fabric. For the offenders this unforeseen and unwished-for result of course offer no excuse, but, very different degrees of blame attached to the leaders and followers of the movement. We believe also that when religion, as it most assuredly must do, regains its undisputed sway over the hearts of the nation, the causes of their late defection will be carefully and cautiously examined, and feel certain that all men of judgment will then admit the absolute necessity of adopting the form of Church government instituted by the Apostles, and which alone can expect the support promised by the Founder to his faithful people. The admirable work of Mr. Maurice on the Kingdom of Christ will best explain our meaning. We have indeed been informed, and as we believe on good authority, that the King of Prussia, whose predilection for our Church government and beautiful Liturgy is here justly appreciated, has expressed an intention of applying to the Bishop of London to ordain ministers who may form the groundwork of an establishment in that nation upon the same principles as our pure Church. Such an opportunity of extending the influence of truth must be peculiarly gratifying to the feelings of that excellent prelate to whom no less than eighty-three churches in his own important diocese owe their existence, a fact unprecedented in the annals of episcopacy, and who, by relinquishing the critical studies in which he stood pre-eminent, to devote his splendid talents and indefatigable energies to the defence and dissemination of the Christian faith, has assured to himself an undying name among the benefactors of mankind. Nor ought this to be less satisfactory to every member of the Church, which, by its unvarying doctrines, based upon the rock of ages, its establishments formed upon the model of primitive Christianity, and its consecration derived through an uninterrupted succession from the Apostles, has won so valuable a testimony. Fervent should be the prayers of every Englishman for the success of this noble undertaking. In the interim the conflict is stoutly waged by our author, with a few truehearted allies. Numerous indeed and desperate are his antagonists; and once more we call upon our countrymen, whose ancestors, as we have seen, are in a high degree responsible for the past, and who are themselves so deeply interested in the future of Germany, to cheer the faithful band with their sympathy, and to second their efforts by an effectual and zealous co-operation.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Letters, Literary and Political, on Poland; comprising Observations on Russia and other Slavonian Nations and Tribes.* Edinburgh: 1823.
2. *Insurrection of Poland in 1830–31, and the Russian Rule preceding it since 1819.* By S. B. Gnorowski. London: Jas. Ridgway. 1839.
3. *Historja, Literatary Polskiej przez Bentkowskiego.* Warszawa. (History of Polish Literature, by Bentkowski.)

WE can hardly be expected to do full justice to the important subject under consideration in the above notices, in the narrow limits prescribed to us: we can only hope to awaken the interest of our readers, by presenting to their attention a general outline of Polish literature. This we shall divide into five periods, not because such a division is natural—since the life of a nation is not like a thread which may be cut asunder and again united,—but for the sake of establishing certain prominent points, from which a better survey of the whole may be taken. Our first period will embrace nearly four centuries, from the introduction of Christianity (964) to the foundation of the University of Cracow (1337).

The dawn of literature in all countries is usually marked by poetic compositions; but if under this appellation are to be classed written productions alone, the inference must be that the Poles possessed no poet at all during this long period. The case is, however, widely different, for although Poland had not at that time any verse writers, yet at no subsequent epoch perhaps was that country more eminently rich in poetry. In order to judge of a nation's poetry, we must first learn how to feel it. The unassisted eye cannot separate the sun's beam into its elements; and the same observation is applicable to thought, which also has its own prism, through which images of the world are refracted on the mind in rays of poetry.

The Poles of ancient times, after their struggles in the field or in the senate were over, had little upon which to vent the activity of their spirit. Having abandoned the toils of trade and the pursuits of art to foreigners, the nobles felt a continual craving for active occupation and diversion. Agriculture was not with them an object of study, but of amusement,—a result of their love of nature. The aspect of fields, and forests and rivers, excited in them more peaceful, but not less profound emotions than the tumult of a battle or an election. When not engaged in these, the nobles, having no domestic occupation, passed their time in visiting or receiving their friends and kin-

dred, for the purposes of amusement or discussion. On such occasions he who had the talent of tale-telling played an important part, and the emulation which this circumstance inspired was the cause of the art being so cultivated that many individuals attained in it to a considerable degree of perfection. Mere facts being found insufficient to captivate the attention of the listeners, the narrator called imagination to his aid, and thus wondrous tales were multiplied, and their authors in fact composed poetry without being conscious of it. Hence arose a class of extempore oral poets, of a character altogether peculiar to Poland. They bore no affinity to the youthful troubadours or minstrels of other lands, who, with the guitar or lute in their hand, recited songs, frequently composed by others, on some foreign warrior, or the legend of a mysterious princess, visiting baronial castles to obtain some boon from their possessors. These early bards of Poland were grave nobles wearing long mustachios, who in the assembly of their equals, candidates like themselves for the throne, recited at the banquet their own compositions, recording events of domestic life, local histories, and anecdotes of persons actually present, whilst their companions drank, laughed or disputed round them, and the numerous attendants, distinguished by a variety of titles, received these narratives with tumultuous applause. The picturesque scene was still further enlivened by the grotesque appearance of revellers in strange costumes of divers colours, with half-shaven heads, and swords and girdles resplendent with gems, whilst young men, mounted on magnificent chargers, exercised themselves under the eyes of the guests in various warlike sports, riding the ring or displaying their dexterity in cutting off the heads of wooden or paper figures, representing infidels. To these men, whose existence may be said to have been one uninterrupted festival, the slightest meditation was a fatigue, and to this may be traced the absence of literary productions.

Such men cared naught for posterity, singing, to use the expression of an early Polish author, for themselves only the events appertaining to themselves. In their disregard of the illusion called fame, their boundless enjoyment of the present, how much vigour of mind was there, how much poetry!

Even in our days one of these poets of the ancient time has again appeared. Prince Radziwill, Palatine of Wilno, enjoyed as an oral poet greater celebrity than any of his contemporary authors, and his compositions, though never printed, were in the mouths of all. This nobleman, whom 12,000 soldiers

acknowledged as their lord,—who, when required to swear allegiance to Catherine, told her ambassador that he would rather make the Empress a gift of his wide domains for pin money,—reciting his marvellous tales with the gravity of a palatine, may furnish an idea of what oral poets must have been at the period in question

No festival was ever held without dances, which are also one of the national characteristics, and present a curious picture of Polish habits. Pre-eminent amongst these is the Polonaise, a dance suited to every age and station. It breathes no passion, but seems to be a triumphal procession. The most distinguished person of the company takes the lead, and this is termed *reywodzie*, to act a chief or king: it also bears an appellation signifying to act a marshal, owing to certain privileges being attached to this distinction which correspond to those of a diet marshal. Notwithstanding the respect paid to the leader, he may yet be deposed by one of the dancers exclaiming *odbiianego* (retaken by force), under which manœuvre is designated the famous *liberum veto*. The leader then resigns the hand of his partner to the new pretender; each male dancer dances with the female of the couple next to him, so that the last in the order remains excluded, unless by calling *odbiianego* in his turn, he places himself at the head of the dance. As, however, the too frequent exertion of this privilege would produce confusion, two means have been devised for averting the evil. Either the leader interposes his authority and terminates the dance, or the gentlemen, falling back, leave the ladies in the middle of the room, who continue dancing, selecting their partners, and excluding the disturbers of order; which process bears allusion to the confederacies formed for carrying into execution the decision of the majority. As the Polonaise is always accompanied by singing, it opens a field to oral poets, who on such occasions usually celebrate the merits of some distinguished character or queen of beauty. In our own times Kosciuszko was once thus honoured. Foreigners have perverted the peculiar character of this dance, and not even in Poland can it now be seen with its true and original features, except occasionally in some small circle of intimate friends.

The *Cracowiak* (la Cracovienne) is a more lively dance, and though in its figures it resembles the former, it is simpler, and indicates a less advanced state of society. It is, however, not so easy, as each dancer must also become a poet, and sing a couple of extempore verses. The *Cracowiak* is much in vogue with the people in the vicinity

of Cracow. Collections are made of these compositions, and they are highly esteemed in the literature of the country for their freshness of expression and vigour of thought.

The *Mazur* or Mazurka, deriving its name from the province of Mazovia, is perhaps the most national, as well as one of the most graceful dances of Europe. Any young Pole in warlike costume, and distinguished for boldness and amiability, soon becomes the hero of this dance. It is as eminently martial as the two former, and allows a still freer scope for activity, a suitable expression of the ancient Polish freedom. In familiar circles it is also accompanied by singing; and thus the Mazurka furnished an opportunity to oral poets for recording the most remarkable events of the national history. Every one has probably heard of the celebrated "Poland is not yet lost, while we live," with which the Poles now advance to battle.

The spirit of poesy pervaded the whole social frame, lending its hues to historical events, and transforming them into poetic legends. There wanted but a Homer to weave these into a Polish Iliad; and as attempts of this kind have been already made, perhaps this expectation may yet one day be realized. A heroine, though the reverse of the Grecian Helen, exists in Wanda, who, averse to unite herself with a foreigner in a marriage which would have entailed injury to her country, voluntarily perished in the Vistula; and her countrymen raised to her, as they have since to Kosciuszko, a mountain, as an enduring monument. Such legends, together with the traditional songs common to all classes, have now become the palladium of nationality, which will be preserved in the memory of the people in defiance of every human effort to destroy it. They are also considered the purest sources of Polish poetry. The best modern authors have sought inspiration in them, and several collections of them have been made, to which attention has been powerfully awakened by the following eloquent lines by Mickiewicz. We rejoice in appending such lines on popular song, which we have illustrated from the literature of the noble Swede in the present number, to the equally noble, though unhappy Pole:—

I.

"Tradition's lore! thou ark of covenant
Between the present and the by-gone years!
In thee the people shrine their hero's arms,
Their web of thought, their feelings' early flowers.
Still shalt thou ride unscathed o'er stormy waves,
So long as thine own people wrong thee not!

II.

Song of the nations! Guardian of the fane
Where the land's treasured recollections dwell,

The Archangel's wings and mighty voice are thine,
Nor dost thou lack the Archangel's vengeful sword.

III.

The pictured records flames may yet consume,
And armed robbers scatter holiest spoil;
But song shall live: it passes by the crowd,
And, from debased souls, that take no heed
To feed it with regrets, wa't'ring it with hope,
To woods it flies, where perched on ruins grey,
It tells the hallowed tales of other times.

IV.

If I could strike in other breasts the flame
That glows in mine, and call again to life
The forms of vanished greatness,—were it mine
To rouse with thundering words my brethren's
 hearts,—
Stirred by their native songs, their hearts once
 more
Should beat as beat the hearts of ancient days,
The grandeur of past times should fire their souls,
And for a moment they should live sublime
As lived their fathers through life's rolling years."

During this period, whilst the young nation was enjoying its tumultuous life, which may be designated as the heroic age of Poland, the introduction of Christianity prepared the way for civilisation of a higher order. It was long, however, before the new religion gained an absolute ascendancy, and the influence of the habits and ideas respectively appertaining to the ancient and new systems continued for ages to be nearly balanced. The slow progress of reform may be accounted for by the circumstance of foreign priests having been the first teachers of the nation, through the medium of the Latin language, which has continued to be employed in the liturgy to the present day. The first national schools were established by two religious orders, the Benedictines and the Cistercians, about the end of the tenth century, previous to which writing seems to have been unknown in Poland. The education furnished by these schools was confined to Latin; and the only monument of the Polish language bearing the stamp of Christianity is a hymn addressed to the Virgin (Boga Rodzica), supposed to have been composed by St. Adalbertus towards the close of the tenth century. This hymn is famous in Polish annals, from being sung by the Poles on going to battle, and it is still chanted in the cathedral of Gnesen in its original form. Casimir Sarbiewski made a Latin version of it, commencing "*Diva per latas celebrata terras.*" In 1325 the Diet of Leczyca passed a decree that no ecclesiastical dignity should be conferred on a foreigner, and that no one should be appointed professor in the schools who was not acquainted with the national language; but notwithstanding these measures, Polish does not appear to have made any scientific progress during this period.

In the early part of the fourteenth century

the Poles were accustomed to resort for study to the universities of Padua, Bologna and Paris, where some, owing to their great acquirements, were elected professors or rectors. About that period also appeared the first national chroniclers, Marinus Gallus, Matthew Cholewa, Vincent Hadlubek, and Martinus Strzebski, whose works, written in Latin, although intermixed with fabulous stories, are the chief sources of Polish history. Contemporary with these was the celebrated Vitellio (Ciolek), who explained the theory of light long before the time of Newton. Montucla* does not deny this fact, but refers the original discovery of the system to Al-Hazen, a learned Arab of the twelfth century. Whether or not Vitellio consulted the Arabic MSS., it would be difficult now to ascertain, but it is an indisputable fact that he was the first who made the subject known in Europe.

These few productions may be viewed as the dawn of learning in Poland, destined to brighten into day during the next period, which extends to 1622, at which epoch the Jesuits acquired universal ascendancy.

The history of learning at this time is also that of the University of Cracow, which fully deserves its ancient appellation of the *Alma Mater et Nutrix Polonorum*. Richly endowed by the monarchs of the country, as well as by the munificence of private individuals, it was placed by the bulls of Urban V. and of Boniface IX. on an equality with the other universities of Europe. It enjoyed great privileges, and the edifices belonging to it, like the temples of ancient Greece, were held sacred and inviolable. Students that had graduated there were considered noble in their own persons, and after twenty years of military or civil service, their nobility so acquired became hereditary. The authority of the university was not limited to its own students, but extended over all the schools in the country; over physicians, apothecaries, painters, printers, &c., and thus was not only a seat of learning, but exercised supreme magistracy over national education, the rector, on many occasions, enjoying a precedence of all the other ministers of state. Under such favourable circumstances it soon became a nursery of enlightened men, and its renown for learning attracted to it students from Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, and Sweden, each of which nations had its own Bursary. At one time, not fewer than 3000 pupils at inferior schools in Cracow were dependant on the university. Learning appears to have been held in great esteem, since the highest

* *Histoire des Mathem.* Paris, An. 7. Vol. i. p. 508.

offices in the kingdom were occupied by distinguished men of letters. Royal princes did not consider it beneath their dignity to become candidates for one of the degrees at the university, which were at the same time open to individuals of the humblest rank.

Of the various branches of study, mathematics seems to have made the earliest progress. Albert Brodzewski, a pupil and subsequently a professor of the university, from the great number of his pupils who became celebrated, may be said to have founded a new school in this science. Foremost amongst these stands the immortal Nicolaus Copernicus (Kopernik), erroneously called a German by some foreign authors, principally females, both French and English.* He was born in 1473, of Polish parents, in the town of Thorn, where his father, a citizen of Cracow, had settled ten years previously. Having received the first rudiments of education at Rome, he was sent to the University of Cracow, and after completing his studies there, travelled into foreign countries. On his arrival at Rome, he was appointed professor of mathematics, being then only in his twenty-seventh year, and the celebrity of his lectures soon gained him many pupils. He had also studied medicine, in which science he had taken a doctor's degree at Padua; and his knowledge in this department must have been uncommon, since he was styled the *Æsculapius* of Polish physicians. On his return he spent five years at Cracow, engaged in astronomical observations, but quitted that city on his uncle, the Bishop of Warmia, placing him in easy circumstances, by conferring on him the office of Canon of Warmia. Thenceforth he devoted himself exclusively to his favourite study, and as the fruit of his long meditations produced his work on the *Revolutions of the Celestial Bodies*, which makes an era in the civilisation of Europe. His merit needs not to be recorded here, but we cannot refrain

from paying tribute to his intellectual powers, by which alone he may be said to have penetrated with the naked eye into the depth of infinity. The room in which he used to prosecute his observations still exists, measuring about seven yards, constructed without bricks, and now unprotected even by windows. Another room below, where he probably kept his mathematical instruments, is now inhabited by a Prussian officer of police. Monuments have been erected to his memory at various times, but the most remarkable is that which was raised at Warsaw in 1830, by national subscription. It is the work of Thorwaldsen, and consists of a colossal figure of Copernicus, in a sitting posture, holding a sphere in his left hand, and a pair of compasses in his right; the head being adorned with a crown of seven stars. On one face of a marble pedestal are the words *Nicolao Copernico, grata patrii*, and on the opposite one the same inscription in Polish. It is worthy of remark, that Copernicus, like Newton, was concerned in the coinage of his country, and wrote a treatise "On the Organization of Polish Money." In his time astronomical calendars, entirely free from astrological nonsense, were published at Cracow, which are still highly esteemed in Austria. Martin of Olkusz, also a disciple of Brodzewski, composed, at the request of Leo X., a new Roman calendar, but the death of that pontiff prevented its adoption. The reformed calendar, produced sixty-four years afterwards, under Gregory XIII., does not differ in any respect from the calculations made by Martin of Olkusz.

Matthew of Cracow was one of the most learned divines of his time, and was successively elected rector of the universities of Paris and Prague. His work *Ars Moriendi*, published at Harlem (1440), belongs to the small number of books printed in xylography. His contemporary, Gregory of Sanok, was a distinguished philosopher, and according to the testimony of the historian Callimachus, worked a considerable reform of the prevailing taste in Polish literature. He accompanied King Ladislaus to Varna, and wrote an account of that expedition, which, however, was lost, together with his philosophical works. Callimachus records some of his witty sayings, from which it appears that, long before Bacon, he ridiculed the scholastic subtleties of Aristotle, calling them "*somnia vigilantium*." He was of opinion that the education of youth should commence with making them acquainted with poets and orators; and was very near being excommunicated by the Pope for his independent way of thinking. He died Archbishop of Leopold. John Dlugosz, who was tutor

* Madame de Stael in her "*Allemagne*," and Miss Martineau in her work entitled "*How to observe*." The circumstance of Copernicus having been born in Prussia, may have contributed to accredit this error. It should however be observed, that his birth-place lay in Western Prussia, called regalia, which was an integrant part of Poland, and so distinguished in opposition to Eastern or Ducal Prussia, a tributary province to Poland. Further, Western Prussia continued a Polish province until the second partition, and its population was never German, but Polish or Lithuanian. The life of Copernicus was written, and his system ably expounded by John Sniadecki, rector of the University of Wilno. This work has been translated into the principal languages of Europe. Montucla probably perpetuated the error by stating that he was born at Thorn, in Prussia, taking the modern geographical division instead of the ancient.

to the sons of King Casimir III., wrote the annals of Poland in elegant Latin.

At the very commencement of this period, we find some few compositions in the vernacular idiom, a part of the statute of Wislica (a collection of national laws drawn up under Casimir the Great), being written in Polish, as also some portions of the Scriptures which were translated at the request of his granddaughter Hedwiga, for her own private use. She also tried to introduce the national language into the church service, which would seem so bold an innovation by a queen renowned for piety, as hardly to be credible, were it not a fact attested by several historians, that Polish was actually adopted partially by Catholic congregations, and generally used by those of the Greek persuasion. Under the two last monarchs of the Jagellan dynasty, Polish came into general use, and was introduced at court, where the Italian and Latin languages had hitherto prevailed. It was even proposed at the council of Trent, that the church services and even mass itself, should also be performed in the national language. Works of such sterling merit were now written in Polish in all branches of literature, as render this period deserving of being styled the Augustan era.

The Polish language, which seemed as if it had slumbered for ages, thus started forth at once in perfect correctness, elegance, and richness. Some authors are at a loss how to account for this phenomenon, forgetting that it had always been the language of domestic life, and had been constantly cultivated by the oral poets. The introduction of printing, accompanied by unshackled liberty of the press since 1539, and, above all, the Reformation, contributed greatly to the progress of the national language. Religious dogmas, which, until then, had been wrapped in secrecy, like the Egyptian mysteries, were disseminated amongst all classes through an intelligible medium, and now for the first time the pride of learning appealed to the unbiassed understanding of the people at large.

The first original author who wrote in Polish was Ray of Naglowid, a Protestant. His prose writings are mostly of a philosophic cast, on subjects of morality, and eminently chaste in expression. He develops profound conceptions in a clear and graceful manner, as if he had modelled his style on that of Xenophon. His poetical compositions are less felicitous, being generally sententious and epigrammatic. Prosperous in his circumstances, a favourite of King Sigismund Augustus, and so wealthy as to be able to build two towns, one of which bears his name, he was able to follow undisturbed the various impulses of his mind. At one time he trans-

lated the Psalms for the gratification of the pious, and at another he produced his "*Model for Courtiers*." But his principal work is the "*Mirror of an Honest Man*," which may be considered as also that of the customs, ideas and prejudices of his time.

His contemporary Sebastian Klonowicz was surnamed the Sarmatian Ovid, from the facility with which he composed verses both in Latin and Polish, for which he seems to have been more remarkable than for poetic genius. His works allude to the ordinary occurrences of life, humour and satire being their prevailing qualities, as may be inferred by their titles, "*The Boatman, or a Trip to Dantzig*," "*The Purse of Iscariot*."

Far superior to both these was John Kochanowski, considered as the father of Polish poets. He appears to have been the happiest of them all, for he refused the honours lavishly offered to him: and preferred remaining in his quiet rural retreat, where he sung of love, of nature, and of his country. According to the custom of the Poles, he visited foreign countries during his youth, and in Italy became acquainted with *Vida*, whose poem on Chess he translated; and in France with the celebrated Ronsard, whose poetry, once so popular, is now little thought of, whilst that of Kochanowski is still prized for its grace and elegance. He was a voluminous author. In Latin he wrote three books of elegies, which have lately been rendered into Polish by Brodzinski. He also introduced classical literature to the more general notice of his countrymen by his excellent translations from Homer, Anacreon, Aratus, and Horace. His version of the Psalms was esteemed above all others, until the appearance of that by Karpinski, at a later period. Of his original poems in Polish, *Treny* or *Laments*, written on the premature death of his daughter Ursula, are the best, abounding in deep pathos, and interwoven with all those feelings of which only the heart of a tender father is capable. The critics of his own day, influenced by the precepts of Horace, objected to his excursive freedom; but that which they condemned as a defect, he prized as the very soul of poetry. In his poem called *Fraski*, or *Trifles*, he displays the various emotions of his mind, produced by the contemplation of human life, and his unaffected witty sayings are familiar to all even at the present day. The general admiration felt for his genius and character, suggested to Niemcewicz the subject of a beautiful drama, in which he has idealized the life of Kochanowski. The scene in which his soul overflows in one of his laments is deeply touching; and another, in which reapers bring him, with songs and music, the first fruits of their harvest, and in which he is represented as

joining in their dance beneath the shade of a linden tree in his work yard, presents an admirable picture of primitive Polish manners. Three pastoral poets, Simonewicz, Zimorowicz, and Gawinski, dwelt in the bosom of picturesque scenery, within sight of the Carpathian mountains. From the sloping hill-sides they beheld villages, fertile fields, mirror-like lakes and streams, "whispering their lingering notes of sylvan music." Hence they excelled in the imagery of pastoral life.

Besides John Kochanowski, three other poets bore that name, two of whom were his brothers. Andrew Kochanowski produced an elegant version of Virgil's *Æneid*; and the translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem*, by Peter, is considered a masterpiece of the Polish language.

Numerous prose writers, Catholic and Protestant, belong to this period. Of these, the most eminent, Seklucyan and Wujek, both translators of the Bible; Birkowski, a celebrated preacher; Gornicki, Sirenus, Starowski, and Orzechowski, who were all political writers of the highest merit. The latter wrote the reign of Sigismund Augustus. The labours of these men established the national language on a firm basis, and although it has since acquired perhaps superior elegance, the energy, boldness and freedom of its features are nowhere to be found so fully, as in their compositions.

Whilst men of letters in Poland were thus zealously cultivating their native idiom, the study of Latin was not less ardently prosecuted, and many works of the highest merit in that language were published. Cromer, called the modern Livius, wrote a history of Poland; Janicki, an elegant poet, received the laureate crown at Rome. The clergy were distinguished for their erudition, and took a prominent part in the literary contests connected with the Reformation. The before-named Orzechowski (better known under his latinized name of Orichovius) displayed in his disputes with the court of Rome, the eloquence of a Demosthenes. Cardinal Hosius, president of the Council of Trent, whom Bayle calls the greatest man that Poland ever produced, was one of the most powerful antagonists of Protestantism. His numerous works have been translated into all the European languages, and some of them were republished not less than thirty-two times during their author's life.*

As a reformer, John Laske enjoyed universal esteem, and the admiration professed for him by Melanchthon and Erasmus, especially the latter, bordered on enthusiasm. He was

* The best edition of his works is that of Cologne, 1584. A life of him, written by his countryman Rescius (Reszko), appeared at Rome, 1587.

the intimate friend of Archbishop Cranmer, who invited him into England to assist in completing the reform of the Church. For a time Laski superintended the foreign Protestant congregation in London, which seems to have been instituted as an asylum for reformers who had been obliged to fly from their own countries. Intercourse between the literary characters of England and Poland was at that time frequent; and an Englishman of the name of Cox, who was professor of eloquence at the University of Cracow (1527), was the first person who established a periodical in Poland. It was called *Ephemerides*. There were more printing presses in this age in Poland than at any other period; in Cracow alone there were fifty, and books were printed in no less than eighty-three provincial towns. Besides these, many private typographies were established by nobles in their own residences, and the works of Polish authors were also published in forty-six foreign towns. The huge volumes *Fratrum Polonorum* bear witness to the extraordinary mental activity of that epoch. John Haller was the first printer in Cracow. The first notice of him is in 1485. The Polish writers assert that their countryman, the necromancer Twardowski is identical with the German Faust. It is at least a fact that this latter name is the translation of the Polish one. Persecuted on account of his magic art, Twardowski took refuge in Germany, and, assisted by Guttenberg, he set up a printing-press at Mayence. In his own country he still enjoys an unrivalled popularity, owing principally to the clever tricks he is reported to have served the devil. In his last hour he composed a hymn to the Virgin, in consideration of which he was only suspended before the gate of hell.

Learning received a powerful encouragement by the establishment of the Universities of Wilno, (1583), founded by Stephen Batory, and of Zamosc, by John Zamoyski. The latter, whose character might be compared with that of some of the most illustrious men of antiquity, a great general and statesman, was equally distinguished for learning, and had exercised the office of rector at the University of Padua. He also excelled in oratory, an art which seems to have been always much cultivated by the Poles; for we find many speeches recorded by their historians, addressed to the troops by celebrated commanders, such as Chodkiewicz, and Zolkiewski, the conqueror of Moscow.

Neither were the Poles at this period, when the rest of Europe was convulsed by religious wars, less distinguished by that highest test of civilisation, liberty of con-

science. Leopol was then, and has been ever since, the residence of three archbishops, of the Greek, Arminian, and Latin persuasions, yet was there never any inquiry made, to which of their three cathedrals a man complying with the regulations of the government resorted, in order to receive the communion. Political power was the reward of this tolerant spirit; and their princes sat on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary. Lithuania also, and the Protestant countries of Livonia and Courland, united themselves to the Polish empire, and even Muscovy at one time offered her crown to a Polish prince. Poland thus became one of the most considerable as well as enlightened states of Europe, and would probably have remained so until the present day, but for the withering influence of the Jesuits during the succeeding century.

Period III.—To the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, in 1773.

On the death of Sigismond Augustus, there were, besides the bishops, only seven Polish and still fewer Lithuanian senators of the Roman Catholic persuasion; and had that sovereign, the friend of reformation, lived a few years longer, Poland must inevitably have become a Protestant country. To avert the impending ruin of Romanism, Cardinal Hosius, to whom we have already adverted, brought in the Jesuits (1564), a measure by which he deserved equally the eternal gratitude of Rome and the maledictions of his country. Full liberty of conscience being guaranteed by the law of the land, the new comers dared not at first attempt openly to persecute the Protestants, and they therefore resorted to a more secure method of bringing into a contempt the defences of religious freedom, by debasing the minds of the people through the influence of education. They recommended themselves to general favour by their admirable discipline, learning and zeal; but their total disregard of moral principle was the means by which they most effectually promoted the success of their designs. Still, they made but little progress during the lives of King Batory and of John Zamoyiski, which latter excluded them from his University of Zamosc: but on the accession of the bigoted Sigismond III. their influence rapidly increased, and in 1622 they were absolute masters of the national education. Their satanic scheme was detected and exposed with much skill, but unfortunately without success, by Broscius (Brozek), one of the most learned men of his time, in a Polish work entitled "Dialogue between a Landowner and a Parish Priest."

Besides the Latin Grammar of Alvarez, purposely designed to be of difficult acquisition, and therefore suited to detain their pupils until they had obtained complete domination over their intellect, the Jesuits zealously taught the scholastic philosophy, that by promoting discussion upon outward forms only, they might divert the minds of their pupils from inquiring into the reality of things. Another means of moral corruption employed by them was their fulsome flattery of the benefactors of their order, and abusive invective against their opponents, palatable only to the depraved taste acquired in their schools. To the classic purity which the Polish language had attained in the last period, succeeded a barbarous jargon, and whole works were composed in the Macaronic style (Latinized Polish) which disgraced the national literature during the next century.

From this general corruption of literary taste must be excepted the sermons of Skarga, remarkable for energy, boldness, and grandeur of pulpit oratory. His admirers compared him to a rock in the midst of foaming waves, which for a time arrests their progress ere they pursue their blind course; and his words to the piercing arrows of the Tartars against whom he animated his countrymen.

Contemporary with him was the Latin poet, Casimir Sarbiewski, who received the laureate crown from Pope Urban VIII. He left five books of Lyrics, Silviludia, the Lechiad, an unfinished epic, besides epigrams. His fame as a poet spread throughout Europe. Grotius preferred reading his works to those of Horace, and many celebrated men of various nations expressed in verse their admiration of his muse. Coleridge, in his *Biographia Literaria*, esteems him above Cowley. "His style," it is there said, "and diction are really classical; while Cowley, who resembled Casimir in many respects, completely barbarizes his Latinity, and even his metre, by the heterogeneous nature of his thoughts."

The name of the distinguished botanist Zaluzianski deserves to be mentioned, as he was the first to describe in his *Methodus Herbaria*, the sexual fructification of plants, long before Linnæus, to whom the discovery is commonly ascribed. The latter could scarcely have been ignorant of this work of his predecessor, which was published at Prague. (Dubois sur la Littérature de Pologne. Berlin edition. 1778.)

Very little original Polish poetry belongs to this period, though many translations were made from the classic writers. Much attention also was paid to French literature

which, then in its zenith, extended its influence over Europe, and some excellent versions of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire were published.

The department of moral philosophy was less barren. The *rules of wisdom and prudence*, by Maximilian Fredro and Stanislaus Lubomirski, exhibit pure and sound principles of morality, the matured fruit of active life and experience, expressed in short sentences, and couched in graceful phraseology.

The views of enlightened men are, however, thrown away upon a population trained in oblivion of the science and wisdom of their ancestors. To the existing evil of a corrupted literature was now added abolition of the liberty of the press. Sound notions of law and justice became in consequence still more obscured; anarchy pervaded the government, freedom degenerated into licence, the peasantry fell into a condition bordering on servitude, and the limits of the country were contracted by the reception of the Cossacks.

Period IV.—to the partition of Poland in 1795.

No nation is perhaps more indebted to women than the Polish. One female was the means of its conversion to Christianity, and another rendered it powerful by effecting its union with Lithuania. At this unfortunate epoch, a third averted from it the greatest of all misfortunes, its moral ruin as a nation. More afflicted than all others by the melancholy aspect of affairs, the mother of the princes Augustus and Michael Czartoryski, bound her two sons by a solemn oath to use every exertion to restore the former greatness of Poland, over which the elder branch of their house, the Jagellon family, had exercised hereditary sway. Pursuant to their resolution they endeavoured, even during the reign of Augustus III., to introduce reform into the government; and when their efforts were frustrated by the intrusion of foreign powers, still faithful to their views, they endeavoured to work them out by remodelling the system of public instruction. Part of their plan also was to place a native of the country on the throne, as to the government of foreign, and especially of the two Saxon monarchs, the greater portion of the evils which had afflicted the nation might be referred; and the election of their nephew Stanislaus Poniatowski, a zealous patron of letters, was brought about by their efforts. One of his first measures was to establish a military college at Warsaw, which, under the superintendence of one of the Czartoryskis sent forth Kosciuszko and other distinguished men. The royal resi-

dence at Warsaw was thronged with native talent, and ranked, during his reign, amongst the first in Europe. It may be mentioned, that the king assisted as a private gentleman at the weekly meetings held by literary men, always encouraging and rewarding talent. "Every thing," says Lelewel, "began to bloom anew under his reign." The example set by the Czartoryskis and the king was followed by other nobles, whose residences, in lieu of a host of idle retainers, were now filled with men of science. The two brothers, Zaluski, employed their whole fortune in collecting a library of 200,000 volumes, 20,000 of which were by Polish authors, and amongst them 1400 poetic compositions, which they then munificently bestowed on their country as a gift.

Such efforts were warmly seconded by the Order of the Piarists, which, though established as early as 1642, had not hitherto become in any degree influential, owing to the exclusive supremacy of the Jesuits. But at this juncture arose from amongst them Konarski, a man of uncommon genius and great energy of character, and his appearance was the signal for the triumph of the Piarists. He fearlessly attacked the prevailing system of education, together with the *liberum veto*, thus arming against himself the power of the Jesuits and the prejudice of the bulk of the nobility. Nevertheless he prevailed, and effected in 1740 that reform of the national schools, by which history, political science, natural philosophy and mathematics, hitherto wholly disregarded, thenceforth obtained their due importance, and was rewarded by the king with a medal bearing the inscription "*Sapere auso.*" He was the first who made a compendium of national laws, in eight folio volumes. He also dedicated his ample fortune, and a pension granted him by Louis XV., as a testimony to his merit, to procuring translations of the best foreign works, and to sending pupils of promise abroad to perfect their education. The Jesuits, perceiving that their power was about to depart from them, changed their measures, and connected themselves with the movement party. Now, however, the first spoliation of Poland took place in 1773, in which year also the order of the Jesuits was abolished, and their immense possessions appropriated to the purposes of education, which now became the care of the government, and was superintended by a minister of state. Science, art, and industry, once more began to flourish, and the improved state of the country bore testimony to the diffusion of knowledge. One grand result of the all-pervading spirit of improvement was, the Constitution of the

3d May, 1791, by which act of national reflection the nobles voluntarily despoiled themselves of their exclusive privileges, admitted the citizens into their rank, and restored the rights of freedom to the peasants, placing the new social order on a firm basis, by the establishment of hereditary monarchy. Not without reason was the poet's lament ;

"Sarmatia fell unwept, without a crime."

At the head of the authors who shed lustre over the disastrous reign of Stanislaus, stands Ignatius Krasicki, Bishop of Warmia, who being brought into contact with Frederick the Great, on the partition of Poland, soon became the favourite of that monarch. He may be called the Polish Voltaire, wit being the principal characteristic of his numerous works ; but whilst he ridiculed superstition he never assailed religion. In the "*Monomachia*, or *War of Monks*," an heroico-comic poem, he exposed in a matchless style the bigoted absurdities of the monkish orders. Under the pretext of endeavouring to allay the irritation excited by this poem, he composed his "*Anti Monomachia*," in which, affecting to apologize for his former attack, he showed up monkish superstition and indolence in still more glaring colours. He was equally satirical in his "*Myszeis*," "*The War between the Mice and the Cats*," in which he ingeniously ridiculed the dissensions that prevailed in the national councils. The poem is based on a fabulous tradition which the Poles have, in common with some other nations, of a dissolute monarch, Popiel, who, with his ministers, the *cats*, was devoured by *mice*. Homer's "*Batrachomyomachia*" is the only known composition of the same nature.

His next ambition was to produce a national epic, and the "*War of Chocim*," in 12 cantos, is an historical poem, containing many noble passages, on the model of Lucan's "*Pharsalia*:" though, on the whole, it must be considered a failure. His keen wit is best displayed in his satires. He wrote also two hundred fables, and his biographer remarks, that had he left only these and his satires, he would still be entitled to the first rank among poets. The saying of the French, that after Lafontaine had so faithfully portrayed nature, he broke his pencil, was amended by the Poles, who said that he lent it to Krasicki, and in truth his fables are so popular, that they are familiar to every child. His epistles in verse and prose are models in this style of composition. He also made a translation of Ossian, the best in the Polish language. His prose works are not less numerous, and three of his novels are faithful pictures of the man-

ners and peculiarities of his nation. His "*Dictionary of Useful Knowledge*," in two large volumes, gives proof of his extensive learning. He wrote also an account of the poets of all nations, giving specimens of their beauties. His imitations of "Plutarch's Lives" are less successful than those of Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead," in which he is again witty, graceful and humorous. All his works have a classic finish, and they have gone through more editions than those of any of his contemporary authors.

Bishop Adam Naruszewicz displays in his writings great depth of thought, with the grave austerity imbibed in the schools of the Jesuits, to which order he belonged. His satires seem to strike the guilty with the force of lightning. But he attempted too many styles to be successful in all, though some of his *Idylls* are excellent, and in his *Odes* he is not unfrequently sublime. His versions of Pindar and Horace have not been surpassed in force and fidelity ; but his prose writings are far superior, his translation of Tacitus being a master-piece, and his history of Poland, in six volumes, embracing the Piast dynasty, and composed on the model of the Roman historian, is distinguished by the same precision of thought and expression. He also wrote an excellent biography of the celebrated warrior, John Chodkiewicz, and a work on the statistics of the Crimea.

Of all the writers of his time, Stanislaus Trembecki possessed the most poetic fire, but he wasted it in his youth in panegyrics of the great, which were truly beautiful, and it is only to be regretted that they were not more deservedly bestowed. He seems to sing from an overflowing heart, borne aloft on the fantastic wings of his genius, careless of blame or praise from the crowd below. In his principal poem, "*Zofiowka*," so called from a magnificent country seat in the Ukraine, he embodied, in fascinating language, his long meditations upon man's terrestrial and posthumous existence. Count de la Garde made a French translation of it, which he caused to be beautifully printed at Rome, together with the original. In his latter days, Trembecki lost his memory to such an extent that he did not recollect that he had ever written any thing. He fell into a state of misanthropy, and would have no companion near him except a Cossack boy, with whom he played chess, or listened to his songs. The only visitors he admitted were swallows and sparrows, which he permitted to build their nests in his apartments, and it is said that he even knew the genealogies of his feathered guests.

Dyonizius Kniaznin, who was educated

in the Jesuits' College, bitterly complained afterwards that "he had wasted the golden season in irksome and unprofitable trifles." He was an elegiac and lyric poet of deep feeling, and, like Tasso, became enamoured of a fair one above his humble station, which unlucky attachment ended in the derangement of his mind, and he died "worm-eaten of love." His patron, Prince Czartoryski, erected to his memory a splendid monument in a church-yard near Pulawy. The three dramatic poems of Kniaznin—"The Treble Marriage," "The Gypsies," and "The Spartan Mother," inspired by the *genius loci*, written for the theatre at Pulawy, rank high for their lyric beauties. His "Balloon," suggested by an unsuccessful attempt made at Pulawy, to construct a buoyant sphere, borders on an epic poem, by its length and dignified flow. His odes are full of strength and harmony; and his "Laments of Orpheus for Eurydice" breathe a deep pathos.

Francis Karpinski was the best song writer and pastoral poet of this period. His chaste mind and pure piety eminently qualified him for translating the Psalms, and a more successful version than his can hardly be expected. He was also a dramatic writer of considerable merit.

We pass over here the names of several distinguished poets, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention in the next period. From amongst many political and philosophical writers may be singled Kolontay; the Astronomer Poczobul, the friend of Maskelyne; Ignatius Potocki, an excellent orator and a great statesman; Prince Adam Czartoryski, the father of the present, whose work entitled "*Thoughts on Polish Authors*" deserves particular attention, as he was the first writer who combated the prevailing taste for French literature.

The literature of this period, modelled after Latin and French authors, subsequently received the appellation of classicism, and some modern critics have gone so far as to deny the character of poets to writers in this style. The works of Pope afford the best sample of this class.

Period V. and last, up to the present day.

The admonition given by Rousseau to the Poles, that if they could not help being swallowed up by their enemies, they might at least prevent these latter from digesting them, appears to have been constantly acted upon by them ever since the loss of the national independence, a misfortune which has only had the effect of still further arousing their moral energy. Having sung on the ruins of their country, their emphatic "Poland is not yet lost while we live," they created for themselves a Promethean exist-

ence, a moral power, more enduring than that which they had just lost. Their first act was to establish the Society of the Friends of Science and of Belles Lettres, for the preservation of the national language, now endangered by the intrusion of foreign idioms, and for the collection of materials for the national history, which had been scattered abroad by the pillage of the Zaluski library, as well as others, both public and private. Their exertions were signally crowned with success. One member of the society, Kopczynski, composed the first Polish grammar, which has hitherto been unequalled, and is a masterly performance, on account of the numerous complicated forms of the idiom, only to be paralleled by those of the Latin or Greek. Another, Linde, compiled a Polish dictionary, in six large quarto volumes, into which he introduced all the Slavonian dialects, a work of such vast extent and erudition that it seems hardly credible that the lifetime of a single individual could have sufficed to produce it. Aloisius Osinski composed another still more voluminous, but not embracing the other Slavonian dialects. Albertrandy, the first president of the society, a distinguished Polyhistor, left three hundred volumes of materials connected with Polish history, which he had collected from various MSS. whilst in Sweden and Italy, and which he had retained solely by the force of his extraordinary memory, having been prohibited from making written extracts from them. A far more important work, however, was that of Count Ossolinski, entitled "*Historico-Critical Notices of Polish Authors*," consisting of twenty volumes, of which three only have been published, owing to the premature death of the writer. He also devoted his fortune to the purchase of a large library, which he presented to the kingdom of Galicia. We regret that our limits will not allow us to extract his apposite remarks on the literary merits of his ancestors.

The services rendered to his country within this period, by the Abbé Stanislaus Staszyc, were very remarkable. Destined from infancy by his mother to holy orders, and always habited like a monk, he used to take pleasure in after-life in adverting to this circumstance, the gravity of which at that time escaped his attention. Manhood changed the playful boy into a scientific author, a poet, and a philanthropist. His "Life of the Great Zamoyski;" an original poem "On the Human Race;" a translation of all Homer's works, and of Buffon's "Epochs of Nature;" established his fame as an author of pre-eminent merit. Having carefully investigated the soil of his native

country, and visited the Carpathian mountains, he composed the best existing work on the geology of Poland. The establishment of a college of medicine and law at Warsaw, and the erection of a splendid house for the Society of the Friends of Science, were acts of his private munificence. He purchased also a large domain, which he divided amongst a number of peasants, subject only to a very moderate rent, the funds arising from which were destined to the gradual acquisition of neighbouring lands, with the same benevolent intention. He gave considerable sums to various hospitals, and continued a liberal patron of learning; whilst in the government, he discharged the duties of minister of state, director of the mines, and a commissioner in the board of education, and, at his death in 1826, was president of the Friends of Science. His name became an object of national veneration, and of hatred to the Grand Duke Constantine, who would not permit a monument to be erected to his memory, and caused his works to be burned.

The polite literature of the first half of the present period was chiefly marked by the same patriotic character, and on this account we place at the head of its poets Julian Niemcewicz, born in 1767, though he had already distinguished himself during the reign of Poniatowski, and is still living. He is the Nestor of Polish patriots, having witnessed two great revolutions in his country, and with his friend Kosciuszko, fought under Washington, of whom he has written a life. His compositions in verse consist of tragedies, comedies, satires, lyrics, songs, elegies and fables, and in all these departments he has attained a well deserved celebrity. His chief glory, however, consists in his "*Historical Songs*," a composition quite peculiar to Polish literature. It is the history of his country in lyric verses, set to music and illustrated with plates, in order to render the events more impressive to youthful minds. The book is in every Polish household, and venerated next to the Scriptures. The biographical sketches by which these songs are accompanied are still more valuable, and might be placed by the side of Plutarch's Lives. He has shown his diligence as a scholar in his History of Sigismund III., which may vie with Schiller's "*Thirty Years' War*," and has compiled besides three volumes of notices relative to the national history. His historical novels are perhaps among the most successful imitations of Scott's. "*Leybe and Siora*," a Jewish tale, is known to the English public. He also translated Pope's "*Rape of the Lock*," and the "*Ode on St. Cecilia's*

Day, Gray's "*Elegy*," "*Rasselas*," and some of the poems of Wordsworth and Campbell, and Racine's "*Athalie*." He still continues to write, "*soothing*," as he says, "*the bitterness of exile by singing to his mournful lyre*."

The fame of Woronicz, late archbishop of Warsaw, first arose from his sermons, which seem to be immediate emanations from the purest source of morality, couched in fiery, almost dithyrambic language, resembling that of the Hebrew prophets. His poetry is in one style only, the heroic. In his "*Sybil*," so called from the temple at Pulaway devoted to the preservation of national monuments, the poet successively conjures up from their graves the ancient kings and warriors of Poland, bidding them to look upon the present desolation of their country. The words put in the mouth of Casimir the Great, as he sinks back into his tomb, "*Is this that land?*" may be classed with the sublimest passages of ancient authors. In his unfinished epic, "*The Diet of Wislica*," Woronicz gives an admirable picture of the Poles, with their swords still reeking with blood, their captives chained to their horses, assembling after the long turmoils of war to enjoy the sweets of peace. His style bears more resemblance to Milton's, in the "*Paradise Lost*," than that of any other Polish poet.

Casimir Brodzinski, called the poet of the heart, formed his taste upon the extemporaneous songs of the Cracovians, which he first brought into repute. His poetry is characterized by a *naïve* simplicity, grace, and spontaneous inspiration; and no one better than he understands how to move the human heart to tears for the woes of others; happiness, according to him, also having its portion of tears. Besides his numerous Polish, Bohemian, and Servian songs, he translated Schiller's "*Mary Stuart*" and Scott's "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*." His critical treatises on Polish literature abound in vivid fancy, tempered by philosophical research; in both of which he excelled all his contemporaries.

Another poet, Francis Dmochowski, although he left no original compositions, may yet be named in company with the three last, as the most successful translator of all Homer's works, of the "*Æneid*," of the "*Paradise Lost and Regained*," and of Young's "*Night Thoughts*." Though he is not free from the charge of have sometimes misunderstood the Hellenic poet, still he at least never falls below his English originals. He adapted with like success the "*Ars Poetica*" of Horace and Boileau to Polish literature.

Within the last twenty years no fewer than three complete versions of Homer and five of Virgil have appeared; and one Przybylski performed the gigantic labour of translating all the works of Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Milton, Young, Ariosto, Camoens, and Gesner. During this period the drama, which appears to have been more tardy in its growth than other branches of Polish literature, reached a high degree of development. John Kochanowski had written, for a special occasion, his tragedy of "*The Return of the Greek Ambassadors*," which was acted at Ujazdow; but the best dramatic composition of that epoch was the tragedy of Josephus Castus, by Simonowicz. During the reign of the Jesuits many pieces were composed on scriptural subjects, which were performed in monasteries and schools, and at Christmas time for the amusement of the people. In the schools reformed by Konarski the acting of plays made a part of the boys' education; and a number of excellent pieces, but without the admixture of female characters, were composed by Bohomelec. Zablocki, in the time of Poniatowski, wrote some excellent comedies in the early part of his life, but discontinued his labours on embracing the ecclesiastical profession. "*The Nuncio's Return*," a comedy by Niemcewicz, may be considered the best composition of that epoch. Since the partition, and during the ephemeral existence of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, Boguslawski, an actor, has done the most for the Polish drama, by keeping up the national theatre at Warsaw, and visiting with his itinerant troop the various parts of the dismembered country, as well as by his original works and his translations of "*Hamlet*" and "*Macbeth*." A complete version of Shakspeare is now in progress of printing. Boguslawski's "*Cracovians and Highlanders*" was the first national opera brought out in good style, and was soon followed by many others, who, supported by the several distinguished musical composers, such as Kurpinski, Elsner, Lipinski, Sowinski, and Szopen (Chopin), brought this branch of the drama to perfection. The progress of the national drama, as well as the introduction on the stage of the great English dramatic compositions, received a temporary check through the influence of the French theatre and its powerful supporter, Louis Osinski, whose versions of Corneille's "*Le Cid*," "*Les Horaces*," and "*Cinna*," and of Voltaire's "*Alzire*," might be mistaken for original compositions. To the same class belonged Felinski: his tragedy of "*Barbara Radziwill*" (wife of Sigismund Augustus, supposed to have been poisoned

by her mother-in-law) may rank with the best pieces of Racine. The same subject, however, was handled with more boldness by Wenzkyk, the Polish Schiller. His tragedy of "*Glinki*" is truly national and original.

One of his most successful followers is Korzeniowski, a professor at the university of Kiow; but there is less energy in his male characters, owing to the present inauspicious state of political circumstances; tragedy, besides, not being allowed to be represented; his heroines are, however, beautifully drawn, though often belonging to fashionable circles, and he carries his love for decorum so far as to cause them to be magnificently arrayed even after their death. His style is eminently feminine, sparkling with gems and jewels. Poland has not yet brought forth her Shakspeare—what country has yet, or ever will? But with regard to melo and comic drama she yields to none. Count Fredro is her Molière, sharp-witted, profound, lively, and always national. Some of his comedies have been represented with great success on the Berlin Theatre.

Many Polish ladies have cultivated the drama; and being on the subject of authoresses, we shall mention Elizabeth Druzbacka, who distinguished herself in the reign of Poniatowski. A gifted child of nature, without learning, her idyllic poetry, imbued with a strong feeling of devotion, is not inferior to that of Thomson in its sentimental descriptions of nature. Princess Czartoryska composed a work on gardens; and in accordance with the principles laid down in it, she embellished her seat at Pulawy, so as to render it an abode for the children of fancy, taste, and contemplation. Delille dedicated to it a beautiful episode in "*Les Jardins*." A more important work of hers is "*The Pilgrim of Dobromil*," of which Polish history is the basis and morality the superstructure.

The Princess of Wirtemberg, the daughter of Princess Czartoryska, in her "*Tales*," has admirably painted the domestic life of the Polish peasantry, and of the higher orders in her novel "*Malvina*," with an acuteness of observation not inferior to that Miss Edgeworth has shown in her "*Tales of Fashionable Life*." But the most distinguished of Female Polish writers is Madame Hoffman Tanska, whose "*Legacy of a Mother to her Daughter*," "*Tales*," and her works on religion, and on the education of her sex, have rendered her an authority on this last-mentioned subject. She was entrusted by the government with the superintendence of all the schools for young ladies throughout the country, and with the direc-

tion of an establishment at Warsaw for the formation of governesses.

When the kingdom of Poland was established, in 1815, national education, which, for the preceding fifty years, had been the object of so much attention, was still further promoted by the introduction of parish schools, as also by establishments for the instruction and formation of teachers, the destined missionaries of truth amongst the people. The College of Medicine and Law at Warsaw was also converted into an university, which numbered amongst its other distinguished professors, Brodzinski, Louis Osinski, and Lach Szyrma,* and soon acquired a reputation nearly equal to that of the university of Wilno, one of the most flourishing in Europe.

We refer our readers to a work of the highest character for brilliancy of style, accuracy of detail, and deep and passionate sorrow for his fallen country, by S. B. Gnorowski, for all points relative to the last-mentioned university. And on no occasion have we more regretted our inability to extract largely, in an article so extensive in reach as the present, from a source of pure truth and unexaggerated sentiment.

"From this university," says Lieut. Gnorowski, "commenced a revolution, not only in the manners and character of the students, but also in the literature of the country; to which Adam Mickiewicz, one of the radiants, added a lustre and originality never before attained."

Mickiewicz must be considered in a twofold aspect. In one view, as an apostle and martyr of that fervent patriotism which impels with irresistible power his countrymen to struggle to preserve the national existence; in the other, as the deliverer of national genius from school trammels, directing its course in the independent track of Homer and Shakspeare. He was born in 1798 in Lithuania, his father being an advocate, and having commenced his studies at Novogrodek, completed them at Vilno with great credit. In the latter city he published, in 1822, his first work, two volumes of popular songs and ballads, with a preface, much in the style of Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," by which he silenced for ever the advocates of the so-called classicism. This was soon followed by his "Ode to Young Men," which was crowned with the greatest applause by his fellow students; and next appeared "Grazyna," a poem in three cantos, deriving its name from the heroine of the piece. She was the wife of a Lithuanian duke, who, to revenge some

injuries he had received from a kinsman, leagued himself with the Teutonic knights, their common enemy. The night before the expedition, Grazyna, unknown to her husband, sent a message of defiance to the Germans; and then, disguised in his armour, defeated them at the head of his soldiers; averting, by her own death, the calamities with which the treacherous scheme threatened her country. To the allusion contained herein, to Poland devoting herself for the reunion of her dismembered parts, was partly owing the very great success of this poem; though, as a literary production, it is not inferior to any of the subsequent compositions of Mickiewicz. His second regular poem, "Dziady," (The Feast of the Dead,) has been already reviewed in this Journal.

During the persecution carried on against the students of Vilno, Mickiewicz was exiled to the Crimea, "where," as a Polish poet expresses it, "he strewed diamonds." "Sonnets of the Crimea," one of his happiest inspirations, were published in Moscow, where, through the influence of the enlightened governor, Prince Galiczyn, he was permitted to sojourn, and afterwards at St. Petersburg, where he became the lion of the fashionable circles. His own peculiar situation suggested to him the idea of "Wallenrod," the most admired of his poems. Wallenrod, a Lithuanian of the fourteenth century, on being made prisoner by the Teutonic knights, the sworn enemies of his country, entered their service, became grand master of the order, and leading their army into Lithuania betrayed it to destruction, after which he surrendered himself, and suffered death at their hands. This work, of great poetical merit, and glowing with patriotism, caused an extraordinary sensation among the Poles. Some fancied they saw in it an allusion to the romantic career of Prince A. Czartoryski, but it is universally believed that it hastened the outbreak of the late insurrection. Certainly the author seems to have had some political view in writing it, and the motto he has prefixed to it favours the supposition: "Dovete adunque sapere come sono due generazioni da combattere; bisogna essere volpe e leone." The Poles are as proud of this poem as the Germans are of Goethe's Faust. Mickiewicz at length obtained leave to travel in Germany, contracted an intimate friendship with Goethe, who never failed when occasion offered to express his admiration of the Polish poet. In 1832 he fixed his abode at Paris, where he published the "Third part of Dziady," in which he describes the sufferings of the students at Vilno, and some scenes of it are in the highest style of tragedy. His

* Lach Szyrma is the author of the best work in the Polish language on English literature.

longest poem, in twelve cantos, "Sir Thaddeus," appeared in Paris, 1834. It does not aim at one grand catastrophe, nor contain any conspicuous character, but presents a masterly picture of the ancient habits of the nobility, and of their patriotic exertions since the partition; describing the impenetrable primitive forests of Poland with their countless inhabitants; her exuberant corn-fields, and even her very kitchen gardens. It is in our opinion the most successful attempt at *Georgics* ever made; and Poles, when they read it, wonder how they can have trodden amongst such beautiful objects for centuries, and been so little alive to them. It has been criticised for its want of any direct moral, but the censors forget that the highest morality of man, considered as an æsthetic being, is to look upon all creation as a temple of beauty. After having revived the poetic and historical traditions of his country, and pointed out its natural beauties with a Byronic imagination, though deeply imbued with religious sentiment and philosophic faith, he composed a work of lamentation, of retribution and justice, of consolation and hope, which in proud modesty he entitled "A Book."* It consists of two parts. The one called "The Acts of the Polish Nation since the beginning of the World to its Crucifixion," is a synthetic and theosophic history of Poland in Biblical phraseology. As our national taste is completely opposed to the application of Scripture to politics, and as great disgust has been excited in Paris by the efforts in this shape by the Abbé Lammenais, we shall not extract from this first portion.

The second is a series of precepts and parables addressed to the Polish pilgrim, and these display the poet's great power of lyric composition, his knowledge of his art, and the soul of a patriot, and a believer, energetic, but resigned, sympathising and persuasive. Counsels, intreaties, threats, consolation, hope, all are to be found in this second part. Some of the parables are keen satires upon the men and affairs of the present day.

Mickiewicz has also translated Byron's "Giaour," and the Farewell Song from "Childe Harold," which has been set to music, and is now become a national melody. He has lately been appointed Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Lausanne, and is said to be engaged in writing a history of Poland, which is looked for with the utmost impatience.

Anthony Malczewski is the author of a

beautiful poem called "Maria," the subject of which has been since successfully dramatised by Korzeniowski. The poet, however, died in obscurity and poverty, as little known as was for some time his poem; which now, as if in atonement, is more admired than any other of its class. It was the first Polish work printed in England.

Severyn Goszczynski is probably the most unlettered of the living poets of Poland, having been forced by Russian persecution to wander during a portion of his youth in the steppes of the Ukraine, where his fancy imbibed a character of wildness often bordering on the horrible. His poem in three cantos called "The Castle of Kaniow," which has also been reviewed in this journal, is founded on an occurrence during the revolt of the Cossacks, the most bloody page in the annals of Poland. The few details he gives are narrated in so fascinating and original a manner, as to awaken regret that human atrocity should have become the theme of a poet possessing so much genius. Even the love episode partakes of the same dark character. Some of his lyric songs are free from this excess, and are truly beautiful. Bohdan Zaleski, another poet of the Ukraine, is the very reverse of the preceding. His Cossacks are not savages revelling in blood, but generous warriors leaning on their lances, and caressing their steeds, swift as the winds of their steppes, careless of the morrow, expatiating in the boundless enjoyment of the present.

The few songs he has published seem like the breathings of some magic voice, so perfect are they in their harmonious whole; and his "Rusalki," (the nymphs of the Ukraine,) are airy textures woven of all the feminine graces of the native idiom. His longest poem is "Mazeppa." Lord Byron led the way on this subject to him as well as numerous others; but Zaleski far surpassed the productions of his competitors. This series of Ukrainian bards may be closed by Thomas Olizaroski, a native of Volhynia, a young and rising poet, who, in the legends he has published in Leopold, Cracow, and London, has shown an originality of thought and boldness of imagination quite peculiar to himself. From the latest of these collections we select one piece, "Ascension to Heaven, a Mystery," not because it is the best, but that it alludes to recent events; and it would be interesting to mark the change in the Polish mind since the composition by St. Adalbertus of the "Hymn to the Virgin."

1.

* This work has been translated into all European languages. The English version is by Col. Lach Szyrma.

"With curious eye and timid steps, I walked
Midst Emphyrean gardens, where was naught

To check my course, save still increasing wonder.
I wandered amongst trees which know no change
Since first they sprung to life; for upon them
Time has but glanced with an unwithering
smile,

And passed them by with undestroying hand;
Flowers shed their sweets, and seemed to me as
types

Of some that grow on earth; but brighter far
Than our frail race, which bear to those
Such likeness, as, unto his Maker, man.

2.

"Beyond, a road there lay through fields of light;
And as I doubting stood, an angel form
With eyes of gladness met me.—'My wings,' he
said,

'May bear thee soonest to the Eternal's throne.'
His pinions shed their silvery brightness round,
And, in his radiant arms upborne, I left
The gardens, and the fields of light below.

3.

* * * *

"What are those stars that follow in our track?
Their light seems earthly—are they female souls?
Then burst a voice from out that starry throng—
'We* are the victims of the foulest deed
That stains a tyrant's course. We go, to cry
For justice at God's throne.' 'Go,' said the angel,
'But'—and then he paused, as though unknowing,
Or unwilling more to say."

The nature of this poem, however exquisite, does not admit of such ample quotation as we could wish; even Milton is not read on so awful a subject as the Christian Trinity, and words placed in the lips of Jesus, in which such strong terms are used as to represent Poland as an incarnation of the Christ, do not aid her cause, but lower it, and render that horrible which we wish, equally with every Pole, should be vindicated and honoured.

Foremost among the philosophic authors of the new literature ranks Goluchowski, late professor at the University of Vilno, and a pupil of Schelling. His work, "Philosophy, as reflected in the Life of Nations," when made known in Germany by means of a translation, produced a great sensation in that country of metaphysical thinkers, owing to the perspicuous, concise, and elegant phraseology, in which it presents ideas which to the majority of readers would appear the most speculative abstractions. Maurice Mocknacki, combining extraordinary depth of thought with unusual brilliancy of imagination, has reduced, in his "*Polish Literature*," to a system, the principles of *Æsthetics*, as manifested in the compositions of Mickiewicz and others. A work on the same subject, lately published by Grabowski, forms a worthy pendant to the above. A high rank in the reformed

literature is held by the historical writings of Joachim Lelewel, Professor of History at the University of Vilno, and subsequently a member of the Diet, and of the national government during the last insurrection. It would not be possible here to enter into a close investigation of the respective merits of these works, which are not fewer than eighty in number, all relating to the annals either of Poland or of other Sclavonian tribes and countries. On this account, though highly popular in eastern, his name is but little known in western Europe. "The Edda," and "Numismatics of the Middle Ages," are his only excursions on foreign ground. His labours have been of essential service, by throwing light on the most obscure passages in the history of Poland, and of the Sclavonian countries in general; thus bringing into notice a new region of civilisation, hitherto disregarded, or treated in a tone of arrogant superiority by the other half of Europe. Lelewel combines in himself the most opposite qualities, the imagination of a poet with the enduring patience of an antiquarian, but he wants that precious gift by which the historian opens as it were the book of fate, penetrating characters, and embracing at one glance the course of ages. Owing to this deficiency, Lelewel, notwithstanding his other valuable qualities, is neither Livius nor Gibbon; and to the same source also may be referred the blunders he has committed in his political career. Still he stands pre-eminent among the historians of his nation, and the materials prepared by him only await the touch of a master-hand to become the crowning work of Polish literature.

The conclusion drawn by all who peruse this rapid sketch must necessarily be, that the language and literature of Poland have advanced to their present very high degree of perfection in an equal ratio with the increasing misfortunes of the country during the last fifty years. This phenomenon appears so extraordinary that it deserves the serious consideration of every reflecting mind. What, indeed, should seem more unfavourable to the progress of a nation's language, than its political annihilation, and the incorporation of its dismembered provinces with several foreign states, each respectively intent upon destroying every vestige of its former nationality? Yet, it is a fact that Polish literature is actually now reaching its zenith, and at no former period could Poland ever boast of more distinguished men in every department of science, learning, and political eminence. Since the third partition in 1795, all the public museums, the Library of Warsaw, numbering

* An allusion to six hundred Polish girls who were carried to the military review of Woznesensk.

200,000 works, that of the Society of the Friends of Science, scarcely less rich, and Prince Czartoryski's Library at Pulawy, containing invaluable materials connected with Polish history, and not fewer than 20,000 English works were, after the melancholy events of 1830, carried off for the second time to Russia. Yet these unpropitious circumstances, so far from retarding, have promoted the growth of national literature; and Polish works of sterling merit have been lately published, not only in several parts of Poland, but at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Vienna. In fact, the hitherto unsuccessful attempts made for the recovery of independence have invigorated instead of weakened the moral energies of the Poles, and that ardent feeling of patriotism which in former times was principally confined to one class, now animates alike the inhabitants of every cottage and palace in Poland. That feeling alone, without admixture of Jacobinism, democracy, or any other political theory, prompts the rich and the poor to submit to every sacrifice for the restoration of their country. Their literature is more intimately connected with the history of their incessant political struggles than is the case with any other nation; it is a most potent weapon, which they now understand how to use. The time may yet come when the following passage shall have ample realization, though not designed for them, even on earth, as it assuredly will in Heaven—"In that time shall the present be brought unto the Lord of Hosts of a people *scattered and peeled*, and from a people *terrible* from their beginning hitherto; a nation *meted out and trodden under foot*, whose land the *rivers* have spoiled, to the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts, the mount Zion."—*Isaiah*, xviii. v. 7.

ART. IX.—1. *Canton Register*, July to December, 1839.

2. *The Chinese vindicated, or another View of the Opium Question, being in Reply to a Pamphlet by Samuel Warren, Esq. Barrister at Law in the Middle Temple.* By Captain T. H. Bullock, H. H. the Nizam's Army. London: Allen and Co. 1840.
3. *The Opium Question.* By Samuel Warren, Esq. F.R.S. of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. 4th edition. London: Ridgway. 1840.
4. *The Opium Question as between Nation and Nation.* By a Barrister at Law. London: Bain. 1840.

5. *Brief Observations respecting the pending Disputes with the Chinese, and a Proposal to bring them to a satisfactory Conclusion.* London: Ridgway. 1840.
6. *Is the War with China a just one?* By H. Hamilton Lindsay, late of the Honourable East India Company's Service in China. 2d edition. London: Ridgway. 1840.

THE age of wonders in every period, we presume, has been the time of the historians of that epoch; but still we think there are strong probabilities in favour of this estimate not being very far remote from the truth with respect to our own. Inventions, unquestionably of the most singular character, mark it beyond all others, as in this respect surpassing; and of historical events certainly one may be adduced, "*sui generis*," *War with China*. For more than 200 years matters had remained in the "*status quo*," when the great movement party in this country considered the Celestials had enjoyed quiet enough, and immediately proceeded to set three hundred millions by the ears, and it will be more by luck than wit if it does not discover what it is to *catch a Tartar*.

It has been our endeavour, in a previous paper, to set the Opium Question in a proper light before the country, and we shall now proceed to show that far larger interests are becoming involved, and that matters are now assuming an aspect of alarm that few but the foolhardy and reckless men that sway the present fortunes of this state can regard without concern. True courage consists not, in our notion, in the mere deprivation of the sense of fear, but in the knowledge and the appreciation of difficulties, and in manning the spirit to meet them. Hence Antar and the heroes in Homer vary strongly in their character. The Bedouin we see without fear, and he loses interest, for we always anticipate the sequel; but in the Grecian warriors we find the appreciation of danger and the resolve to dare it. In the one it is animal impulse, in the other high-souled feeling. The appreciation of danger, then, is perfectly consistent with the highest element of courage; and courage unconnected with this feeling may be compared to the Malay, who is prepared with blind fury "*to run a muck*" at all he meets, and who becomes proportionately valueless since he cannot be directed against the right object. Before these lines are read we shall have war proclaimed by our valiant governor-general against the Chinese Empire, though he has quite enough to do with India, for any power he possesses to manage it. This proclamation will, probably, at no re-

mote period, array against us in India and China 500 millions, together with Mahomet Ali, Dost Mahomet, and the Schah of Persia. Pretty well for Asia. Let us look then into the origin of the Chinese affair, the Opium Question. Unhappy England!

"Poppy nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
Shall never minister to thee that sweet sleep
Which thou ow'dst yesterday."

Opium had netted to the Indian government, on the showing of the Bombay merchants themselves, during twenty years past from 1839, from half a million sterling annually, until latterly it had attained to two millions sterling per annum. Of course China had the benefit of this, and the Emperor of the Celestials found all his subjects nodding in whatever direction he moved, and was even smoked out of his own imperial palace. His people seemed to be plunged in one all absorbing lethargy, and the Celestials were fast abjuring their allegiance to him for the victorious Somnus. Half measures Celestials never deal in, and Tang, governor of the two Kwang provinces in which Canton is situated, President of the Board of War, was ordered to make war on the opium eaters. The said Tang executed the Son of Heaven's orders most effectually, as the following sentences from his proclamation will, we think, prove. "For the *seller of opium*, if he do not quickly forsake his vile calling, *decapitation will follow conviction*. For the *smoker of opium*, if he do not quickly renounce the habit, there will be *little chance of escape from strangulation*." Now, however tight these enactments may seem to draw the line, they still were confined to the Chinese alone, capitally in the first instance. The Emperor was perfectly right in making such enactments, and no doubt had read Vattel or some equally profound writer, since the policy of the Chinese has for ages proceeded on the principle of making all foreigners bow to the influence of their own country. We say no doubt he had read Vattel, because he clearly conceives that what he says to one he says to all. Now Vattel says as follows:—

"Even in the countries where every stranger freely enters, the sovereign is supposed to allow him access only upon this tacit condition, that he be subject to the laws; I mean the general laws made to maintain good order and which have no relation to the title of citizen, or of subject of the state. The public safety, the rights of the nation, and of the prince, necessarily require this condition, and the stranger tacitly submits to it, as soon as he enters the country, as he cannot presume upon having access upon any other footing. The empire has the right of command in the whole country, and the

laws are not confined to regulating the conduct of the citizens among themselves, but they determine what ought to be observed by all orders of people throughout the whole extent of the state. In virtue of this submission, the strangers who commit a fault ought to be punished *according to the laws of the country*."—Book ii. c. 8.

Still as foreigners are rather slow at understanding anything against their interest, and our own countrymen have a sort of independent feeling peculiar to Caucasian tribes, of making up their mind to act in every country as if they were the rulers, and not the ruled, these edicts were not obeyed. They had not studied Vattel, or were determined not to study anything opposed to their interest. The Emperor, commiserating their ignorance, decreed that in foreigners *the first offence should be visited with perpetual banishment, the second with death*. An American house, Messrs. Olyphant, announced their instant intention to comply with this regulation. This was on the 20th July last. As a matter of policy this was possibly quite right, but on the general feeling among merchants it would appear equally wrong. It certainly was mean-spirited, and the house merely resorted to it to obtain exclusive dealings with the Chinese. Captain Elliot and the English merchants refused to sign any bond to this effect. Their expulsion from Macao immediately followed, and they had previously vacated Canton. This took effect on the 26th August. The proceedings that led to the secession of the merchants from Canton were of the following character.

On the 26th February a native dealer in opium was found guilty and sentenced to be strangled. The place of execution selected was opposite the English factory. The same sentence had been attempted to be carried into execution in the previous year at the same spot, and had been frustrated with respect to the locality, but not with regard to the unhappy culprit. On this second occasion the hint was too palpable to be mistaken, and with strong protest on the part of the merchants the execution took place in the offensive spot, which certainly must have been rather unpleasant both in conscience and causality to our countrymen. Captain Elliot protested strongly against the spot selected for this purpose. At this unfortunate period, two boats passed the Custom House without submitting to the regulations made by our own commissioner, and only excused themselves on the ground of its being dark when they passed the Bogue. They might have stated their dark dealings, for they carried opium probably. At this juncture a new commissioner, Lin, arrived at Canton with extraordinary pow-

ers. His edict, on arrival, stated what is perfectly true, that China does not go to the rest of the world for productions, but that the rest of the world comes to her. It demanded the delivery of every particle of opium in the ships.

There can be no question raised, we apprehend, as to the right of any government to seize on a contraband article warehoused in its ports, but the Chinese went further, and demanded all in the ships. We think them right also in this view, since the seas of China and ports are as much under the laws of the country as the land. We therefore attach small force to objections from the extent of the seizure, and to arguments in favour of indemnity from that circumstance. The Chinese government further proceeded to denounce punishment to the same effect, as we have seen in the proclamation of the Governor of Canton, Tang. One sentence, as a specimen of Chinese political economy, we think ought not to be lost sight of by our government. "You who have travelled so far to conduct your commercial business, how is it that you are not yet alive to the great difference between the condition of vigorous exertion and that of vigorous repose—the wide difference between the power of the few and the many." The day after the publication of this edict, the Governor of Canton issued a notice that, "During the stay of the commissioner in Canton, and while the consequences of his investigation, both as to foreigners and natives, are yet uncertain, all foreign residents are forbidden to go to Macao." The immediate effect of this notice, with the announcement of Commissioner Lin, was, that the Hong merchants persuaded the Chamber of Commerce to give up 1073 chests of opium. The notice of detention of British subjects at Canton, immediately induced Captain Elliot, with great gallantry, but with still greater indiscretion, to come to Canton, by which step he only placed our chief commissioner as a "detenu."* The merchants thanked him for his conduct at a later period, and they had excellent reasons for so doing, but though we can conceive they had cause to be pleased with him, yet the fact of the highest British authority at Canton being a prisoner did not raise us in the eyes of the Chinese. A demonstration which seems so much the rage had not been ill placed at this moment. He published an extremely injudicious proclama-

tion, alluding to the execution of the Chinese in front of the factory, their warlike preparations, and the regulations respecting the detention of foreigners. The last was the only subject on which he ought to have touched. He remained protesting uselessly, unheard and unheeded.

Arrangements were then entered into for delivering up the opium, and on the 5th May the passage from Canton became again open, except for fourteen merchants, who remained hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. On the 4th May, Captain Elliot proclaimed that he had determined to remove her majesty's factory from Canton, and requested the merchants to make the necessary preparations. On the 24th May he quitted, but not with the entire factory. On the 31st May an imperial edict from Peking directed that the opium should be destroyed, and it was so, though well worth 20,000,000 dollars. The conduct of the emperor in sacrificing for the good of his subjects so valuable a possession, needs no comment: it shows unquestionably that he was in earnest, though it is still asserted that he is not. We now proceed to detail the events that led to the expulsion from Macao. Captain Elliot continued to remain at Macao, without much variation of incidents, until the 7th July, when unhappily a party of sailors from the Carnatic and the Mangalore went on shore, and it appears, on our own showing, acted as sailors often do, heedlessly, but on this occasion even worse, for in an affray that ensued a Chinese named Lin-wei-he was killed. The Chinese laid the dead body on the beach, abreast the shipping, where it remained for some time. The imperial commissioner, whose eyes seem to have been wide open, dispatched two officers to investigate the transaction.

On the 20th July, as the opium trade remained in unabated vigour on the coast, a brig with this commodity was attacked by the junks, and commenced firing her guns at them, loaded with grape and canister, and killed in a short time fifty of the Chinese. All this is very fine if people will submit to it; but to violate their laws with impunity, and then to support infraction by infraction, would rouse the spirit of the quietest people upon earth. The result of the commissioner's investigation amounted to this, that Captain Elliot had been on shore with a ship-surgeon to attend the wounded Chinese; that the party notwithstanding died, and that hush money went to the relatives to be quiet. Captain Elliot, it is only fair to add, tried the offending parties: but the demand on the part of the Chinese commissioner to deliver up the murderers was not

* He was imprisoned seven weeks, with armed men parading day and night before his gates, and threatened with the privation of food, water, and life, it is said, but we cannot substantiate these latter points.

complied with, nor was life expiated by life. Lin's remarks are extremely shrewd: "On the one hand you will not give up the murderer, and further you will not consent to receive our edicts; you only wish most unreasonably to throw the blame on the Americans." Immediately after this, however, the American consul sent up a petition, stating vehemently that the charge was false. Again, "with your excuses and explanations about killing with *malice prepense*, and *killing by mistake*, and *supporting widows and orphans*, and such phrases, all these are so many evasions to screen and varnish over the real facts of the case. In all cases *Chinese who molest Europeans are banished*, and the obligation is reciprocal, so that to hush up murder by a bribe is a flagrant breach of the law." Lin concludes by prohibiting the supply of the ships with provisions until the murderer be given up. Captain Elliot, however, stoutly refused to give up the party or parties. A second proclamation followed on the 18th August, complaining that the murderer had not been given up, and holding all foreigners responsible. At this period intelligence arrived of the dreadful circumstances connected with the "Black Joke," which were well calculated, under existing misunderstandings, to excite alarm. This vessel was boarded on the night of the 17th on her way to Macao; her crew consisted of seven Lascars, the tindal, and a passenger, a Mr. Moss. The crew were cut down and thrown overboard, and the outrage on Mr. Moss was of the most horrible character; he was twice wounded in his attempts to keep the deck; he was then seized in the cabin, an attempt made to cut off one of his fingers, which he only saved by drawing off his ring, and giving it to his assailants; he was robbed of his watch, and while one held his ear, another with a sharp instrument cut it off, together with a large portion of the scalp on the left side of his head, and attempted by force to put it into his mouth and thrust it down his throat. The Chinamen then attempted to fire the vessel, but unsuccessfully, and the Black Joke was discovered by the Harriet and brought into Macao. Mr. Moss then gave his statement of all that had occurred, and solemnly declared that the Black Joke contained no opium. The British press in China, however—and our countrymen are seldom slow in their sympathies for each other—does not appear to consider this affair as perpetrated by the Chinese, though the tindal says they were Mandarin boats, but by pirates. If this be so, and it is not contradicted by Captain Elliot, the Chinese can hardly be held responsible for the affair.

It excited of course a dreadful state of alarm in the factory, and probably outrages were anticipated, but certainly none were perpetrated. In the meantime, as we have previously stated, Captain Elliot had arrived at the clear conviction of the offender or offenders, and the sentence that he pronounced for the murder was simply two years' imprisonment and a fine of 30*l*. He persisted in his refusal to give up the man, in complete contradiction to Vattel, in the passage extracted above; and to this ill-timed lenity hundreds have already fallen victims, and probably thousands more will suffer. Lin exasperated, and justly we must own, immediately proclaimed that all supplies should be withheld from the English, and issued orders (a strong measure) on the 31st August, to shoot all foreigners who ventured ashore, but to commit no assault on the ships. Captain Elliot determined on forcing a supply of provisions, and on September 11th issued a notice that he would place the river and port of Canton under blockade.

A second official notice announced that the blockade was withdrawn on the 16th, in hopes of a termination of the affairs by renewed negotiations. At this time a Spanish brig was attacked by the Chinese. The crew jumped overboard, but the Chinese picked them up and preserved their lives. The brig was burnt to the water's edge. It was evidently a mistake, and means were taken to prevent the recurrence, but the Chinese pleaded that the vessel was English, with opium on board, and that she had visited the coast in several points to dispose of her cargo. On the 15th, the body of a young English lad, but without any marks of violence, was found floating in Honkong bay. Captain Elliot seized upon this occurrence, and attempted to persuade the Chinese that this person was the murderer of Lin-wei-he. The negotiations at this time had a favourable aspect, but the opium traffic seems to have proceeded at as strong a pace as ever. The Chinese alternative at last arrived.

On the 25th October the commissioner insisted on two points as a *sine qua non*:—the delivering up the murderer of Lin-wei-he, and the signature of a bond of consent by the commanders of vessels, to trial by Chinese officers for offences to be declared capital. If these points were not complied with, all ships were to quit China in three days. The conditions were refused, and Captains Elliot and Smith withdrew to Tongkoo bay, to wait instructions from home and reinforcements. At that period a smuggling vessel and the Mandarin boats had an affair together, in which a boat was

sunk ; several other persons, and among them seven Chinese were sent back " with their tails cut off." Instructions were issued to the Chinese admiral, by Lin and Tang, to commence hostilities if the English ships did not put out to sea ; and they appear to have been directed to willing ears, for *Kwan the Admiral*, published the following proclamation, from which we extract, as extremely characteristic, his account of himself.

" Having received my instructions, I find that I, the admiral, rule over the whole of these seas, and my especial duty is to sweep them clean of the depraved and reprobate. Since then I have received the button of the Leader of the Army, I ought forthwith to appoint a day for the great gathering of my troops, but I, the said admiral, am descended from a family that dates as far back as the Han dynasty, (2000 years ago) ; the line of my forefathers sprang from Hotung. My ancestor was the deified Emperor Kwanfootze (commonly called the Mars of China.) Splendid and luminous was his fame, bright and dazzling the place of his imperial abode. Now I the said admiral fly like an arrow to recompense the goodness of my country, and tremblingly receive the admonitions of my great ancestor. I deal not in deceits and frauds, nor do I covet the bloody laurels of the butcher. Remembering that Elliot alone is the head and front of offence, and that probably the bulk of the foreigners have been intimidated or urged on by him, were I suddenly to bring my forces and commence the slaughter, I really fear the gem and the common stone would be burnt up together. Therefore it is that I again issue this proclamation, which proceeds from my very heart and bowels, that it may be promulgated abroad every where."

However absurd all this may appear to us, on the 3d November the two British ships of war (the *Volage* and the *Hyacinth*) going up in the face of the proclamation to the Bogue to deliver a *chop*, Kwan attacked them with twenty-nine of his war junks. Our ships were compelled, in self-defence, to fire. The unavoidable result was, that six war junks were sunk or blown up, and about 900 men killed. The English sustained no damage beyond a shot in the mainmast of one of their ships. Kwan behaved extremely well, but we regret to say the Celestials are probably deprived of the services of this descendant of their Mars, for he was severely wounded in the battle. This account, which bears date of November 27th, is the last received. Now taking a fair view of the facts, unblinded by cupidity and personal interests, can any thing be clearer than that blame rests with us in a far greater proportion than with the Chinese. Faults on both sides there may have been, but in our wisdom we are prepared to find the Chinese ignorant, prejudiced, unjust, but they have shown themselves neither of the three in the main.

We are also prepared to find the Chinese forming an undue estimate of us. Have we

not equally overlooked them? We have never entered into their national character. All our recent missions have been laughable failures. Lord Amherst was sent out to them in a capacity in which they never receive an envoy, and he failed in doing any thing in China, though we have to thank him for the Burmese War in India. He was, however, far better calculated to deal with the Chinese than the Hindoos, being of a phlegmatic, easy, nonchalant disposition, of which the following anecdote may give some notion. When the *Alceste* had struck, and was sinking by inches, etiquette prevented any person leaving the ship before the ambassador. Captain Maxwell sent to Lord Amherst, who was in his cabin, to request his appearance on deck. His lordship was shaving at the time the message was delivered, and stated his intention of being on deck shortly, and very quietly passed the razor over the unfinished side and proceeded to complete the operation. He then dressed himself with great precision, and made his appearance on the quarter-deck as unconcerned as if nothing was the matter and the ship had not been sinking inch after inch during his lengthened toilette. Now could this nobleman have brought his mind to treat his instructions with a " *benigna interpretatio*," he was just the sort of person to succeed with the imperturbable Chinese. But this nobleman always wanted powerful mental acquirement, and this great natural advantage stood him in no stead, and he left the British character lower than ever. Of him the Chinese wags observed there was a reason why he declined the ceremony of the *Kotou*, which consisted in giving the head three knocks on the ground before approaching the emperor. They said he was afraid of the *sound*. Next came Lord Napier. He was also determined to be something very conformable to English notions, but the direct reverse to Chinese. He would have, as Captain Bullock points out, (to whom we are greatly indebted for his able pamphlet,) *political rank*. He addressed the viceroy of Canton direct, completely violating, by this course, the great principle of the Chinese government, that no foreign political authority shall reside in the limits of the empire.

The Chinese treat us on the hypothesis of traders, and notice no other communication than that of a supercargo or *Tae-pan* ; and the line of this communication must be through the Hong merchants. A *Tae-pan* might as reasonably assume to be a *tea-pot*, as an envoy from this country take upon himself any other function than that described. The *Tae-pans* are there to replenish our tea-pots, and this is all they have to

do, and all that China wants of them. All this is quite different from other nations; it is vastly inconvenient: granted. But we seek the inconvenience, it does not seek us. *It has always been so.*

We should much like to know more of China than we do. We should like to have more insight into her literature; we should like to inspect her palæography; but China will not let us, for the best and wisest reasons, that India is before her eyes. She will, therefore, always entertain the same notion of us that Lord Keppel, we believe, did of the Scotch, "they are *excellent soles*, but terrible bad *upper leathers*." She is justified in this estimate on every footing of a wise and enlightened policy.

To Lord Napier succeeded Capt. Elliot. His blunders are the more intolerable, because his position was a legitimate position; though the first of its class, it was one that had become nearly intelligible to the Chinese. But Captain Elliot recklessly violated their laws in proceeding to Canton without a red permit. He became, in consequence, a prisoner, and a prisoner by proclamation, which sunk the English name still more than before, and was confined on just grounds as having violated Chinese law, by forcing a passage in his cutter. He further espouses the contraband side, which forms another reason of detention. He had no marines with him, on whose gallantry he could rely for protection as Lord Amherst did; for when preparations were made to force his excellency to comply with the Chinese regulations, the determined spirit of the captain of marines, though surrounded by millions, possibly saved him. And, to do Lord Amherst justice, he was ever sensible of the gallantry of that officer, Captain Cook, and rewarded it by taking him out to India as his aide-de-camp. But Captain Elliot remained a prisoner, and had to trust to Chinese lenity for his escape. His conduct exhibits one continuous violation of the principles of Chinese government.

The Chinese had digested, with some difficulty, the change from the East India Company to the English government, but they were at last prepared to view Captain Elliot, in the new position he occupied, as commissioner. He had then, we repeat, a far better position than either Lord Amherst or Lord Napier, and he has contrived to lose all these advantages; and, what is more, to obtain the protection and approval of the present cabinet, though mean enough to shrink from pecuniary responsibility. But as our information on the actual state of affairs in China is as correct as can be obtained, we feel no hesitation in stating, in

the face of Lord John Russell's declaration, that there is no ground for a Chinese war. The ministry may attempt to look big upon this question with unutterable mysteries, but they will be proved by the sequel to be unsound in policy, ill-informed in the real state of things, and heedlessly lavish of the blood and treasure of the country. But the Chinese commenced hostilities—even this point was brought about by the ill-timed conduct of our commissioner. He sails up with his entire force, after having received orders to quit the coast, by way of provocation and challenge to the Chinese admiral; and that officer, consulting his credit only, and not regarding his capability to punish the aggression, immediately attacked him. If Captain Elliot had withdrawn from China, the merchants would soon have placed matters on a right footing, and without any personal risk. If otherwise, matters must have strangely altered from the commencement. What evidence have we of their general demeanour from men conversant with trade in all directions? Mr. Jardine, the head partner in that house, on his health being drunk by the committee of merchants in Canton, in returning thanks, says:—

"I have been a long time in this country, and I have a few words to say in its favour: here we find our persons more effectually protected by laws than in many other parts of the East, or of the world. In China a foreigner can go to sleep with his windows open, without being in dread of either his life or property, which are well guarded by a most watchful and efficient police: but both are perilled with little or no protection in many other states: business is conducted with unexampled facility, and in general with singular good faith, though there are, of course, occasional exceptions, which only the more strikingly bear out my assertion. Neither would I omit the general courtesy of the Chinese in all their transactions with foreigners: these, and some other considerations, are the reasons that so many of us so oft revisit this country, and stay in it so long."

Here is a panegyric of the most extensive character, by an opium dealer, in one of the first British firms in China, and this as late as January 23d, 1839. But Lord John Russell talks largely of wrongs and reparation, and satisfaction, from the Chinese, and placing our commercial interests on a better footing by enforcing them at the cannon's mouth; as if any nation could be induced to enter with greater ardour and liking into fresh commercial relations by blowing to pieces its forts, sacking its cities, and butchering its unresisting inhabitants. But the drift of all this, we presume, is, that the forfeited opium is to be paid for by the Chinese. Neither the rules of law nor justice, nor privileges of nations, which differ mightily from House of Commons' privileges, for which

Lord John Russell is such a stickler, will permit this ; and then, last of all, an appeal will be sneakingly introduced to indemnify the Bombay merchants for the loss of their contraband article. But this will not do.

The conservatives are too strong to allow of this ; and even the Radicals, when money is talked of,

“fall away
Like water from him, never found again
But where they mean to sink him.”

■ In vain would the softest adjuration of his own Rockite bard be poured in the deaf ear of O'Connell :

“Oh, what was love made for, if 'tis not the same,
Through joy and through torments, through glory
and shame ;

I know not, I ask not, *if guilt's in that heart,*
I but know that I love thee, *whatever thou art !*”

He knows too well the overpowering influence of gold to think of supporting him on an unpopular money bill. Then again, as if dogged by the very dæmon of ill-fortune, the million-lived Cabrera seems destined to work up a little more peninsular agitation, and summons his chiefs in thousands, and they come when they are called. Here English gold and life cannot be sacrificed much longer. How profound, and yet how clear, compared to these pigmies, was the policy of the Duke of Wellington. All the present difficulties of the question were clearly traced out by him as early as 1834. He then stated fixed rules, declaring any deviation from them would be fatal to our intercourse with China. First, that no envoys should be sent with high sounding titles. Next, that though officers should be sent out with even plenary power, that they should not vary from the accustomed mode of communication, nor attempt to force the Chinese to alter their usual routine. He added, lastly, that *implicit obedience was to be paid to the laws of that country*, and that we were not to place ourselves in the light of legislators of China, but kindly permit that nation to legislate for itself. These principles were too stationary, fixed, old fashioned, and conservative, to hit the fancy of one whose delight has been to undo every thing, and to mark his desolating career by plenty of ruined villages without one single act of reparation. The hardship, too, of the present war upon ourselves is this, that we shall lose probably a wholesome and necessary article of English nutriment. Many of the recent vagaries have affected the purse, but here is something closer, affecting diet and health :

ἡξει Δωριακος πολεμος και λοιμος αμ' αυτω.
“A Chinese war, and plague on't, loss of tea.”
Next follows the cost of this extravaganza. Three sail of the line and four frigates, even

for a few years, with the land armament, cannot be put down under some millions, and it might all have been spared to the country. The only good resulting from this untoward event is the increase of the navy, which even the present economists are glad to embrace every pretext to extend, and which certainly needed increase. But to expect us to realise Captain Elliot's guarantee relative to the opium is absurd. The houses are well able to support the loss of 7828 chests of opium on whom it has fallen, though it may somewhat lower the future panegyrics on China from the house of Jardine and Co. Taking this firm, the largest sufferers on the surrender, and estimating each chest at 150*l.*, their loss amounts to upwards of one million sterling. This is unquestionably heavy, but what must have been the remunerative profits to compensate for the risk of this immense outlay ? 500 per cent. is stated to have been repeatedly received. If any house chooses to embark in the contraband trade to this extent, we maintain it is at their own risk ; and that our government is not entitled to place these persons on the same footing as, for example, the planter, who was secured by legislative enactment in the property he held in the slave. The cases are totally different : Chinese enactments were all against them, and no English law can protect the contraband merchant. But it will be said, and is, that the Chinese government connived at the opium traffic. All public edicts have invariably put it down, and though, as in Russia, great iniquities are perpetrated by the executives ; yet what a merchant has to consider is simply this, whether the positive edicts of a government are opposed to him or not. If they are, he trades at his own risk, and cannot look to his own country for support, when that country would treat him precisely in the same manner if he violated her fiscal regulations. Though we are far from vindicating the conduct of the present government in this matter, and conceive that it is scarce possible to imagine one more mean and faithless, yet we are still of opinion that, had they not upheld Captain Elliot throughout the whole affair, they were not called on to guarantee the indemnity of the opium dealers. But as they have generated and fostered their beautiful mannikin into its present dimensions, they are bound to maintain their own misshapen issue, and therefore to dishonour his bills for indemnity at the Treasury was a compromise of the national honour. But what can be said of persons like these, thus callous to the sense of shame, and who maintain themselves in office on the disgraceful tenure of

the hate of the Radicals to nobler statesmen, without espousing the feelings of even their supporters. One act, a fit pendent to the recent Devonport expulsions of parties who expressed any political sentiments opposite to their own, we chronicle with pain. It is so base, that we mourn over such degeneration even in foes. When Spring Rice was returned for Cambridge, principally by the exertions of Messrs. Peacock and Burcham, Fellows of Trinity, the former of whom received the Deanery of Ely, and the latter the office of Classical Examiner to the University of London, with promises of much more from his patron, which we believe have never been fulfilled, the ex-Chancellor took upon himself the character of a scientific Mæcenas. He was to do prodigies for the noble pursuits of his own university, Cambridge; and he procured for the Philosophical Society the grant of 300*l.* per annum from the government. While he remained member for the town, this was continued; but the instant he vacated that seat, the government withdrew its grant. Now what is this but making scientific support to depend upon political opinion, and laying down the fatal principle to which liberals invariably adhere, of evincing no liberality to any who differ from their political creed.

We shall no longer anticipate support for any scientific institution unless it have the stamp of Whig or Radical principles, while the present ministry holds office; and it is curious to see how they are at present trying to feel their way with the House upon the Opium Question, and attempting to slink out of their present obligations to support their own commissioner, or to wheedle him into favour with the House. But Sir James Graham, we entertain little doubt, will so pin them down to this question, that any attempt to run wide of the point will be entirely abortive, and the mean shuffling and political bungling which they have exhibited will appear under his dissection detected in even their pettiest processes. Before we conclude, we shall slightly advert to a few out of the numerous pamphlets before us. The first among these is from Mr. Warren, and a more mistaken production, or worse in temper and feeling, it is difficult to conceive. In it we hear of nothing but of Lord Napier, "that martyr to Chinese cruelty and insolence" and the expressions used are all of the most warlike and sanguinary tendency to the unfortunate Chinese. This gentleman seems to have lighted on the lion rather than the lamb in his precincts in the Temple, and to be a very incarnation of those days—

"When down came the Templars like Cedron in flood,
And dyed their long lances in Saracen blood.

We extract a few passages. "The bloated vain-glory and grandiloquence of the Chinese would probably collapse at the very first prick of British bayonets. Their flimsy armaments fly like chaff before the wind at the sight of one single British man-of-war, portentous object, making its appearance on their coasts cleared for action. It is not impossible that the roar of her first gun would fill Peking with tottering knees and pallid faces." Again, "Lin may find his celestial master's junks blown out of the water, and his forts crumbling into dust beneath the cannonading of his puny and despised opponents, all his ports blockaded, in short the shock may abate the fever which for centuries has inflated that strange people to such a pitch of presumption, and make them fit for intercourse with the civilized world. Their silver mines must forthwith disgorge the equivalent of the British merchandise which they have so presumptuously seized and wantonly destroyed; we shall teach them both the real extent of their own resources and of our own power." All this is, to say the least, grandiloquent enough, but will cost some pains to realize; and though the descent on Peking, the favourite notion of Mr. Warren, might produce some temporary effect, we should be glad to be informed what lasting beneficial results would follow from it. The reluctance also of the Chinese to part with bullion is participated in to the fullest extent by more civilized nations, who did not show their wisdom in suffering it to escape them; and we trust in future arrangements that, if they are so disposed, *barter* may be made the medium of intercourse, if they are jealous of parting with their silver. As to even the argument also urged by some parties, that the Chinese are growers of opium, and wish to put down the importation on that ground, we attach no value to it. It cannot be sold or used in the country without death to the buyer or consumer, which settles that point; and were it so, they have a right to oppose the importation of any check on native industry. Does England, for example, receive foreign corn to the injury of her own agriculturist, or foreign goods in preference to native manufacture? Even when this circumstance does almost unavoidably occur, as in the Saxony wool, what is the result? Utter ruin in that trade to all but a few large houses.

Equally futile is the objection raised by Mr. Warren with respect to the moral effects from the importation of opium into China. We are far from leaning to puritan-

ical exaggerations on this subject, and we know well that nothing better serves the purpose of the supporters of dram-drinking and opium importation than extravagant statements of the consequences attendant on these habits : but that evil of a most alarming character becomes generated in every country by such propensities, independent of the effect on the national strain, needs no demonstration to prove. Mr. Warren cites the celebrated instance of De Quincey, who took 8000 drops of laudanum daily, equivalent to 320 grains of opium, in proof that the indulgence in this habit is too costly to become general. Is this sagacious observer of life to be told then, that no sacrifice of money, fame, or life, appears too costly to the habitual dram-drinker? That all means are used to obtain the favourite poison, and that it is not measured by what a man can afford, but by what he can get? That any and all means are exerted to obtain it, and that the physical ill bears no proportion to the moral, however extensive; and that the opium-eater and the dram-drinker are parallel instances. Very few remarks will suffice for the other pamphlet before us, "Brief Observations respecting the pending Disputes with the Chinese." The writer confines himself to the advocacy of three points: Compensation for opium outside the port of Canton confiscated by the Chinese government; 2d, reparation for insults; 3d, commercial treaty, securing inviolability of the persons of British subjects. The first point we have already disposed of; the second might with more justice be demanded by the Chinese than ourselves; and the third no nation can concede to the offenders against its laws. This absurd pamphlet closes with the modest proposal, to seize on the island of Lantao for a permanent emporium; and the self-satisfied writer sets forth his protocol in the following terms: "You take my opium, I take your island *in return*; we are therefore *quits*." To which any Chinese might reasonably say, "I took your opium because you vended it against law; you take my island also against law; and you justify one infraction by another." What a British Solon this writer is! What an exquisite ally for the great protocol chief, and how short he cuts the matter, compared with his leader's long-winded arguments, which only arrive after all at fraudulent ends by a longer road. Next follows the "Opium Question, by a Barrister." From this we shall simply extract the following description of a government, premising, that the author evidently wants a change to relieve his eye; for by looking on the present too long, he has confused his notions of colour and complexion, and become jaundiced in aspect:

"All governments are dishonest as regards individuals. They will always avoid an equitable payment if the *law* is on their side; and they will not pay a legal debt if they can find a tolerable excuse for delay."

The last publication we shall consider out of this gathering host is by Mr. Lindsay, and it is entitled to more praise than it has yet obtained, though it has already reached a second edition. This gentleman states very sensibly the alarming position that our Eastern finances are fast assuming. Six millions of revenue are at stake; four millions in tea, and two in opium. He brings home to the viceroy of Canton the charge of trading in opium with four fifty-oared boats, through the agency of his son; and this we never doubted, since the Chinese officials are most corrupt; but he also declares that the *leading mercantile houses in Canton refused any participation direct or indirect in the traffic*. In common with ourselves, he censures Captain Elliot for the blockade of a day, and the affair at Cowloon. He also recommends an ambassador to be placed permanently at Peking.

We doubt whether, even after a battle or two, the Chinese will be induced to receive him, as it is clearly opposed to their entire policy. As our ears have been stunned with hardly any thing of late but complaints against the Hong merchants, and even the war has been ascribed to their agency, from an anxiety on their part to evade just payments to our countrymen; we extract the following anecdote relative to Chinese integrity, and as the party was personally known to the author, it may be fairly deemed authentic.

"The Chinese in question was a very respectable and intelligent silk merchant, but who at the same time frequently dealt in opium. In 1837 he had entered into contracts with our house for the delivery of silk in the ensuing year at a fixed price, and had received a considerable sum of money in advance; when the troubles began, my friend's name appeared in the governor's black list, as one of the leading opium dealers, and a large reward was offered for his apprehension. The season advanced, and we heard nothing of him, at the same time the price of silk had risen so, that he could not have fulfilled his contract save at a loss of full 15 per cent. Under these circumstances I confess we felt but little hope of seeing either our silk or our money. One night, however, in December, 1838, at the time when the persecution of all concerned in the opium trade was at its height, a Chinese called late at night, and said that my friend was in Canton, and wished to see me. I accordingly accompanied him to a small Chinese shop, where I found him disguised in the poorest garments. He said unto me, "I have come to Canton, at the risk of my life, to fulfil my contracts to you and to Messrs. ——. The silk which I promised you is in the hands of such a Chinese. You must make arrangements to pass it through a Hong merchant

without exposing me, for if seized my death is certain. Should my silk not prove equal to the quality I promised, my friend has more; you may select what you please, and I will pay the difference in value.' I confess I was much affected at this truly honourable conduct, and urged him in the strongest terms to lose no time in returning to his secure place of concealment, which was in a distant province. The next day, however, I saw the Chinese to whom he referred me, and received from him every bale of silk for which we had contracted, and which on examination proved of the very best quality. I am happy to say that my friend escaped from the clutches of the Chinese Inquisition, and was in perfect safety when I last heard of him. Such a trait of character confers honour both to the individual and to his country, and I firmly believe there are many such men to be found in China."

The nation, that produces men like this merchant, will find means, however despicable we may deem it now, ultimately to redeem itself from the position of receiving dictation from any power; and we are pleased to see the healthy spirit manifested towards the Chinese by Mr. Lindsay, and we shall only express our dissent from his opinions on one point, the indemnification of the merchants. The house of Lindsay, we perceive, surrendered 1146½ chests of opium, a loss to them of 172,000*l*. They naturally anticipate the indemnity promised by the commissioner, but we cannot think that this will be granted. Had Mr. Lindsay been in the position to have expressed his unbiassed opinion, he would probably have come to the same conclusion, but his judgment on this matter is of course warped by personal interest. And now that we have arrived on this "*vexata quæstio*," to this point it will naturally be demanded of us, what do we propose to remedy the difficulty? Do we, like Carlisle, on Chartism, come forward with a panacea. We do, and with a more efficient remedy for these troubles than education, to the deprivation of which he attributes all our present evils. We have

gone wrong, through the entire course of recent matters, and it is not improbable that a force may *now* be necessary to support our merchants; if so, let that force abstain from all offensive measures, until the merchants have tried the full extent of their power. If they manage matters right, the presence of an armament will be needless. But Captain Elliot, having completely compromised himself with the Chinese, should be instantly removed. All opium dealing strictly denounced under severe English punishments as well as Chinese, or else placed upon a legal footing, as a matter of fair trade. The British merchant ought in no country to be a contrabandist. We cannot think that these measures will prove unsuccessful; but should policy compel our government, justice cannot, to place our colony by force on the coast of China, we trust no further demonstration will be made than what is requisite to establish and to ensure its protection. Any frantic notion of holding China as we do India, we deprecate entirely. It would not be remunerative we are convinced, or realize to us even the advantages of our late position. A mutual good understanding will produce mutual benefits. But war must injure both countries, and destroy, rather than cement, commercial relations. However tempting this "*El Dorado*" may appear, we hope our people will show themselves above the lure offered to cupidity.

We feel confident that our national honour is not sunk so low as to need trophies from China to ennoble its strain, and we entertain a quiet expectancy that we shall receive the fragrant herb of her territory pure as it might be grasped by even the Pythagorean and assuredly ought by the Christian,—not polluted with worse than the blood of animals,—not matted together and defiled by the wholesale butchery of its peaceful cultivators.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

INDIA.

An intelligent amateur, an officer in the native cavalry, has mentioned to us a few peculiarities he has frequently observed in the Music of India. He describes the men's voices as being very high, similar to our counter-tenors; this is rendered more apparent when they all sing together, for then they strain with energy the upper and more shrill tones of their voices, not exactly in union, but nearly so; that the effect is disagreeable to our ears. The same gentleman has noticed that nasal quality in almost all the men's voices, which imparts such a peculiarly unmusical effect to their singing. The instrument most in use at the present day is their guitar. But the Fakeers, or holy men, in their processions, when they sing hymns to their Deity with loud shouts and energetic gesticulations, are accompanied by men beating the cymbals. It is rather a curious circumstance, that a great many of the songs of this country abound with the praise of drunkenness. These cannot be of Hindoo origin, as the ancient Hindoos never drank either wine or spirits.

Love songs are esteemed throughout India, and are even considered as pious hymns, being the acts of the god Chrishnu; the scenes of whose frolics were the villages of Gocool and Mu hoora, and the wilds of Vrindabun.

There is a species of hymn, the composition of Soordas, a blind poet and musician, which is of a moral tendency. Their war songs, in praise of valour, are called Curca. These are generally in the Rajpootannee tongue, and the songsters, whose profession it is to sing them, are called Dharees. They have also cradle-songs or hymns, called Palna. The Dhoorpud is the heroic song of Hindoostan; the style is very masculine and nearly devoid of studied ornamental flourishes. This style of composition had its origin from the time of Raja Man, of Gualier, who is considered as the father of Dhoorpud singers.

The word Pundit signifies a doctor of music, and in India is applied to those who profess to teach the theory of music, but do not engage in its practice.

Sir William Jones mentions the eighty-four modes of which the Hindoo system of

music is composed, but the superiority he claimed for these people over every other, on that account, was successfully refuted by the papers entitled "Oriental Music considered," in the late Quarterly Musical Magazine, vol. 7, page 457.

SPAIN.

A dramatical and musical journal is published at Madrid, entitled "Entriacto;" it is issued twice a-week, in half sheets, and each month delivers a lithograph, generally of some well-known performer, in theatrical costume, and an original play, with entrance to a reading-room—the whole for about 12s. per annum.

The theatres throughout Spain are nightly crowded. At Madrid, besides the two great theatres "Del Principe" and "De la Cruz," there are several smaller, "Bella Vista" and "Las Tres Musas;" also some partially public, as the Philharmonic Society, the Lyceum, the Conservatorium; the prison even has been hired as a theatre.

The management of the Principe has expended a large sum in the dresses and decorations of "Lucrezia Borgia," which has obtained great success.

The best living Spanish composers are Doyne of Salamanca, Nielfa of Madrid; Gomez and Cornicen are devoted to the opera. The first guitar performers are Sor, Oesoa, and Aguado. Church music is superior in Spain to most countries, vast sums being expended in order to secure perfect excellence in the sublime art.

MADRID.—Manuel Breton de los Herreros, the author of several comedies and other pieces has engaged a man who is under five feet in height, and weighs 450 Spanish lbs., for the performance of his *el hombre gordo*, "The Corpulent man," who is wheeled about from town to town.

NORWAY.

CHRISTIANA.—The celebrated composer Rudolph Willmers, a Prussian by birth, who met with such distinguished marks of approbation from the king of Denmark for his performances on the pianoforte, has been highly entertained at this town, at Bergen, and at Gottenburg. He is the composer of three operas and some sonnets, and is now

engaged on a new comic opera, the "Libretto" from the pen of a Danish poet.

ITALY.

The theatres here have nearly all commenced the Carnival season, under the most unfavourable auspices. Mercadante, after having failed at Milan, was unsuccessful at Venice, in his opera entitled "Emma;" and at Rome, Pacini produced a new work, "Furio Cammillo," which the united talents of Mad. Ungher and Donzelli could not entirely save from condemnation.

FLORENCE.—Prince Joseph Poniatowsky has written and composed an opera entitled "Giovanni da Brogia," brought out at the court theatre. The principal parts were performed by Prince Joseph, Prince Charles, his brother, and his lady the Princess Eliza.

TRIESTE.—In addition to the "Teatro Grande," two other theatres are now open, the "Teatro Mauroner" and the "Teatro Filo-dramatico," these houses are all nightly filled, and a new Opera-house will shortly be erected in the Piazza del Ponte Rosso, as the "Teatro Grande" is found much too small, being only capable of accommodating 1500 persons.

The Baron Cosenza is writing a new drama, entitled "Margherita Pusterla."

In the early ages, seven great cities claimed the honour of being Homer's birth place; at the present day, seven cities are contending for the honour of having given birth to the "Holy Cecilia:" these towns are Mayence, Chalons, Beauvais, Ravenna, Bologna, Lucca, and Rome, and all are situated in the three great musical countries, Italy, Germany, and France.

GERMANY.

BERLIN.—Mr. Hillmar, the palace musician, pensioned here, has presented the musical world with a new instrument, which he calls "Violalin,"* because by an extraordinary arrangement of the bridge and belly, he has brought the "C" string of the viola to the pitch of the violin.

Holtei is now giving a successful course of lectures on the drama: the subjects chosen are the "Iphigenia" of Euripides, "Ottoker" by Grillparzer, "Henry V." by Shakspeare, and "Mahomet" by Voltaire. Holter's declamation is most highly spoken of.

DUESSELDORF.—The Pope has been complimented with the dedication of a Mass to him, by our music director Schindler, and the director of the Roman Catholic Chapel was to have visited the Maestro, in order to send to Rome a second Mass composed by him.

LEIPZIG.—A new opera by Lorzing, "*Caramo, or the Fish-spearing*," has met with a good reception.

Ernst, the celebrated violinist, has been giving a series of concerts at which he has

been received with an enthusiasm unprecedented since the performances of the great Paganini.

Meyerbeer, who has been residing at Baden-Baden, has now completed a grand musical festive piece, composed in honour of the Queen of England's nuptials. This composition he intends bringing with him to London, and will superintend its production.

ALTENBURG.—On the anniversary of the Reformation, the hymn to "Holy Cecilia," composed by the Crown Prince of Hanover, was brought forward in the palace, by Ernst Schulz, with the chorus, and pleased the court so much that a second performance was ordered.

Spohr has completed another oratorio, "*The Fall of Babylon*," which will be performed by an orchestra of 800 voices and instruments, at Cassel, on 16th (April) inst.

SAXE-GOTHA.—The ducal family of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha contains several distinguished musicians. The two princes, Albert and Ernest, are very efficient performers on the pianoforte; the musical compositions of the former possess considerable sweetness and melody. The Duchess of Kent is also a very excellent pianist; and King Leopold is a superior performer on the violin. The Princess Victoria, who is about to be united to the Duke de Nemours, possesses considerable musical talent; her brother the King Consort of Portugal, has made painting his study; some of his sketches have been highly spoken of.

Leopold Schefer's new opera, entitled "*Hekuba*," is proceeding rapidly towards completion; the libretto is from his own pen.

WEIMAR.—Ulrich has a new opera in a state of great forwardness for the Theatre Royal.

Kastner, the author of several French works on music, has completed a new opera for the German stage, the libretto from the pen of Dr. Schilling. This opera will be brought out at Stuttgart, Cassel, and Carlsruhe.

FRANCE.

PARIS.—"The Chaste Susannah," an opera in four acts, was brought out at the Theatre de la Renaissance, composed by M. Monpou. This is a subject assuredly more adapted for an oratorio than an opera, for if there is to be any serious belief in the Scriptures, such things are unfit for theatrical display, and must shock the feelings of right-minded persons whenever exhibited. It is true that our volatile neighbours, accustomed from childhood to frequent theatres on Sundays,* do not think so severely on such derogations as we more sober English-

* This is certainly a union of the violin and the viola.

* See the excellent strictures on this subject by *Nimrod* in the *New Monthly Magazine*, January, 1840.

men would revolt at; nay, they can go so far as to tolerate an opera in which the Deity is represented enthroned, and Angels singing chorussed hymns to his praise! One of the first professors in this country witnessed this display in Paris some years ago. What we have said is merely to caution managers (in the present rage for transplanting French music to our shores) to be careful not to attempt such as M. Monpou's opera.

It is announced in the *Journal d'Artiste*, that a series of unpublished letters by the celebrated writer J. J. Rousseau have been discovered in an old Chateau in Normandy. They appear to relate chiefly to scientific and musical subjects. As a musical writer of profound views and elevated taste, few who have written on this art have equalled the philosophical Rousseau.

At the *Théâtre Renaissance* a comic operatic sketch has been produced under the title of "*Le Mari de la Fauvette*," composed by M. Villeneuve; it was most successful.

Donizetti's new opera, the "*Martyrs*," has been produced at the opera. Great attention was paid by M. Duponchel to the *mise en scène* of this work, to which he attaches much importance. Madlle. Nathalie Fitzjames will appear shortly at the *Académie*, in the ballet-opera, "*Le Dieu et la Bayadère*," both as a singer and dancer.

Donizetti's new opera of "*L'Ange de la Nizéda*" will be immediately produced, and will be followed by Benedict's new opera.

Lemoine has recently published two interesting musical works: "*Traité d'Harmonie et d'Accompagnement*," by Fétis, and "*Méthode de Chant et de Vocalisation*," by M. Garcia, brother of Malibran and Pauline Garcia; the latter will shortly be united to M. Viardot, the director of the Italian Opera of Paris.

A new opera by M. Halevy, the libretto by Scribe, has been produced at the *Académie Royale*. It is called "*Le Drapier*." The costume and *mise en scène* are magnificent, but the music is of unequal merit.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG.—Taglioni continues to engross the whole attention of this imperial capital. Adam's new ballet of "*The Pirate*" has been completely successful, and this incomparable dancer has been showered with flowers. M. Laporte, of the Italian Opera of London, has been offering her very high terms, but hitherto without success. One of the little theatres at St. Petersburg has brought out a burlesque entitled "*The spurious Taglioni*."

The emperor, in order to promote the study of native music, has offered premiums for the production of operas by Russian composers; and societies for the diffusion

of musical knowledge have been formed here and at Moscow.

AMERICA.

Mr. Charles Kean will probably leave New York on 1st April, and may be expected in London towards the end of that month. Mr. Wilson and Miss Shirreff have accepted another short engagement at the Park Theatre, and are not likely to quit the New World before the middle of June. Mrs. Fitzwilliam continues to draw crowded houses in every town in the States which she visits.

LONDON.

Italian Opera.—The opera season has commenced with Torquato Tasso and Beatrice di Tenda for Madame Persiani. Coletti, the new basso, is a beautiful singer of the true school of expression, with a voice as flexible as any tenor. Let us hope M. Laporte will employ such talent as he is now in possession of in better operas than Donizetti's flimsy pieces. Don Giovanni, Figaro, &c. should be revived immediately.

Covent Garden Theatre, under the fostering care of royalty, continues its brilliant career. The fair lessee is indeed a most indefatigable caterer for the amusement of her patrons. Comedy is represented in her brightest dress, every character being well filled by the aid of this unrivalled company. "*The Rivals*," Colley Cibber's "*Double Gallant*," "*The School for Scandal*," and Mrs. Centlivre's "*Wonder*," have each been produced with characteristic splendour. Jolly's new opera of Mabel was justly condemned on its first representation, being in truth a most nauseous piece of fiddling. But the new opera, compiled from the musical compositions of H. R. Highness Prince Albert, which will shortly be produced at this theatre, must prove a very attractive feature. Some of the songs (which we have heard) are of exquisite sweetness and full of melody, and will no doubt soon become exceedingly popular. Leigh Hunt's new play of the "*Legend of Florence*," and Shakspeare's "*Romeo and Juliet*," have been produced with characteristic splendour, attesting the spirit, taste and activity, of the management.

Drury Lane opened with a quotation from our immortal bard—"one touch of nature makes the whole world kin"—but in both the management and the company that "one touch" was wanting; and the lessee made a miserable failure, which neither royalty nor the great tragedian for a few nights could possibly avert. It is confidently stated that Mr. Beale, of the musical firm of Cramer & Co., has taken the theatre for the next season, and if the management is to be placed in the hands of Benedict there will be no longer any reason to com-

plain of the decline of the national musical drama.

The Haymarket Theatre now occupies that position in the dramatic world which old Drury held and maintained some ten years since. And this is chiefly owing to the unceasing exertions of Mr. Webster, under whose guidance this theatre has been gradually rising in the public estimation until it has arrived at the prominent position which it now holds. The present season has commenced most auspiciously, for her Majesty is, and will be, a frequent visitor while such names as Macready, Power, Ward, Phelps, Charles Kean, Helen Faucit, Warner, Glover, and Priscilla Horton, are combined in one company, and these are attractions which must prove sufficient to fill the house every night.

English Opera House.—The Concerts à la Musard continue to attract full and fashionable attendances every evening. As we predicted, when those concerts were first established, they have become as necessary for the pleasures and pastimes of this country as our theatres. And when we assert that a larger portion of the first musical talent of this country is to be found every evening within the walls of the English Opera House than is to be met with elsewhere, it is evident that this establishment ought to (and we are happy to say it does) receive the patronage of the musical public.

Olympic.—This popular little theatre, under the guardianship of Mr. Butler, is constantly varying its light entertainments, with the one exception of "The Ladies' Club," which appears permanently established at this house, being attended at every meeting by a large number of visitors, who appear highly amused at the lectures. The chairwoman, lessee, and members of the council, certainly deserve a vote of thanks. Frederick Vining is another valuable addition to this little company.

The other minors continue their "horrible" career, striving like our neighbours in France, to excite sympathy for the lowest and most worthless characters recorded in the annals of crime, and engendering feelings in the breasts of the "theatrical gods" which will ultimately assist to fill our prisons.

The **PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY** having abolished their last season's arrangement of allowing non-subscribers to come in with guinea tickets, we are to infer they intend this campaign shall be distinguished from the later seasons by great activity in the direction, new symphonies by Mehul, Kalliwoda, Spohr, Berlioz, &c., and the permanent engagement of a first-rate vocal choir to bear the weight of the concerted vocal music which they are supposed to be preparing. These are critical times: they must be up and doing. The public will no longer tolerate an expensive instrumental concert when cheap and excellent ones are so numerous. They have had more than "Three Warnings," and therefore now the sub-

scribers and the public do expect a complete renovation in the vocal department, of which their first concert has not certainly given any strong indication.

The "**Societa Armonica**" hold their first concert, at the great Concert Room of her Majesty's Theatre, on the 30th inst. The engagements they have entered into leave no doubt of their meeting with their usual success.

The Ancient Concerts have commenced. The first was honoured with the presence of the two Queens. Her Majesty and Prince Albert expressed themselves highly pleased with the selection. The first and second concerts were both excellent in quality and execution. The programme of the latter, under the direction of the Archbishop of York, contained some superior revivals.

The Sacred Harmonic Society has been attracting universal attention. It is impossible to convey any idea of the splendid performances of this very excellent Society. "Israel in Egypt" and "Saul" have been performed by the aid of their vast choral resources, in such a masterly style that they have completely electrified the thousands who throng into Exeter Hall on every performance.

A committee of management are preparing a musical treat for the 102d anniversary festival of the Royal Society of Musicians, on the 10th April; several eminent vocalists have tendered their services on the occasion. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge has consented to preside.

The City Quartett Concerts have on each performance been fully and fashionably attended. Messrs. Willy, Joseph Bannister, Hill, Hausmann, and C. Severn, have drawn all the civic amateurs around them, and excited a spirit of musical emulation among our sober citizens highly gratifying. The second, third, and fourth concerts were rather heavy from the want of sufficient variety in the selection. The most attractive quartett was the opening piece of the second part, on the 16th inst., Mozart's quartetto in G minor, for piano, violin, viola, and violoncello, which was performed in a most masterly manner by Messrs. Cipraini, Potter, Willy, Hill, and Hausmann.

The **Choremusicon**.—This very ingenious instrument resembles an upright pianoforte; it has two sets of keys, an octave of pedals with clarionet, flageolet, flute, and bassoon stops, also a drum and triangle, and is capable of giving a great variety of sounds; it is intended principally for the performance of quadrilles and waltzes.

A young lady only ten years of age, a Miss Roeckel, niece to the composer Hummel, has been attracting considerable attention in the provinces by her extraordinary performances on the pianoforte.

The following remarks are from the pen of a correspondent of the "**Musical Journal**,"

the only musical periodical of any value in this country :—

"It is really gratifying to find, in the person of a prince of the royal blood, no less eminent musical qualities than those which distinguish her Majesty's consort. H. R. H. Prince George of Cumberland, the Crown Prince of Hanover, has just published a work, entitled "*Ideen und Betrachtungen über die Eigenschaften der Musik*," (Ideas and Views respecting the Properties of Music). In this work all the soul of the youthful composer is poured forth; his preface is full of enthusiastic praise of music, and he evinces, in almost every page, the most ardent love for the 'sublime science.'

"From my early youth," says Prince George, 'I have applied myself with the most intense desire to make the science of music my study and my amusement, and it has ever proved an invaluable companion, as well as an unceasing comforter through life, from the variety of its inexhaustible ideas. The more I learned, the more closely its poetry wove itself around my soul. Music is a language of sounds—it speaks to us through all our thoughts and feelings.'

"We now come to his compositions; they are '*Sechs Gedichte, von Ernst Schulze, in Musik gesetzt, von S. k. H. dem Kronprinzen von Hannover*.' (Six Poems by E. Schulze, composed and arranged for four voices, by the Crown Prince of Hanover, entitled '*The Star of Love*,' '*Stern der Liebe*;' '*Serenade to Cecilia*,' '*Nachtgruss an Cæcilie*;' '*The Parting*,' '*Abschied*;' '*Ode to Spring*,' '*Fruehlingslied*;' '*Love's Complaint*,' '*Liebesklage*;' and '*Hunting Song*,' '*Jaegerlied*.'

"'*Vorwaerts! Gedicht v. Uhland*,' Onward, a Poem, by Uhland; the music composed and arranged for four voices by H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Hanover.

"And '*Vier Gedichte von Schiller*,' Four Poems by Schiller; the music composed and arranged by H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Hanover. These four poems are—'*To Emma*,' '*An Emma*;' '*The Youth at the Rivulet*,' '*Der Jungling am Bach*;' '*Ardent Desires*,' '*Schnsucht*;' '*Rapture with Laura*,' '*Entzückung an Laura*.'

"In conclusion, I cannot do better than close this brief notice in the words of the prince, whose works will, I trust, soon become familiar to the English nation, to whom he is indeed an ornament, and one whom they may justly claim as their own: 'It is an unpardonable offence towards this divine science to consider it either as a vehicle pour passer le temps; a stimulus to the thoughtless dance, or to be used as a subject of conversation, in which a superficial judgment is allowed to pass its decision on performers and performances, because fashion and custom proclaim it an elegant accomplishment; instead of seeking to discover what really is to be found in the inestimable richness and purity of the divine science of music, viz. a manifest improvement in the finer feelings, refinement in the manners,

consolation in affliction, and hope for futurity, with true and faithful firmness, in faith and in love.'

Thalberg.—This extraordinary pianist was recently travelling through England giving concerts, and meeting every where with great success. In a conversation we had lately with an old professor, whose knowledge of the art is second to none in Europe, the question was asked, "Is Thalberg a great musician?" Our friend said, "Decidedly not. He is a gigantic mechanician; introduces great variety and energy into his playing, but no other decided impression than wonder is left on the mind of people with true musical feeling after hearing him. He is not a Fugulist; does not excel in the Adagio; there is not the exquisite sensibility of John Cramer, the imagination and learning of Mendelssohn, or the majestic solidity of Clementi. Thalberg writes and plays too much; he has not time to think. The very high mechanical construction of his pieces redundant with every sort of difficulty, renders them unfit to produce their proper effect under the hands of other pianists as we find now during his lifetime. How then can it be expected that proper justice should be done to them at any future time? Therefore it is not too much to say that his compositions will die with him."

The Crucifixion.—Oratorio by Louis Spohr. English Translation. London.—Spohr was brought over to superintend this oratorio at the Norwich Festival. The opinion of the best judges in England declare this work to have been a failure. The chorusses here and there are fine, but the chromatic elaboration of the solos, and the dreadful heaviness resulting from the want of dramatic characters or personages in the oratorio, although the instrumentation is (like that of all this composer's works) very beautiful, yet could not redeem the lack of interest felt throughout the performance. We quote the following passage from the "*Monthly Chronicle*" for October, which appears to have been written by some partisan of Mr. Professor Taylor's:—"Spohr came over here, expecting nothing but his bare expenses. The committee, with gentlemanly feeling, and not to be outdone in generosity, sent him back with 150*l*. Such a spirit in the intercourse with a man of genius, does honour to the national character, and makes one proud of being an Englishman!" Indeed! this is a very extraordinary pride then lately sprung up amongst us. The English in general are not so stingy in rewarding foreigners of great talent. Rossini when over here asked and obtained 50 guineas for singing at noblemen's houses, with Signora Colbran; Rubini, 30 guineas; Malibran, 50 guineas; and Weber 50 guineas for promenading the late Duchess of St. Alban's rooms on a rout night. Yet the Norwich committee are here made to boast in the most vulgar manner of enticing Spohr over expecting nothing but his bare expenses!

Life of Madame Malibran. By the Countess Merlin. 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1839. It seems to be the fate of most of the greatly talented persons of every age, to be much misunderstood in their real feelings, which being naturally of an excitable nature, and therefore liable to eccentricity, very often disturb the plodding serenity of the herd of mankind, whose views, confined to money-making, eating, drinking, and enjoying themselves, cannot readily be brought to conceive how enthusiasm of any kind is engendered. Madame Malibran was a genius, almost a universal one, and from the advantage of a long acquaintance with that extraordinary woman, we can assure the readers of the Countess Merlin's book (which is well and amusingly written), that the anecdotes of her liberality and kindness of heart are by no means exaggerated; we could supply of our own knowledge many more. It is not true as stated by the reviewer of this book in the *New Monthly Magazine*, "That had she lived to complete her career in the ordinary way, she would soon have been forgotten." With all her great and varied talent, which was of a nature to throw every other into the shade that came near it, there was a constant playfulness, kindness and attention to the feelings of all around her, which has not to this day been forgotten by any who knew her.

"Evening," a Canzonet. The melody from a German song by Prince Albert, arranged to English words by F. W. Horncastle, Esq., of her Majesty's Chapel Royal. This Canzonet is full of melody, and has been most prettily and judiciously arranged.

One of the prettiest serenades which has appeared for many years is "*Vieni al Bosco, Notturmo*," due voci soprani, composta da F. W. Horncastle, Esq., and published by Mills, of Bond Street.

ACOUSTICS.

The last volume of the "*Records of new Discoveries and Inventions*," published in Paris, contains two notes on some experiments of M. Cagniard Latour, who does not cease to devote himself with success to researches in Acoustics. We transcribe some portion of these notes, which we imagine will be interesting to such of our readers as may be occupied in this branch of musical science.

I. On Sound.

Mr. Savart has discovered, that when a column of air vibrates in a column of a flute with fibrous partitions, it produces a graver sound than that of a flute with rigid partitions. Performers on the flute have been led to remark that this instrument resounds in general more easily when its interior parts are thoroughly damped with water. These and other facts have suggested to M. C. Latour the idea of examining if a column of air, which is contained in a well, would be more or less proper for making the sounds re-

sound, according to whether the well contained water or not; and he believes that the resonance would be more marked in the first case than in the last.

He has also remarked that the sounds produced under the arch of a stone bridge resound more, when the foundation upon which the pillars of the arch rest is covered with water, than when it is not. Latterly he has had an opportunity of being able more fully to appreciate the influence that the surface of the water has upon the resonance of the air, by observing, in an estate in the suburbs of Chartres, two wells of similar size and construction: one, of which the bottom had been covered with water for many years, had acquired an extraordinary degree of resonant power, while the contrary is the case with the other, which contains no water. M. Cagniard Latour observes besides, that in the first well the sounds were prolonged a certain time after they had ceased to be produced, which would give reason to suppose, that water, on account of its polished surface, is as favourable a medium for the reflection of sound, as it has been long proved to be for light. In order to put this to the test, he proposes to have the interior surface of the body of the violin made polished by the application of a very glossy description of varnish, by these means to discover whether the sonorous qualities of the instrument will acquire an appreciable increase of power.

II. On the Vibration of Solid Bodies.

M. Cagniard Latour has made experiments with the view of ascertaining the modifications which the resonant power of solid bodies undergoes under certain circumstances. The principal facts which he has elicited are the following:

1st. The longitudinal vibrations of a tempered steel wire were of a deeper tone than those of a wire of similar length which had not been tempered; the amalgam of which cymbals are made and iron give precisely the same results.

2dly. The transverse sound of a bar of tempered steel becomes higher by the annealing it has received; it is the same with respect to the metal of cymbals which has been tempered.

3dly. The longitudinal vibrations of a wormed thread of steel give the same note as those of a tempered wire of the same length; brass and silver produce similar results. On the subject of these facts, the author remarks that they merit some attention on the part of those learned in physics, because they would seem to show that the mere variations of density in a metal have no influence over the rapidity of its longitudinal vibrations, and that, in consequence, sounds are propagated in solid bodies in the same manner; since, as is well known, the rapidity of the sound in this fluid is independent of the barometric pressure.

4thly. Lastly, the sonorous power of a bar of copper in a screw form is much diminished by annealing; but the contrary holds good with regard to silver; that is to say,

that if a wormed rod of this metal be annealed, it is rendered sensibly more resonant by the process. The same effect takes place in the case of a wormed bar of zinc, which, when it has been annealed by heating till the lead it contains has been fused, acquires the quality of resounding much longer after the sounds are produced, than it did before the process had taken place; the sound elicited is also of a higher tone.

The experiments are but modifications of Lord Bacon's, as the following extract will show:

"It hath been tried, that a pipe a little

moistened on the inside, but yet so as there be no drops left, maketh a more solemn sound than if the pipe were dry; but yet with a sweet degree of sibilation or purling. The cause is, for that all things porous being superficially wet, and, as it were, between dry and wet, became a little more even and smooth; but the purling which must needs proceed of inequality, I take to be bred between the smoothness of the inward surface of the pipe which is wet, and the rest of the wood of the pipe unto which the wet cometh not."—See p. 121, vol. iv. of Basil Montague's Edition of Lord Bacon's Works.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

FRANCE.

One of the sweetest of French living poets is Madame Desbordes Valmore, who first attracted attention in France, Germany, and England, by a collection of poems, entitled "Pauvres Fleurs." Her life having been shaded with miseries and disappointments, it has infused that tinge of sadness and melancholy which characterizes the writings of the sweet authoress. There are other poets in France who sing louder and more skilfully, but there are none who breathe such gentle, tender, and inspiring lays as Madame Desbordes Valmore.

M. Charles, of Chartres, Member of the Institut, is preparing for the press a very extensive History of Arithmetic; in which the author intends to enter at length into the question of Mr. Halliwill's theory of the Boetian Contractions recently discussed before the French Institute, by M. Charles and M. Libri.

A work embracing the information of a hand-book, and embellished with fifty engravings, entitled "Voyage de Paris à Constantinople par bateau à vapeur," has appeared at Paris. This work must prove invaluable to the southern traveller.

GERMANY.

A work highly interesting to the geologist is announced by Hermann von Meyer, entitled "Fauna der Vorwelt." This work will treat of fossil bones of Pachydermata, (Mastodon, Rhinoceros, Palæotherium, Dinotherium, Tapir, Microtherium, &c.) Ruminantia, (Palæomeryx, Orygotherium, &c.) Rodentia, (Lagomys Oeningensis,) Carnivora, (Harpagodon, Pachyodon, &c.) Tortoises, Sauriens, Frogs and Birds, which have been found in beds of Lignite, or Brown Coal, in Switzerland, and in other deposits of Molasse in this country, as well as in the pits of pisolite iron ore of Möskirch, in the calcareous marl near Oeningen, the gypsum near Hohenhöven, in the strata near Weisenau, and in other tertiary strata; of the skeleton parts of the marine Mammalia; of remains of Sauriens, Tortoises, and Birds, from the

cretaceous group, (in the canton of Glaris, &c.) of the Plateosaurus from the Keuper; of the teeth of the Ischyrodon; of Sauriens and Tortoises from the famous formation of the lithographic limestone of Solenhofen; and of other fossil vertebrated animals.

As to the present eager pursuit of historical investigations about the constitution of the earth and the development of its organic types of animal life, there can be no better evidence than the remains of animals in the crust of the earth, amongst which the vertebrated animals are no doubt of the greatest importance. Thus, if we add the creatures produced by the earth in a primitive age to the number at present only, we are able to estimate the riches of the whole creation, and to explain the alternations resulting from the sublime laws of nature. The publication of a work like this, containing anatomical and geological discoveries of a former world, will therefore be readily promoted.

The work will appear in several numbers, the price of which will be calculated as is customary with such works, after the number of sheets in German, printed in Latin letters in 4to, and according to the number of tables in folio, with plates.

BERLIN.—The University has presented Professor Räumer with the honorary diploma of Doctor of Laws.

LEIPZIG.—Dr. Hermann Brockhaus, the son of the well-known bookseller of that name, who has for some time been studying the East Indian languages, has been called to the University of Jena, where an appointment has been accepted by him. He has lately published an edition of the "Kata-Sakrit Sagara," a collection of Sanskrit Fables and Legends, with a German translation.

Mohnicke, the best German translator of the "Frithiof's Saga," has just announced a complete translation of all Tegnér's poems, together with his life, by Franzen, and an introduction to the "Frithiof's Saga" by the translator.

Dr. Hitzig, of Berlin, has been induced to

publish a new journal in that town, devoted principally to the rights of authors and publishers.

HAARLEM.—At the annual meeting of the Society of Arts and Sciences, the following honorary members were elected:—Babbage, Lyell and Murchison, of London; Ehrenberg and Mitscherlich, in Berlin; Bone, Beaumont, and Prevost, in Vienna.

BRESLAU.—Oriental literature has sustained a heavy loss in Dr. Tobias Habicht, the translator and editor of the Arabian Nights, generally known as the "Breslau Edition," and universally esteemed by all Arabic scholars.

ERLANGEN.—The lamented death of Dr. Hermann Olshausen, author of the Commentary to the New Testament, has created a vacancy in the Theological faculty, which it is understood is to be filled in future by two younger professors.

The third centenary of the discovery of printing will be celebrated in the ensuing summer in all the principal towns of Germany. At Leipzig preparations are making for a magnificent display; the morning of the 24th June will be ushered in with the ringing of bells; at eight o'clock the populace will assemble at the principal churches to give thanks; and at ten o'clock the various deputations and representative bodies are to form into procession, parading the principal streets, and arriving at the market-place, where an immense vocal and instrumental choir will deliver a selection of songs and other musical effusions, composed for this interesting occasion. At three o'clock the company are to dine in the Augustusplatz, where accommodation will be provided for 3000 persons. In the evening the city will be generally illuminated. On the 25th, a meeting of the literati, authors, printers, booksellers and publishers will be held in the market-place; and at three o'clock the grand oratorio, composed in celebration of this event by Dr. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, will be performed in the cathedral church. A grand ball will conclude the evening's amusements. The 26th June is to be devoted to the festivities of the people, accompanied with fire-works and torch-light processions.

At Hamburg, Berlin, Copenhagen, Mayence, Cologne, and Weimar, committees have been formed for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of celebrating the Third Centenary of the Discovery of Printing, in these cities on the 24th of June. Illuminations will be general throughout Germany on that extraordinary occasion.

The celebrated naturalist, Dr. Blumenbach, died at Göttingen on the 22d of January. He was born at Gotha in 1752.

The "Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung," the "Morgenblatt," and the "Litterarischer Anzeiger," are the three best literary journals published in Germany, and each enjoys a large and influential circulation.

The Society of Knowledge of Upper Lu-

satia consists of 125 general and 126 corresponding members, possessing a valuable collection of coins and minerals, and a library of upwards of 30,000 volumes. They have published the first portion of the "Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum," containing the chronicles of Johann von Guben, the Gorlitzian annals of Bereith von Geuterbog; a Calendarium Necrologicum of the Minoritan convent at Gorlitz, the annals of the Francesconian convent, and the history of the Hussite war in Silesia and Lusatia, by Martin von Bolkenhain. The first number of the second part has also appeared, containing the first portion of the annals of the senate of Gorlitz, from 1487 to 1495.

HOLLAND.

AMSTERDAM.—Dutch literature continues at a low ebb; the only works which now appear are on political or religious subjects, and a few works on jurisprudence; but the penal laws are in a very confused state, arising from the circumstance of the judges being appointed for life, and cannot be removed; they are perhaps less responsible than any other judges in Europe. There is but one Dutch magazine on Foreign literature.

ITALY.

The following are among the most recent publications which have appeared in Italy:—A "Dizionario di Conversazione"—Conversations Lexicon—is proceeding slowly under the direction of the historian Carrer. Gallerini, the principal bookseller at Rome, is publishing a new edition of the collected works of Angelo Maria Ricci. Campiglio has completed his historical romance "Elena della Torre," and M. Moroni has issued his "Dizionario enciclopedico della vita pubblica e privata de pontefici." Guiseppe Sacchi has published a volume of moral and historical tales, "Racconti morali e storici." The fifth and last volume of "Il milite romano" (The Roman Soldier), by Colleoni, has appeared. A "Dizionario biografico universale," and a "Panlessico" in six languages, have appeared at Florence, and at Bologna a translation of J. J. Rousseau's "Dictionnaire de la Musique." At Turin, Lissoni has republished Laurent's History of Napoleon, with Vernet's illustrations. The poet Cæsare Perini has gone to Oporto to write four dramas founded on Portuguese history. Valpi, of Milan, has announced a "Dizionario universale artistico."

Of public works, the roads between Trieste and the province of Messina, Catania, and Salerno, are undergoing great and important repairs. The king's palace at Naples is about to be restored, and the railroad between Naples and Castellamare is nearly completed, and several lofty mountains are to be connected by hand-bridges. The harbour of Leghorn is to be enlarged and improved.

FLORENCE. The progress of literature and the publication of literary works throughout

Italy continues unimpeded. The second volume of "*Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*," containing the history of Marco Foscarelli, and all the events of that remarkable period, from 1527 to 1530; and a comprehensive notice of the state of the court and country under Cosmus the First, 1561, has appeared, to which is appended a very interesting notice of Savoy during the same period (1561). The first volume of Dr. Gaye's work, entitled "*Carteggio inedito d'Artisti del Secolo XIV. XV. XVI.*," published and illustrated with documents pure inediti," will shortly appear. This work, comprising a period of from 1225 to 1500, contains a mass of information of vast value, and the publication is anxiously looked for by the literati of Italy; fac-similes and autographs of artists and celebrated men of those ages will form an interesting addition to the work.

The number of savings banks in Italy at the close of the year was twenty-eight; of these two are in the Sardinian States at Chambery and Turin; nine in Lombardy; eleven in Tuscany; one at Lucca; four in the papal towns, and one at Naples. The capital in the central bank at Florence amounted to three and a half million Tuscan livres, being about £112,500.

POLAND.

Within the last four years eighty-three works have been published in Cracow; of these two were historical, ten theological, and twenty-seven literary and poetical; and there are at the present time four book-printers, four booksellers, three print-sellers, and four libraries in that town. Joseph Muczkowski has been appointed librarian to the University, and is now engaged on a history of the University of Cracow. A new and complete history of Polish literature in three parts is also in course of publication from the pen of Professor M. Wisniewski, celebrated for his "*Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte Polens*" and other works.

Garczynski has published some light, natural and vivid scenes of Polish early history (the 16th and 17th century) in his "*Powiesci Jadama*," a work in two volumes. Ambrozy Grabowski has also published a similar work, entitled "*Starożytnosci historyczne polskie*." A lady of high family and literary repute, Madam von R * *, a princess of G * *, has produced an entertaining work, "*Wspomnienia o Francyi*" (Recollections of France,) on the state of high society in Paris. Her remarks on Victor Hugo, and other eminent French authors, will be read with interest. The best and most comprehensive Polish and German dictionary is that by Professor Trojan-ski of Berlin, and the same remark applies to his Latin and Polish lexicon. An excellent collection of the early religious Polish songs and hymns has just appeared, entitled "*Spiewnik koscielny*;" the melodies have also been arranged with care and attention,

which renders the work additionally interesting. There are seven journals published at Cracow, viz. "*Gazeta Krakowska*," "*Zbieracz literacki*," the latter containing voyages, travels, tales, and anecdotes; "*Gazeta ogrodnicza*" (Gardener's Magazine); "*Pamiętnik farmaceutyczny*," (Medical Journal); the "*Rocznik*" (Annual Register); "*Rocznik towarzystwa naukowego*" (Annual Account of the Proceedings of the Society of Knowledge); and the "*Pamiętnik naukowy*," (Scientific Remembrancer). The two last mentioned are the most important, and contain interesting articles on antiquity and modern science, particularly on all information relating to the early Slavonic tribes.

RUSSIA.

The Monk Jakief, who recently returned from his religious mission to Peking, is now giving a course of lectures on the Chinese language to the pupils of the Oriental Institute, intended as missionaries to China. Baron Chaudoir, the Asiatic historian, is engaged on a numismatic work on the coins of China, Japan, and Cor, which will be published in Russian and French, and embellished with twenty-eight copper plates. M. von Hagemeister has published a work on the influence of the European trade with Turkey and Persia. The first part of a "*History of Siberia from 1535 to 1742*" has been published by Slowzow of Moscow. The study of the Armenian language has much increased in Russia recently, through the facility afforded by the publication of the "*Armenian and Russian Dictionary*" by Alexander Chodubaschew of Moscow, in two parts. A valuable addition has been made to the Asiatic library and museum of the Academy of Science at St. Petersburg, by the purchase of the oriental works and manuscripts belonging to the Baron von Canstadt, which the Emperor has purchased for 40,000 rubles. Some very interesting particulars respecting Odessa have appeared in the Russian almanack for 1839, recently published in that city; it also contains short notices of the Russian poets, Benediktow-Kukolnik, Podolinski, and Glinka.

The University of Dorpat was attended last year by 551 students; of this number only twelve were from other than Russian States. Of the various departments 223 belonged to the medical, 147 to the philosophical, 120 to the juridical, and 61 to the Theological faculties.

SPAIN.

The long-continued war, and the nearly balanced state of political parties in Spain, have not been without their lamentable effects on the literature as well as the prosperity of the country. Politics, personal abuse, and factious measures, even more than the war, have engrossed the attention of the press and the people to the almost entire exclusion of literary and other matters. The Spanish language has undergone a great change within the last few years, and

that which is now spoken in parliament is no more like the Spanish of Cervantes and Luis de Granada, than the German of Tieck and Jean Paul is like that of Gellert or Sponheim.

The principal Spanish writers are attached to the press. Thus the "*Revista de Madrid*," which is almost the only paper sent to other countries, is the organ of the Moderates, and contains articles by Galiano, Pedal, and Martinez de la Rosa. The "*Revista Militair*" is edited by Evaristo San Miguel, and is the organ of the liberals; in its columns are frequently some very spirited satires on the other two great parties. The "*Corresponziel*" is a statistical and official paper; and the "*Gaceta*" is rather more a literary than a political newspaper, but the "*Correo Nacional*," edited by Borrego, has more literary matter than any of the Madrid newspapers. The "*El Espagno*" is also an organ of the moderate party, and has the greatest number of subscribers and correspondents. The "*Correo*" is attached to the Bonaparte and republican interest. The provincial newspapers are of a very inferior character: the only ones worth mentioning are the "*Eco de Aragon*" and the journal "*El Tiempo*," published at Cadiz; the latter frequently contains philosophical articles from the pen of Lista.

Of the weekly and other minor periodicals there are—the "*Esperanza*," a weekly paper of one sheet, with a wretched lithograph, is only three shillings per annum. The "*La Mariposa*" (The Butterfly), is the organ of the fashions, presenting its readers with coloured plates monthly. The "*Panorama*" contains some good lithographs; the subscription is six shillings per annum. The provincial towns have each a few periodicals of this class. Saragossa has its "*Aurora*;" Granada its "*Alhambra*," and Malaga its "*Guadalhorze*," which has some lithographs of the best kind.

The annuals are about to be introduced, but they will hardly succeed, judging from the "*No me olvides*" (the Forget me Not), which was published in London a few years since, and edited by J. J. Mora; in fact, the Spanish ladies generally prefer a trinket or a splendid fan to books of poetry, even when embellished with plates and gilt edges.

There are several literary societies in Madrid. At the Athenæum, as well as at the Academy, lectures are given on philosophical and historical subjects, oriental languages, and foreign literature, but the number of subscribers has sunk so low that the society may be termed a failure; while the Lyceum, a society for dramatic representations, contains upwards of 800 members. The poet Zorrilla, assisted by learned coadjutors, has recently founded a literary academy, but as yet it has made but little progress.

The Dramatic is the only species of literature now cultivated in Spain, and this is carried to so great an excess that a vast deal of trash is intermixed. The best collections

are published in the "*Galeria dramatica*" and in the "*Repertorio dramatico*;" the former collection consists principally of old Spanish pieces. Of dramatic writers the most distinguished are Gorostiza and Martinez de la Rosa; the latter is now writing a new comedy for the Lyceum. To these must be added Antonio Gil de Zarate, and Manuel Breton de los Herreros.—The "*Troubadour*," by Garcia Gutierrez; the "*Loved one of Teruel*," by Don Ventura de la Vega; "*Donna Menzua*," by Harzembusch, also enjoy the highest favour. Among the second class of original dramatic writers, Joseph Garcia Villalta, Gregorio Romero of Larragnaga, Ramon Campoamor, Jose Maria Riaz, and Franz Diaz, must be considered as the highest in public estimation.

The most distinguished lyric poet of the present day in Spain is Zorrilla, who has written six volumes of poetry. The poetical works of Martinez de la Rosa, and the Duke of Rivas, are well known, as well as Pope's "*Rape of the Lock*," which has been translated into Spanish. The only original works of merit are "*Los armantes de Teruel*," by Teruel; the political romances of Tapia, the historical romance of Herman Perez of Pulgar; and "*Isabella Solis, Queen of Granada*," by Martinez de la Rosa.

The Spaniards, and even Cervantes himself, esteemed the "*Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*" far more highly than "*Don Quixote*." The characters introduced are all well drawn—the men brave and honourable—the females virtuous and beautiful—the incidents of storms, shipwrecks, discovery of islands, &c., are all highly wrought. The second part is a journey through Spain, the south of France, northern Italy, and thence to Rome (in fulfilment of a vow), which is also described.

Respecting the Spanish dialects.—The people of the north speak the Bascuense, one of the most difficult as well as one of the most ancient of European languages, and dignified with written works which bear the stamp of an antiquity previous to our common era. On the east, the principality of Catalonia has another language, also ancient, full of energy, and enriched with a literature, which, though little known in Europe, and even in the Peninsula, is nevertheless considerable from the number of writers as well as from the diversity and merit of the works. The rest of Spain speak Castilian, the most modern, the most harmonious, the most cultivated, and the richest of the Peninsular languages. The lore of poetry, written in this language, is almost the only part known abroad of a literature as varied and rich as it is vast.

SWEDEN.

NECROLOGY.—Dr. Bengt F. Fries.—Among the many stars which have disappeared from the horizon of science during the year now drawing to a close, none shone with greater or more beneficial lustre than Professor De Fries, who filled the Upsal Chair

of Natural Philosophy; and was Chief Curator of the Museum of Natural History in the Swedish capital. Sweden has experienced no such loss since the fall of the great Linnæus.

The deceased philosopher was born in the province of Scone, in the South of Sweden, in 1799. Early an orphan, he was so fortunate as to enjoy the successive guardianship of two distinguished and literary men, the latter of whom—Count Gyllenröök—had a large private collection in natural history. But notwithstanding this, and the decided bent of his disposition to the natural sciences, he obeyed the wishes of his first guardian, and commenced the study and practice of the law. The subject, however, grew at last too repugnant, and he abandoned this department for more congenial studies. After many introductory tours through the provinces and islands of Southern and Western Sweden, and a long course of academical preparations, he became, in 1828, Lecturer in Natural History, &c. at the University of Upsala. But not content with his triumphs in this branch of science, he had also directed his unwearied energies to the study of medicine, and, after obtaining his doctor's degree, became regimental physician to the dragoon guards of Scone. The museums, both of Lund and of Stockholm, contain valuable testimonials to his zeal and talents in the medical faculties. The former possesses his very rich collection of "Preparations of the Brains of Animals,"—and to the latter he presented (besides a fine collection of insects, principally from Lappmark) a valuable "Series of Skeletons," the fruits of his labours in comparative anatomy.

Among many other methods employed by Fries for enriching the Museum which he valued as a child, we ought not to omit mentioning that he was the first in Sweden who established a vigorous and extensive system of exchanging with other museums in different parts of the world. In this manner contributions from abroad of rare and beautiful specimens added very considerably to the resources of the Museum.

In 1834-5, he commenced a Herculean labour—that of *de novo* revising, organizing, and cataloguing the whole contents of the National Museum. His rapid progress and eventual success were such as might have been expected from his unwearied labour, clear judgment and distinguished genius, and surpassed the most sanguine expectations.

But the principal monument which he erected to his country and himself was his great work on "The Fishes of Scandinavia;" exhibiting a clear and learned text and splendid fac-simile engravings, the result of immense labours and of long continued researches along the western coasts of Sweden, partly alone and partly in conjunction with the distinguished Swedish savans, Von Wright and Silfvestolpe. From his second coast-journey, especially, which lasted nearly a year, amid great hardships and ex-

posure on rocks in the ocean, he returned laden with spoil,—and when December came, his Christmas box to the Museum was ready,—a musæolum of the sea-tribes of the Archipelago of Bolmstän.

Herr Almgoist, a writer of great and diversified talents, has just commenced a work which promises to be of great interest, under the title "Menniskoslågtets Saga," the legendary history of the human race, united with geography.

Herr Bonnier, the enterprising bookseller and publisher of Stockholm, has brought out the first two parts of his "Picture-Bible." Each part contains two steel engravings. This work is immensely popular. He has also just completed the first volume of the collected Poems of the late distinguished and lamented bard Nicander.*

Lately has appeared the 12th tome of the valuable "De la Gardiska Arkivet." This volume contains a variety of documents illustrating the reigns of Charles the Tenth and Eleventh, besides various topographical and statistical papers. There is also a dissertation on the celebrated "Vision of Charles XI.," communicated by Count de la Gardie, in consequence of an article which appeared in the "Revue de Paris" for 1829. The whole affair is proved to have been an afterthought, and a court forgery.

Bladh's has lately published an excellent "Journey to Monte Video and Buenos Ayres."

Among the Christmas publications, we have two or three "Companions to the Almanac," two very pretty "Annuals," and a great number of books for youth, among which are Tales translated from Miss Edgeworth.

Some beautiful lithographs have just appeared—"Reminiscences from Turkey and Egypt," containing portraits of Mehemet Ali, the young Sultan, Costumes, &c.

Laing's Sweden has recently been translated into Swedish, and published at Stockholm.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Poems of Schiller have always been one of the first objects to which the German student has turned his attention; but here he had been met with difficulties, obscurities, and mythological incidents which he applies in vain for his dictionary to elucidate. Mr. Edmund Bach is about to supply this omission by the publication of a complete key to all the poems of that celebrated author. His work, "The Poems of Schiller explained, with a Glossary elucidating the Difficulties of the Language, Construction and Allusion," now in the press, has been compiled with the greatest care and distinctness, and will prove without doubt an invaluable little present to the German student.

* There is a short notice of this poet in the deceased "Foreign Review," No. II. p. 635.

Dr. Lhotsky has a new work in the press on the interior of New Holland, being a "Journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps." The first portion of this work was originally published at Sydney, but the present edition will be considerably augmented and improved.

The want of a magazine which would supply this country with a knowledge of the literature of Southern Europe, and of Spain and Portugal in particular, is about to be supplied by the publication of a monthly journal, entitled "The Peninsular Magazine." This journal will be edited by Dr. H. de Lazeu, of whose ability to conduct the work there can be but one opinion.

One of the most entertaining works that has recently appeared is, "Michael Angelo considered as a Philosophic Poet," with thirty-five poems, most ably translated by John Edward Taylor, Esq. This work will really be found a little library treasure, both to the philosophic and the general reader.

A new monthly journal, entitled the "Colonial Magazine," and edited by Robert Montgomery Martin, Esq., is a valuable addition to the list of English periodicals; while the cause and the interest it advocates are fully sufficient to give it that large and wide circulation which the spirit and ability it is conducted with demands.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH, 1840, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

- Albo, R. Joseph, ספר עקרים Grund- und Glaubenslehren der Mosaischen Religion. Nach den ältesten und correctesten Ausgaben und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von W. und L. Schlesinger. 8vo Franfort. Part II. 4s
- Berliner Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung, for 1840. Edited by Professor Rheinwald. 104 Nos. 4to Berlin. 15s
- Kempis, Thomas à, de Imitatione Christi Libri IV. Ad optimarum editionum fidem accurate editi. 16mo Lipsiae. 2s 6d
- Kopp, Ernst, Der Tempel Salomo's. New edit. Royal fol. Stuttgart. 5s
- Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum. 8vo Lips. 11s 6d
- Sailers Sämmtliche Werke, unter Anleitung des Oerfassers herausgegeben von Joseph Widmer Schriften für Erbauung. Vollständiges Lese- und Gebetbuch für katholische Christen. Vols. II. and III. Parts 24 and 25. Sulzbach. 9s
- Catechismus ex decreto concilii Tridentini ad parochos Pii V. pont. max. jussu editus. 8vo Lipsiae. 3s 6d
- Glade, P. V., Duprogrès religieux. 2de éd. 3 vols. 8vo Paris. 3l 10s
- Hanne, J. W., Friedrich Schleiermacher als religiöser Genius Deutschlands. 8vo Brunswick. 2s 6d
- Klopstock's, F. G., Sämmtliche Werke, in 3 Vols. By H. Schmidlin. Vol. III. 8vo Stuttgart. 2s 6d
- Schoedel, F. H., Flavius Josephus de Jesu Christo testatus. Vindiciac Flaviana auctore, etc. 8vo Lipsiae. 2s 6d
- Thesaurus literaturae theologiae academicae, sive recensio dissertationum, programmatum aliarumque commentationum theologicarum, cum selectu uberrimo scriptionum academicarum philolog. Dr. Theile. Lipsiae. 9s
- Zeitschrift für Theologie, in Verbindung mit mehreren Gelehrten herausgegeben vom Drs.

Hug. &c. &c. Vol. II. Part II. 8vo Freiburg. 10s

Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie, herausgegeben vom Dr. J. H. Fichte. Vol. IV. 2 Parts. 8vo Bonn.

LAW, JURISPRUDENCE, AND STATISTICS.

- Bibliotheca Juridica. Enthaltend ein Verzeichniss der in Oesterreich über Gesetzgebung, politische Verfassung. 8vo 1s 6d
- Bottin, Séb Statistique Annuelle de l'Industrie. 1840. 8vo Paris. 13s
- Dumas, Crimes célèbres. Vol. I. 8vo Paris.
- Grellet Wammy, Manuel des Prisons, ou Exposé historique, théorique et pratique du système pénitentiaire. Vol. II. 8vo Paris. 6s
- Juristische Wochenschrift für die Preussischen Staaten. 1840. 104 Nos. 4to Berlin. 21s

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

- Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, for 1840. 3 Vols. or 12 parts of 230 Nos. 4to. Halle. 3l 3s
- Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, for 1840. 2 Vols. 366 Nos. 4to Leipzig. 3l 3s
- Feuerbach, Ueber Philosophie und Christenthum, in Beziehung auf den der Hegel'schen Philosophie gemachten Vorwurf der Unchristlichkeit. 8vo Mannheim. 2s 6d
- Hallische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst, for 1840. Edited by Echtermeyer und Ruge. 312 Nos. 4to Leipzig. 3l 3s
- Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik, for 1840. Edited by von Henning. 2 Vols. or 12 Parts. Gr. 4to Berlin. 3l 3s
- Literarische und Kritische Blätter der Börsen. Halle, 1840. Edited by Niebour und Florencourt. 156 Nos. 4to Hamburg. 2l 10s
- Oeuvres de Locke et de Leibnitz, revues, corrigées et accompagnées de notes, par M. F. Thurot, &c. 8vo Paris 13s
- Raccolta degli scrittori moderni d'Italia. Vols. II.

- and III. Margherita Pusterla racconto di Cesare Cantù. II., III. 8vo Monaco. 3 Vols. 6s
- Altdeutsche Blätter von Moriz Haupt und Heinrich Hoffmann. Vol. II. Part III. 8vo Leipzig. 3s 6d The 2 Vols. 21s
- Conversations-Lexicon der Gegenwart. Lindpainter bis Malerkunst. 8vo Common paper, 1s 6d, fine, 2s 6d
- Dumas, J. B., Histoire de l'academie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon. 2 Vols. 8vo Lyon.
- Gaillardin, C., Histoire du Moyen-âge. 2de édit. Vol. III. 8vo edit. 7s 12mo 3s 6d
- Ranke, L., Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa in 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert. Vol. IV. Berlin. 4 Vols. 2l 12s
- Histoire et mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences de Toulouse. Années 1837, 1838, 1839. Vol. V. Parts 1 & 2. 8vo Toulouse.
- Lasalle, A. F., Conjectures philosophiques, religieuses et politiques. 8vo Metz
- Mélanges biographiques et bibliographiques relatifs à l'histoire littéraire du Dauphiné. C. Batines et O. Jules. Part 3. 8vo Valence. 3 Parts. 12s
- Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de l'Ouest. Année 1838. 8vo Poitiers. 10s
- MEDICAL AND NATURAL SCIENCES, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.**
- Agassiz, Louis, Monographies d'echinodermes vivans et fossiles. 1 Livr. Les Salenies. 4to Neuchâtel. 15s
- Annalen der Physik und Chemie, by J. Poggendorf. Ergänzung. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo Leipz. 6s
- Beiträge zur Petrefacten-Kunde mit XXX. nach der Natur gezeichneten Tafeln von Georg Graf zu Münster. Part II.
- Berliner Astronomisches Jahrbuch für 1841. 8vo Berlin. 11s 6d
- Berliner Medicinische Central-Zeitung, for 1840. 52 Nos. 4to Berlin. 1l 5s
- Chirurgische Kupfertafeln. Eine auserlesene Sammlung u. s. w. Part LXXXIII. 4to Weimar. 2s 6d
- Clerc, Manuel classique et élémentaire de Botanique d'Anatomie et de Physiologie Végétale. 4to Paris. 12s
- Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's, des Vertilgers der Wurzel der zehn Uebel in den zehn Gegenden. Eine ostasiatische Heldensage,, aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt, von J. J. Schmidt. 8vo St. Petersburg. 7s.
- Endlicher, Stephanus, Genera Plantarum secundum ordines naturales disposita. Fasc. XII. 4to Vienna. 4s 6d.
- Erpétologie générale, ou Histoire Naturelle complète des Reptiles, par A. M. C. Duméril et par G. Bibron. Vol. V. 8vo Price 6s each Vol. Atlas, 5me livr. 8vo Paris. 3s each Part.
- Forichon, Le Matérialisme et la Phrénologie combattus dans leurs fondemens, et l'intelligence étudiée dans son état normal et ses aberrations; dans le délire, les hallucinations, la folie, les songes, et chez les animaux. 8vo Paris. 7s
- Hufeland, C. W., Enchiridion Medicum, oder Anleitung zur medizinischen Praxis. Vermächtniss einer funfzigjährigen Erfahrung. 5th Edit. 8vo Berlin. 21s
- Journal für die reine und angewandte Mathematik. Vol. XX. 4 parts. 4to. Berlin. 20s
- Laplace, Traité de Mécanique Céleste. 2de édition, conforme à la 1re. Vol. III. 4to Paris. Price for the 5 Vols. 10l
- Lassaigne, J. L., Dictionnaire des réactifs chimiques employés dans toutes les expériences faites dans les cours publics et particuliers, soit dans les Arts, soit en Médecine. 12mo. Bruxelles. 7s
- Magendie, Leçons sur les fonctions et les Maladies du Système Nerveux, professées au Collège de France. Vol. II. 8vo Paris. 6s 6d
- Magikon. Archiv für Beobachtungen aus dem Gebiete der Geisterkunde und des magnetischen und magischen Lebens nebst andern Zugaben für Freunde des Innern als Fortsetzung der Blätter aus Prevorst. Part I. 8vo Stuttgart. 2s 6d.
- Pallas, P. S., Icones ad Zoographiam Rosso-Asiaticam. Fasc. V. fol. St. Petersburg. 9s
- Pharmaceutisches Central-Blatt, for 1840. 52 Nos. and Plates. 8vo Leipz. 17s. 6d
- Possenti, I. C., Sulla sistemazione dell' emissario del lago di Como, memora idraulica. Con 2 tavole intagliate. 4to. Milan.
- Rainard, Traité de Pathologie et de Thérapeutique générales vétérinaires. 8vo Paris. 5s 6d
- Spach, Histoire Naturelle des végétaux. Phanérogames. Vol. VIII. 8vo Planches. 13 Parts. 8vo Paris. 5s each Vol. Each part of Plates, 4s 6d, coloured, 7s
- Systematisches Conchylien-Cabinet von Martini und Chemnitz. Neu herausgegeben und vervollständigt von H. C. Küster. Vol. V. Part II. Nos. 3 and 4. 4to Nurnburg. 20s
- Vol. III. Part I. 4to 10s
- Velpeau, Manuel pratique des Maladies des Yeux, d'après les leçons cliniques de M. Velpeau. 18mo Paris. 8s 6d
- Vidal, Traité de Pathologie externe et de médecine opératoire. Vol. III. 8vo Paris 7s 6d
- Zetterstedt, J. W., Insecta Lapponica descripta. Vol. I. Part 6. 4to Leipzig. 7s 6d price complete, 2l 5s
- Almanach für das Jahr 1840. Berghaus. Gotha. 10s
- Bryologia Europæa, seu genera muscorum Europæorum monographice illustrata, auctoribus Bruch et W. P. Schimper. Plates 6 to 9. Stuttgart. 2s 6d
- Meunier, Histoire philosophique des progrès de la zoologie générale. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo Paris. 9s
- HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.**
- Bailly, Notice Historique sur l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Paris. (1612 à 1839). 8vo Paris. 3s
- Bobrik, Dr. H., De Sicyoniae topographia scrip. Addita est tabula geographica. 8vo Regimontii Prussorum.
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THE
FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW,

NO. L.

FOR JULY, 1840.

ART. 1.—1. *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's sämtliche Schriften*. Berlin. 1838–9–40.
2. *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttel Ungenannten*. Herausgegeben von Lessing. Berlin. 1835.

It is a natural and not uncommon pedantry of literary men to judge of illustrious personages merely or mainly by the character of their soul, or a part of their soul, as it appears upon paper. So Hallam in Martin Luther can find nothing but “bellowing in bad Latin;” and no doubt if precept or practice of “*Elegantia Latinæ*” were the most proper qualities to make a man be admired for ever in the galleries of the great, then Valla and Erasmus may justly be supposed far to outshine the monk of Wittenberg. But a man is great not by virtue of what he writes, or what is written of him, but by virtue of wise living words spoken in season, and hard blows hitting on the right place. It is also singularly strange, but very true, that a man’s greatness upon paper, or the figure he makes in any given department of literary activity, often bears no proportion whatever, nay often is in the inverse ratio of his greatness in word and in deed, and in the hard practical battle of truth against error and of good against evil. A man may electrify and regenerate a whole world and not write a word. Thoughts of the highest kind also have no ambition, no capacity to express themselves so that they may be counted by any literary lady, like *Pater noster* on a rosary. An irregular

fire-soul like Martin Luther’s flings forth truth, with reckless triumph, into the world; the hearts of men are fired; and amid the general joy and enthusiasm of emancipated thought, no one cares to ask whether the thing itself, or the neat model of the thing, in the shape of a book, shall or shall not delight the idle *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* in the cabinets of the curious. What book-binding is to book-reading, that is book-making generally to living and acting; the mere outward dressing and exhibiting of a thing; a trade plied not unfrequently by men in whose neatly garnished brain-chambers all things seem to exist mainly for the sake of dress and exhibition; and not for dress and exhibition merely, but specially also that this or the other man-milliner may make himself a mighty hunter in the world of books, by dressing up this or the other remarkable history in elegant prose, or more elegant verse—the mere vanity and foppery of the artificial or at best secondary manhood of the pen. Despite of all which, however, we find that the great majority of mankind continue to judge of things by their living and substantial worth only; and the *Veni, vidi, vici* of true genius is admired of all ages, not because it was written, but because it was done.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was in no sense a child of gigantic impulse, a soul of potent thunder and lightning, like Martin Luther. He could not “bellow” like the great reformer, though he could cut as keenly, and more neatly and scientifically. Nevertheless there is something irregular, and

to the superficial observer paradoxical, in his whole appearance; something that will not fall easily under any of the common critical categories; something that looks very unfinished and unsatisfactory upon paper; lines innumerable; sketches finely conceived and powerfully drawn, but fragmentary, or zig-zag, working themselves now out of, now into, strange corners, and ending, to all practical purposes, so far as we can see—in nothing. The truth is that Lessing was more concerned to work on his own age than for posterity; at least circumstances so brought it about that he was continually engaged in critical, theological, artistical battles, the fighting of which was not the less beneficial to his age and country, that the modern English critic can with difficulty interest himself in them, and, from feeling perfectly indifferent to the issue, somewhat hastily concludes that the man who laid so many pigmies low was himself a pigmy—at least a champion much overrated.* The interest of battles literary and political ceases with the day; but the fruit of battles well-devised, and well-fought, is eternal. Consubstantiation is forgotten, but the German Reformation remains; the Silesian war may force little sympathy now, but the Prussian kingdom can command respect: so Klotz, and Goetz, and Gottsched; shallow learning, sectarian bigotry, Frenchified pedantry, are things no longer named in Germany; but a German literature exists among the most erudite, the most humanized, and the most characteristic that are, of which literature Lessing was one of the noblest pioneers; and a German language is studied by all European thinkers, of which language Lessing was second—we will not say to Goethe—the most masterly handler

Lessing has produced pieces finished and

* "Lessing is one of those who have been overpraised; he was esteemed a great poet: but we cannot now concede to him the inspiration of poetical genius. He was endowed with numerous and very different capacities; but his studies were desultory, and he had much more zeal than perseverance. He was not less paradoxical, and, to use a word which was not born when he lived, but to which he answered exactly, revolutionary. His exertions and acquisitions were immense. He had a perpetual thirst for new discoveries, and for discovering new views of old ones; but his plan of proceeding was fitful and irregular. His whole way of life corresponded to the bias of his mental character; he was in every sense of the word eccentric."

... "He could commence no poem without laying down a theory for his own guidance; he was always calling himself to account, and mistrusting his impulses, a habit which affords us sufficient evidence of his want of the innate confidence which characterizes a great mind." Germany, by Bisset Hawkins, p. 91. The whole criticism appears

perfect in matter and form, which may not indeed, as Menzel thinks, "be sufficient to place him side by side with the greatest poets of all nations," but which must ever remain classical, so long as good taste, a clear understanding, and high-toned manly feeling, shall prevail over the literature of fermentation and excitement. But it is wiser and safer to base Lessing's reputation upon what he was and did to his own age as a great literary reformer, than upon what he is to us now, or will be to a distant posterity. Not that there is anything false or ephemeral about him; he is as true and real, as healthy and enduring, in what he has done as anything can be; but what he has done for us of the 19th century in England bears a very small proportion, in public and popular importance, to what he did for his own Germans of the 18th century. And not only what he *did*, but, as we already said, what he *was*. "Many wits have sparkled more brightly," says Goethe, "but where will you find such a CHARACTER?"* Lessing was in his works, and in his writings, the very beau-ideal of manliness; and this is the very thing which of all others, to the Germans of the last century, was the most necessary to be exhibited. Not only flat and barren as the sands of Brandenburg was the German literature of the year 1750, but there was something worse than that—effeminacy, puerility, childishness. Indeed the whole age was corrupt. In every petty principedom luxuriated a government of priests and Pompadours, French cooks and English dogs; and nothing of a stern sort to set against this glittering corruption but the icy sarcasm of Frederick, the stilted pedantry of university learning, and the stiff, stubborn rigidity of old Lutheran orthodoxy. How deeply disease was seated in that age, a healthy English eye reads without much difficulty in the works even of the greatest intellects that afterwards covered Europe with their fame. The fine fuming Platonism of Wieland's early works was disease. Against that the voluptuousness of his afterwards was a reaction, and, like other reactions, went a little too far. Schiller's Robbers, Goethe's Werther, Klopstock's bardism, were equally diseases; all full of dissatisfaction with the present, lingering languidly over the past, or grasping madly at the future. Jean Paul's sentiment is not always altogether without sentimentality; and the post-Wertherian Goethe (a new man certainly in all respects) found shelter in the hot-house of court favour too early to grow up

* In Eckermann's Gespräche. See F. Q. R. No. XXXV.

a perfectly stout and sturdy plant. In such a state of things Germany wanted nothing so much as one healthy, vigorous man; a man who, though he might be neither a Titan in poetic genius, nor an emperor in the world of books, was still in all necessary points a perfect MAN; with a clear eye to see things as they are, a healthy heart to enjoy them, a strong arm to smite down folly in high places, a mouth to speak unceremonious truth, and the keen edge of wit to lancet the rottenness of the times. Such a man was Lessing.

The outward fates of Lessing were something more varied than those of many contemporary literary characters in monotonous Germany, but still he was the literary man. His life was rambling enough indeed, so far as mere locality is concerned; but, excepting a short military interlude during the seven years' war, he never was allowed to shake himself free from the pleasant slavery of the pen. He lived by his wit. He was proud too, and had some very nervous ideas about literary independence. He would not accept a professorship in Königsberg because the reading of an annual panegyric was a part of the office. He admired the kingship of the great Frederick, but he shunned his service; well knowing that where that commanding eye watched it must be master, making every other, even Promethean intellect, blend—

“ἐλευθερος γαρ ουτις εστι πλην Διου”—

as may well be said of the Prussian monarchy. To live on a Cardinal as Winckelmann seemed to live, or on a Grand Duke as Goethe was a thing to his literary pride of all things the most distasteful. But he made no parade of this independence. He merely did not seek after pensions and worldly advancement, being gifted by nature with the true poetical instinct of contentment. He could dine in Berlin for one groschen and six pfennings, and say a grace with the true thankfulness of a man heartily hungry. He lusted after no aristocratic flesh-pots, expected no patronage from “gentlemen of the Caledonian hunt” (like poor Burns), and was not disappointed when he did not receive it. He knew that a literary man's portion is not in this world; money not the coin in which he can either pay or be paid; rank not the god for whose favour he can hope, or whose frown he can fear. He had only one maxim of conduct from the beginning to the end of life—“*Wer Gesund ist, und arbeiten will hat in der Welt nichtz zu fürchten!*”—Work what

you can work like an honest man and trust in God. There is indeed no other maxim upon which a MAN can be made; and of all mortal men the literary man, who wishes to eschew the humiliation of the pauper and the shame of the thief, (and there are thieves and paupers of a very respectable kind in the literary world,) must most anxiously act upon this maxim. We may say indeed with truth that the literary man, who cannot afford with a jovial stoicism to starve, is utterly unworthy of his vocation, and has not his heart in the right place. In Lessing we never see a hint that the “*res angusta domi*,” which he knew too well, had ever cramped his ideas, or straitened his sympathies.

Lessing was born at Kamentz, in Upper Lusatia, in the year 1729. He is thus contemporary with Klopstock, who was born in 1724; twenty years the senior of Goethe, and thirty years the senior of Schiller. His father was for many years a Lutheran pastor in Kamentz; a man of considerable theological learning, honest, though somewhat stern, and of strict Lutheran principles, and thoroughly imbued with the true German reverence of books and universities. Learning, indeed, seems to have been hereditary in the family; the grandfather wrote a dissertation, “*De Religionum Tolerantiâ*,”—a sort of prophecy of Nathan the Wise, so early as 1670; and the father had no fonder desire than that the son should turn out, what he did, (though in a very different fashion from what the severe old Lutheran had anticipated,) the most learned man of his age. Lessing's education, like Goethe's, carries on the front of it painful marks of the pedantry which unfortunately characterized then, and still, to no small extent, affects the schools of Europe. It was then conceived that mere Latin and the Church Catechism, both drilled into the juvenile soul, as soldier-ship is into the “*élèves*” of a Russian military academy, could make “a proper man.” Defective as this system of education was, Lessing made the best of it; in the free school of Meissen, for five years, he worked hard and read much—(“a horse that requires double fodder,” Rector Grabner said)—and thus laid the foundation for that solid scholarship upon which an English gentleman plants his ladder of political or clerical advancement, and with which a German thinker furnishes his Pantheon of multifarious speculation. In the school at Meissen, Lessing studied principally Plautus and Terence; thus evincing an early and decided preference for that dramatic form of expressing his ideas which he so frequently used in after-life. To the University of Leipzig, where the celebrated

* Brief an seinen Vater. Leben von seinem Bruder. Berlin. 1793. Vol. i. p. 252. j

Ernesti then expounded the "literæ humaniores," he was sent—unfortunately without any definite aim. His father destined him for a professor in some university; to which dignity he would doubtless have risen in due season, had there not been a theatre and a Madame Neuberrin in Leipzig, who, for a young man, and an ardent student of Terence, could not be supposed to be destitute of attractions. Moreover, the young Lessing began to perceive, at a very early age, that the Latin and Lutheranism into which he had so anxiously been drilled, had gone far to make him a pedant. Instead of law, medicine, and theology, dancing, fencing, and riding were his principal studies for the first semester in Leipzig; and instead of his curriculum ending with a learned philosophical or philological thesis, he wrote a comic piece (*Der junge Gelehrte*) for Madame Neuberinn's stage; in which a young man of gigantic learning was made (as scholars generally are on the stage) the dupe of a clever chamber-maid, a plump knave of a valet, and his own egregious vanity. What is worse, the young student was observed to choose his associates with more regard to good fellowship than to that outward decency which Leipzig respectability so highly prized. His bosom-friend was one Mylius—a name even now not quite forgotten in German literature—a loose-dressed, slovenly, ill-shod, careless genius, and suspected, not without reason, of being a free-thinker. All this came to the ears of the pious father and the more pious mother, and the consequences may be imagined. Frequent letters from the father, full of reproaches and railings; indignant answers from the son, very plausible to a young poet, but to an old Lutheran divine very unsatisfactory. The theatre—as in Scotland at a much later period—was judged to be the gate of hell. To Lessing, with Æschylean religion and Euripidean morals in his head, it was a sort of pulpit. Fire and water could not agree, and a general break-up ensued. Lessing fled to Berlin—whither his free-thinking friend had started before him. Berlin was the metropolis of illumination in those days. In what more fatal place, under the very upas-shade of infidelity, could a pious Lutheran father see with anxiety a dear-loved son? But so it must be. With sharp reproof from a stern father, with pious tears from a fond mother, with solemn warnings from a religious sister, (she burnt his Anacreontic odes, thinking that the praise of wine was drunkenness,) with many strange speculations in his head, and without a penny in his pocket—to begin a literary life in the year 1750, in Germany, was somewhat ominous. But to a well-knit

muscular fellow like Lessing, with high animal spirits and a clear blood, a capacity to dine heartily on one groschen and six pfennings, and a disposition to praise God for every dry crust, all this was nothing. We accordingly see the friendless scholar and breadless literary adventurer rising by degrees, through much tribulation of erudite fag-work and æsthetical patching, into a man of note and likelihood.

At Berlin Lessing had a small adventure with Voltaire; it was the year 1750. The French philosopher had just come to Berlin from Potsdam, where he had finished his "*Siècle de Louis XIV.*" His then secretary, Richier de Louvain, was a friend of Lessing. From him Lessing got hold of the first proof sheets of the *opus magnum*, by special favour; for there was to be a private publication at *Sans Souci*, for the benefit of Frederick, before the profane world at large should gloat upon the wisdom of the philosopher. By special favour again from Lessing, another friend got hold of the precious proof sheets, and he placed them most unfortunately in the hands of the Gräfinn de Bentinck, Voltaire's particular friend. The Gräfinn fired. She had been refused a sight of the work expressly on the ground of the royal right of pre-perusal. She flew to the philosopher and rated him soundly. The philosopher was confounded. He called his secretary and rated *him* soundly. He then wrote a furious letter to Lessing, accusing him of having furtively abstracted the precious work, or, at least, of unjustly retaining possession of it, with the design of making money (as a poor *littérateur* might) by a hasty translation. The letter was signed magniloquently—*Chambellan du Roi!* Lessing wrote Richier an indignant reply in French, purposely that Voltaire also might read it; for the Frenchman was not then found who would condescend to learn German:—

"Sachez, mon ami, qu'en fait des occupations littéraires, je n'aime pas à me rencontrer avec qui que ce soit. Au reste j'ai la folle envie de bien traduire, et pour bien traduire M. de Voltaire je sais, qu'il me faudroit donner au diable. . . . C'est un bon mot que je viens de dire; trouvez le admirable je vous prie; il n'est pas de moi."

We have mentioned this anecdote, unimportant as it may appear, because it is the only anecdote we have of Lessing's personal collision with a man, against whose literary dictatorship it was a principal object of his life to contend. From the year 1750 to 1780 to make a business of writing down Voltaire in Germany was no small merit. It indicated peculiar clearness of vision, great moral health, and a very uncommon independence of mind. It showed also manifestly

that Lessing was what the Germans of that day had not learned to be, a thorough German, and a man who gloried in asserting his German character. His estimate of the Frenchman's writings was, perhaps, too cheap; witness the following critique, in the shape of an epitaph:—

"Here lies—w re churchman's wish the will of God,
Who long ago had lain beneath the sod.
May God forgive the *Henriade*,
His tragedies and verses!—all are bad;
His other works, the truth to tell,
Are pretty, pretty, very well."

To write so under the nose of Frederick the Great was ominous of Schlegel and Schiller, and Kant, and Arndt, and Follen, and Menzel; of that truly national and anti-Gallican character by which German literature, and especially German criticism, has, since its late regeneration, been so honourably distinguished.

In the year 1754 Lessing became acquainted with Mendelsohn and Nicolai, and formed with them a connection which lasted through life, as advantageous to German literature generally as conducive to the private improvement of the three friends. It is a trio that will be remembered. What rare debates and disputations they had, frolicsome and yet serious—

"Winging their progress, pondered well,
From Heaven to Earth, from Earth to Hell—"

as Germans will debate!—Lessing, with the mass of a claymore and the quickness of a small sword; Nicolai dealing out a philosophy of somewhat flat and prosaic Protestantism, broadly as a haberdasher measures cloth, but with honest measure; and "our dear Moses, who is to us what the chorus was to the ancient tragedy—a wise listener of our learned discussions, ending and epitomizing them quietly with a word."* Nicolai, indeed, has been somewhat unfortunate in the immortality which he has received in the famous Brocken-Scene in *Faust*. He is held up to ridicule as the beau-ideal of a narrow, barren, carping, pedantic criticaster.

"Witch. What wants he here, that rude-like fellow there!

Faust. Oh, he is every where!

What others dance, 'tis his to prize;
Each step he cannot criticise

Had as well not been made. But in the dance

It grieves him most when we advance.

If we would wheel us round and round in a ring,

As he is wont to do in his old mill,
He would not take it half so ill!

Especially if you take care to bring
The rightful offering to his master skill."

* Nicolai, Schreiben an Lichtenberg. Lessing's Antheil an den Litteratur-Briefen.

This is severe enough, but poet Goethe had received a personal injury from the Berlin bookseller in the shape of "The Joys of Werther," a satirical reply to his sentimental "Sorrows;" and Lessing himself, the edge of whose lancet was as keen as Nicolai's might be blunt, had not hesitated to probe to the bone the diseased moral constitution out of which this much-bespoken German Eloise had grown. But the truth is, that the Berlin school of criticism, of which the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, (1757), the *Litteratur-Briefe* (1759), and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* (1765), were the successive organs, whatever defects they might have at a period when periodical literature all over Europe was in its infancy, were decidedly opposed to romanticism, transcendentalism, mysticism, sentimentalism,* (Germanism, according to our comprehensive phrase, under all modifications),—in some measure, no doubt, from shallowness, but in part also, as we must say, in charity, from clearness of vision, and an honest desire to know what a man is doing. Nicolai, Mendelsohn, and Abbt might be only third-rate men: of the three, Nicolai was certainly somewhat *breit*; but they performed the necessary work of criticism creditably; and where the spirit of Lessing presided, there was no quarter to effeminacy, or beautified corruption in any shape.†

Next to his permanent connection at Berlin with Nicolai and Mendelsohn, the two most notable events in Lessing's life were his campaign in Silesia, in the capacity of secretary to General Tauenzien, during the three last years of the seven years' war, from 1760 to 1763, and his appointment to the celebrated post once held by Leibnitz, as librarian at *Wolfenbüttel*. For a dramatic poet, or indeed for a writer of any likelihood, he had lived too much among books, and too little in the bustle of active life; a mischance to which German writers generally, from the want of a stirring public life, are particularly liable. To throw off the dust of the "*Studirstube*," which was too manifest in Sarah Sampson and his earlier plays, seems to have been, after mere amusement and variety, Lessing's main object in

* Letter to Eschenburg, 1779. Menzel's *Deutsche Litteratur*, iii. 291—3. Menzel's own remarks on modern sentimentality in this place are admirable.

† We have used the phrase "the spirit of Lessing presided," purposely to express the real state of his connection with Nicolai. In point of fact he never contributed an article to the *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, and only one to the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*. But he wrote a great part of the *Litteratur-Briefe*, and was practically looked on as the Coryphæus of the Prussian school.

joining the Silesian camp. Accordingly, it was to no purpose that his literary friends in Berlin made wondrous speculations on his eccentricity. Mendelssohn might write—

“Wenn er nicht hört, noch fühlt, noch spricht,
Noch sieht; was thut er denn?—*Er Spielt.*”*

Lessing was determined to know the world; and that he both heard, and felt, and spoke, and saw, notwithstanding Moses' simple couplet, *Minna von Barnhelm*, the first classical, truly national comedy of the German stage, sufficiently proves. As to the gambling, which is the only *point* in the reproach, Lessing frequented the card-table at Breslau for the same reason that Englishmen smoke in Germany, and stiff people dance at Almack's—because it was the only passport to society in the place.

The Wolfenbüttel librarianship was a more important affair, and proved permanent. Even in Breslau, amid the bustle of war, and the dissipation of a military life, like a true German, Lessing had never ceased to collect the most learned and the most curious books. Pity, it may be said, that the mouth of the living should be choked amid the dust of the dead! Schlegel has lamented that the Wolfenbüttel appointment should have led such a large soul to grope and dig fruitlessly in the narrow dark corners of antiquarian research; but Lessing did not dig *fruitlessly*, and we are not entitled to say, that his activity in this department was less profitable to German literature, than it might have been under more public and popular auspices. The learned men of Germany had long been so heavy and lumbering—so much even on the most trivial subjects in the style of “*Universal Dictionaries*”—that they required to be stirred up by an active nimble spirit, who could move cleverly, with an easy turn of his natural wrist, what to them required levers and pulleys, and fortifications of quartos and folios, to the common man impregnable. Lessing's restless intellect, travelling in glory through much dust and rubbish, shot unexpected light into regions which, but for him, had remained dull; theology, philology, philosophy, all were quickened by his touch. He had only time to touch, but his touch was regenerative; and academic pedantry yawned hugely, and gave up the ghost before him.

From the Wolfenbüttel library Lessing not only brought a number of the most curious ancient tracts to light, but he also embraced this opportunity to give to the world the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, in which

proceeding he was greatly blamed by many even of his personal friends. These papers the original author, Reimarus, in *Hamburg*,* had either not dared to publish in his own name, or was not inclined to publish at all. Lessing's own religious opinions were precisely in that state of nicely balanced poise which would naturally prevent him from either attacking or defending Christianity in his own person. He was willing, however, for inquiry; nay, inquiry and discussion had, to him, become a necessity; and by publishing Reimar's *Essays*, he set forth the difficulties with which he was embarrassed, not as dogmas, but as doubts. Natural as all this undoubtedly was, it was no less natural that the publication of avowedly deistical fragments, in days when neology had only seen its germ, by a writer of such talent and influence as Lessing, should excite considerable sensation in Germany, and no small outcry among theologians. Lessing, no doubt, had sense enough to see this; and we are accordingly unwilling to attribute his death, which happened shortly after the publication of the Fragments, to any mortification arising out of his controversy with pastor Goetz.† If his early death had any psychological cause, we may attribute it to the solitary state in which he was left by the loss of a dearly-beloved wife, and the want of bustle and varied society in the vicinity of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel. Besides, he stood now almost entirely isolated in the literary world. The orthodox Lutherans denounced him; the ready made rationalists and illuminatists did not comprehend him; Goethe and Wieland were too effeminate and voluptuous for his stern and manly taste; in Klopstock's dignity there was something formal and repul-

* *Conversations Lexicon, in voce.* From the head *Fragmente* in the same work we extract the following:—

“Who the author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments is has not been proved to absolute certainty, but it has been very generally attributed to Reimarus, the author of the able discourse on *Natural Religion*. It has been rightly judged that the author of the Fragments distorts much in a dishonest manner (*verdreht vieles unredlich*), has misunderstood much from a deficient knowledge of antiquity, and has, on the whole, framed a very illiberal judgment of Christianity. The most famous among those who replied to him are Doederlein, Semler, and Michaelis. The work of Doederlein, ‘*Fragmente und Anti-Fragmente*,’ is written with so much calm judgment, learning, and taste, that it has been rightly looked upon as the most successful answer that the author of the Fragments has yet received.”

† We make this remark in consequence of what Nicolai says, “*Die theologischen Streitigkeiten verbitterten die letzten Jahre seines Lebens, und trugen zu der Beschleunigung seines Todes viel bei.*”—*Briefe*, No. 47.

sive; in all Germany he could find no fellow-worker in his own style—a strong Doric architecture of poetry and philosophy wedded. He died on the evening of the 15th February, 1781, aged fifty-two years.

We now proceed to ask what are the tangible results of Lessing's literary activity; and here we stumble on the main difficulty of the case to the mere English student. English literature is the literature of character and action; German literature is the literature of thought and feeling. It is extremely difficult to make an Englishman, who is not heart and hand a German student, estimate the writings of Lessing as they ought to be estimated. Earnest and serious thought—a hungering and thirsting after speculative truth—a love of scientific investigation for its own sake—not profound piety merely, but an innate instinct to probe the philosophy of all religions—are qualities of mind necessary to the proper appreciation of most German writers, much more of a fragmentary and polemical writer like Lessing. But John Bull, as we all know, is more of a churchman than a theologian—deals more in common sense than in philosophy—and while he pleases himself with describing men, leaves to the German the less grateful though not less necessary task to speculate about man. Nevertheless we shall endeavour to state the more manifest results of his activity, so as to satisfy the general English reader, with as little German mystification as possible.

Happily, in the first and most obvious phasis of his activity, Lessing stands forth from amid the cloudy envelopment of German speculation, as intelligible, tangible, and we may say, thoroughly English a mind, as the English student might desire. We find him, as a dramatist, free from all that mock heroic extravagance, or dreamy, floating, uncharacteristic poetry, that in many German dramas so reasonably offends our manly English taste. Lessing was the poet of reality, and of living, acting nature, so far as he knew it, or could know it in a *German* world. Of the three German minds of the last century, Goethe, Lessing, and Kant, the least artificial, and, so far as manner is concerned, the most thoroughly English, was Lessing; for Kant dressed up his practical philosophy in a scholastic phraseology, which created more appearance of mystery than really existed; and Goethe's much bespoken objectivity was of too delicate, voluptuous, and artistical a nature to meet with any ready sympathy from the rude, rough, brawny Briton. Lessing was altogether free from every sort of philosophical or æsthetical mannerism. What it was given

him to see, he saw plainly; and he said plainly what he saw. Hence the perfection of his dramas *within their own limits*, both as to matter and style. They are perfectly true, exact, and natural; and perfectly free from any sort of cant and humbug. Nothing false is admitted, however fine; nothing that when analyzed is mere phrase, however brilliant. He speaks directly *at* the thing, neither painting out nor building up—the real secret of the dramatic style. To the Germans such a man *was, is* invaluable. We, with our Shakspeare, and a host of not unworthy satellites, may afford to look down upon him coolly enough; and yet, beyond Shakspeare, even we—born dramatists as we are—will find it difficult to produce many plays, that in perfect dramatic finish are more classical than Lessing's three ripe pieces—*Emilia Galotti*, *Minna von Barnhelm*, and *Nathan the Wise*. True, we may think them cold and even bare, when set against our master-pieces; but what is there that we English will not think cold after the fire and fury that we delight in on the stage? And what will we not consider bare, after that super-ornate style of poetry, which we seem to have made a law of, to compensate the habitual baldness of our prose? This, however, the admirer of Lessing must allow, that his genius was too pointed and exact, not sufficiently rich, luxuriant, and vehement, for high dramatic excellence. That he is not entitled to rank as a dramatic poet of a high order, the very smallness of the number of his classical plays sufficiently indicates. Fertility is not always great; but great geniuses are always fertile. Lessing himself seems very modestly to have been of opinion that he had no dramatic *genius* at all. The passage in which this self-condemnation occurs, is curious.

"I am neither a player nor a poet. I am complimented indeed, not seldom, with the latter honourable title. But they do not know me. A few dramatic essays that I have ventured do not justify this forward generosity with the title of poet. Not every man who takes a pencil in his hand, and mixes colours, is a painter. The oldest of these essays of mine belong to a period of life when readiness and dexterity are often mistaken for genius. In those of a later date, if there be any thing tolerable, I am conscious that I owe it all to criticism. I do not feel in myself that living fountain which by its own strength lifts itself up, by its own strength sports and spreads in radiations so rich, so fresh, and so pure. With me it is all squeezing and pumping (*Ich muss alles durch Druckwerk und Röhren aus mir heraus pressen*). I would be altogether poor, cold, and short-sighted, did I not here and there know how to borrow modestly from foreign treasures, to warm myself at another man's fire, and to strengthen my sight with the optic glasses of art. I am, therefore, always

ashamed and angry when I hear any person cry down criticism. Criticism, say our very clever young masters, checks genius: whereas I flatter myself, by help of this severe lady, to have done something that comes very near genius. I am a lame man whom a philippic against crutches cannot particularly edify."—*Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, the concluding number.

This is showing one's weak side to the public (it was a *public* confession) in a style that, had a greater dramatist said it, might have fallen conveniently under the category of "fishing for a compliment." As it is, we must say that there is a great deal of meaning in it; that the word genius, however, is a very doubtful and dangerous word, and has been justly suspected by all sensible men in this country, from Reynolds to Walter Scott; and that taking Lessing on his own confession, it merely proves that his dramatic talent, however finished the works it might produce, was neither very ready, nor very exuberant. To us it is plain that Lessing's genius was decidedly dramatic. No one will read his first juvenile piece, "*Der Junge Gelehrte*," a mere farce, without perceiving a fine eye for dramatic situation. Lessing's modest rating of his own talent, indeed, seems to have been of the utmost benefit to him, in forming his dramatic style. He was a close and intelligent student of stage effect. Neither Aristotle, in whom he was deeply read, nor natural genius, which he disclaimed, could teach him this. Wise was the man who could always believe that he had much need to be taught!

In order to do justice to Lessing as a dramatist, we must consider in what a state the German stage was before he appeared—an estate truly deplorable. On this subject himself will be the best spokesman.

"The best that we Germans have as yet produced are a few *Essays* of young men. Nay, our pedantry is so great that we consider young men as the only proper fabricators of theatrical warces. Men have more serious and worthy employment in the state and in the church. What men write should besem the gravity of men; a compendium of law or philosophy, an erudite chronicle of this or that imperial city, an edifying sermon, and such like.

"This solemn pedantry being, and having long been, so fashionable amongst us, let us not be surprised that our elegant literature stands so far behind—I will not say the literature of the ancients but the literature of all modern cultivated people; say what we will, it has a *puerile* and *childish* cast, in the middle of this eighteenth century, and will, I fear, long retain it. Blood and life, colour and fire, we have in some measure at last; but pith and nerve, marrow and bone, are sadly deficient."—*Dramaturgie*, 1st April, 1768.

And again, he refers to the subject in the passage on Gottsched and his famous pedantry, which we regret we cannot extract.

Truly of young aspiring talent in these times it might be said, as of the miser's horses,—

"Fed on this pasture, in this stable born,
What vast ideas they must have of corn!"

The work from which the extract above is taken—the *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, contains a series of criticisms on plays acted at Hamburg in the years 1767-8. Lessing spent a year here as theatrical critic before he came to Wolfenbüttel. In this work it was that Lessing opened that battery against Voltaire which was to pave the way for the canonization of Shakspeare in Germany, put an end to the unseemly coquetry with France, and unite England and Germany as closely in literary, as they are in physical kinship. Twenty years before Goethe, Lessing held up Shakspeare to his countrymen as the great dramatic model; forty years before Schlegel, he studied Calderon. Before Schlegel also, he studied and appreciated the Greek drama, placing himself—where alone it could be studied and appreciated—on Greek ground.

The editors of "*The Greek Theatre*" might adopt the following passage for a motto.

"What convinced me that my notions of the drama were right is, that by my own independent reflections, I arrived at the same conclusions as those which Aristotle has so happily abstracted from the many master-pieces of the Greek stage. I have no hesitation in saying (however certain people may laugh) that I look upon Aristotle's work as the infallible Euclid of the stage. Of tragedy in particular, I am ready to prove beyond contradiction, that it cannot move one step from the line of Aristotle without moving from its own perfection."

Lessing's plays are not only valuable as perfect models of German style, but as living and characteristic pictures of the age in which he lived. Emilia Galotti is a stern record of the worthlessness and corruption of petty German principedoms in an age where portentous Dubarrydom (as Carlyle phrases it) reigned over the half of Europe. Minna von Barnhelm is a fine cabinet picture of honest honourable German soldier-ship during the famous seven years' war. The honesty belongs to Germany; the honour (so Menzel says) peculiarly also, as no one can doubt, to Lessing himself.

Nathan the Wise is that one of Lessing's dramatic trio which (looking not merely to the form but to the inner soul of it) is at once the least adapted to English taste, and the most characteristic of Lessing's genius; the perfect symbol—the bloom and ripe fruit of his whole poetical existence, we may say;

but altogether unfit for the present, though haply not for some future and more intellectual stage.

Southey, in *Thalaba* and *Kehama*, has endeavoured to show, and we think shown successfully, how something as analogous to the spirit of Christian faith, as Platonism, for example, may live and flourish in the soul of a Mahometan or a Hindoo; Lessing also, in the character of Nathan, a Jew, has done his difficult task better than most writers, for Cumberland's Jew is an utter failure, and so are all attempts to endue this race with Christian virtue, whether conversive or imaginative.

As to mere style, which in Lessing's works has been often and deservedly praised, no man possessed more largely than he the natural instinct of shaking himself free from all vain entanglements and useless adornments of words. Simplicity almost to barrenness; precision and point almost to the fault of habitual epigram, characterize every page. This appears particularly in his fables, which he composed upon a model exactly the reverse of *La Fontaine*. With a native Saxon impulse, he placed himself instinctively counter to everything French. In this, Coleridge did not surpass him. He knew also well, how completely the solidity and simplicity that becomes a German are identical with what we are accustomed to admire most in the classic works of Greek antiquity.

But Lessing, we think, erred in the opposite direction to *La Fontaine*, and gave us fables (in plain prose after the Old *Æsopian* fashion), which, in aiming at condensation and precision, lose that honest breadth of simple narrative, which, within its own narrow limits, characterizes the ancient fable. We may give a few examples.

THE APE AND THE FOX.

"Show me an animal so expert whom I shall not be able to imitate!" boasted the Ape to the Fox. But the Fox replied, 'And show you me an animal, how mean soever, whom the conceit could possess to imitate you!'

"Writers of my country! do you wish that I shall explain myself further?"

THE SPARROWS.

"An old church, where the Sparrows had their nests, was repaired. When it stood in its new splendour, the Sparrows came back again seeking their old habitations; but they found them all built up. 'What is the use of this building,' cried one; 'it is not worthy that we dwell in it,' cried another. And away they flew."

THE FOX AND THE STORK.

"Now tell me, I pray thee," quoth the Fox to the Stork, 'what wonderful adventures thou hast seen in those far countries thou hast been travelling.'

"And the Stork forthwith began to name every pool and every fat meadow where he had found the most delicious worms, and the plumpest frogs."

"My friend L. wrote a book of his tour in the North somewhat after this fashion."

THE BOWMAN.

"A certain man had an excellent bow of ebony with which he shot far and surely, and which he prized highly. On one occasion, however, looking at it attentively, he said, 'You are certainly a little too rude, too bald in your simplicity, but that may be mended.' So he went immediately to a famous carver, and caused the whole story of *Atalanta* and *Meleager* to be carved upon the bow. Who can deny that this was a very proper history to be carved upon a bow."

"When the work was done, the joy of the man was great. 'Well thou deservest such adornment!' he said; and being willing to make fresh trial of its strength, he drew the string, and the bow broke."

Lessing wrote epigrams also—happily not many. It is an idle work, a sort of shooting cleverly at nothing; for an epigram writer has no object, unless indeed he hits a person; and this, a wise man will rather let alone. The following are characteristic.

ON A PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

"Spare me the name!

That lofty mien unlabelled doth proclaim
The thinker. Aye! a *thinker* only knew
To be philosopher and hero too."

ON KLOPSTOCK.

"Klopstock is great, sublime, the German Milton,
All praise the bard, but will they read him?—No.
Us common men who walk without a stilt on,
If you will read, we'll let your praises go."

EPIGRAM ON THE EPIGRAM.

"Pointing again!—and whence this Martial's mood
Would'st thou be told?
From this and other things I must conclude
I'm getting old."

Such things may be dropped occasionally by accident as it were; if a man does not make a business of it, like old Logau. However, the Germans have a natural talent for stringing isolated pearls together, as the Orientals call it. Schiller composed some pretty things of this kind, which even Coleridge was not ashamed to steal.

Among the tangible results of Lessing's many-sided activity, we must not forget to mention, and we need only mention, the *Laocoon*. This admirable discourse on the limits of poetry and painting may be read even now with pleasure and profit by every lover of the arts. In the year 1766, in Germany, it was like all Lessing's works—a prophecy of better times; an anticipation of the present flourishing state of the science of antiquity in Germany; of that living archaeology of sympathy and reproduction which the names of Boekh and Müller have so exalted. It is to be lamented that in this country Greek written literature has hitherto

been studied in a spirit of exclusiveness, sadly to the neglect of the Elgin and the Ægina marbles; whereas it is manifest that Greek art is to us the most valuable bequeathment of Greek genius; the Christian pulpit superseding the theology and moral philosophy of their stage, and the ancient drama in all other qualities of dramatic excellence being confessedly eclipsed by the modern; yet in oratory and design they remain unrivalled; and these sciences should be taught generally in all our schools, and expounded publicly in all our universities. Then would Lessing and Winckelmann, Goethe and Müller, of the plastic school, be names of more significance to our classical scholars than they now are.

To the theological student and inquirer into Christianity, the celebrated Wolfenbüttel Fragments above-mentioned, with the controversy arising out of them, present a most attractive subject of study. Tangible literary result, indeed, there is here none; but there is that which, with a candid mind, necessarily leads to a result—a learned and well-pleaded statement on both sides of the most important case that can be brought before the moral faculties of man for decision. Lessing's connection with the theological literature of Germany is, indeed, one of the main features of his literary existence. "I have always remarked," says Nicolai to him, (letter 57,) "that you had an itch to come to close quarters with the theologians," (*einen Kitzel mit den Theologen handgemein zu werden*;)—and what is more remarkable, the same Nicolai assures us, (letter 47,) that it was the intention of his speculative friend, by the publication of the Fragments, to do a service to that very orthodox party of the Church who were most severe in censuring him, and most loud in condemning. It is certain, also, that Lessing, through his whole life, showed a greater inclination to consort with that party in the Church whom we in England call Evangelical, than with the Rationalists. When in Hamburg, he praised the orthodox preacher, Goetze, and gave the go-by to the rationalist, Alberti, who preached smooth, moral doctrine to the fashionable taste of the time, as Blair not long afterwards did in Scotland. He also expressed himself very strongly against the irreligious tone, under the influence of the Great Frederick, then fashionable at Berlin. There was some talk, in 1769, of a project by Joseph to establish a colony of German literati at Vienna, something similar, perhaps, to what the Grand Duke Charles afterwards realised at Weimar. Nicolai, who was a staunch Protestant, and in theology a liberal somewhat of the Blair and Spalding

school, was inclined to look with suspicion on any project of this kind emanating from Vienna. Lessing took more comprehensive views, and wrote some remarkable lines to Nicolai on the subject, which the length of this article will not permit us to extract.*

"These modern heterodox have no consistency or keeping in their system!—*sind inconsequent*," Lessing used to say; and on the same principle of honesty and consistency he defended the Trinitarians against the Socinians. Hence the respect with which he is always named by Schlegel, Menzel, and some of the most religious writers among the German critics.

Menzel again sees in Lessing a most pious and thoroughly Christian man, though he laments that the Fragments should ever have been published, to furnish, as they have done, an armoury of irreligion to all the Heines, Gutzkows, and Wienbargs, who have since set them publicly forward to scoff recklessly at things most sacred. But with Menzel, as with most Germans, Christianity does not imply revealed religion, an extraordinary system essentially different in kind from the regular course of divine providence; it means, Monotheism, virtue, immortality, as opposed to Pantheism, sensualism, absorption into the absolute; it means, according to a distinction which Lessing himself uses, the religion which Christ exercised towards God, not the religion which Christians exercise towards Christ.

Nicolai and Mendelssohn were very wroth with Lessing for publishing the Fragments, not, as it should seem, because they were more orthodox than Lessing, but because they were fond of peace in these matters, and thought that where from the weakness of human nature, calm discussion was impossible, it was better to avoid public discussion altogether. They felt strongly perhaps, but applied wrongly, that beautiful sentence of Herder, "*Ueber Gott werd' ich nie streiten*."

The worthy bookseller indeed was habitually as shy of theological, as Goethe afterwards was of political polemics; and indeed it is manifest that the same reasoning applies to both. Both are disagreeable to peaceful and poetical minds; but both are necessary on occasion, and will be shunned by weaklings and worldlings only. Whether, on any particular occasion, a man should rush into the teeth of established opinion, whether political or theological, will always be a question of great difficulty. Prudence and a regard to personal convenience, will often dictate silence, where

* They will be found in Menzel, D. L.

earnest conviction demands and a healthy sincerity of temper rejoices in discussion. It is unquestionably more noble to err on the side of sincerity and truth, whatever may be the consequence.

The contents of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* may be guessed by a glance at the titles :—

1. On the Object which Jesus and his Disciples had in view.
2. On the Toleration of Deists.
3. On the Custom of declaiming against human Reason in the Pulpits.
4. On the Impossibility of a Revelation which all Men could be brought to believe with a rational Conviction.
5. On the Passage of the Red Sea.
6. That the Books of the Old Testament were not written for the purpose of revealing a Religion.
7. On the History of the Resurrection.

From these titles the theological student will perceive that the subjects which Reimar handled are pretty much the same as those which had been taken up by his predecessors, the English deists. Indeed, there is nothing in this writer of that imaginative, poetical, or transcendental cast, which is wont to bewilder us in the orthodox, as well as the heterodox theologians of later Germany. Goethe, Herder, Schiller, Wieland, Richter, Kant, gave every thing a swing. Even on the most dry, erudite subjects, no person could talk in plain prose. But Reimar belongs to the old school; less ambitious of being intellectual, more certain of being intelligible. There is no mistaking what he would be at; no Hegel, in ambiguity felicitously profound, claimed by Macheineke to-day, by Strauss to-morrow.

This plain-spoken phrase was no objection to Lessing;—Lessing in his zeal for theologizing so perfectly German, in his manner of theologizing so thoroughly English. His own views of the matter are well explained in his own comment on the tracts.

We regret that our limits compel us to omit Lessing's own criticism on the tracts, and also some choice extracts from the celebrated reply of Goetze, the pastor primarius of Hamburg.

We do not flatter ourselves to have succeeded by this hasty sketch in giving to the reader who has not studied him, a perfect idea of Lessing; but if the student wishes to know him properly, he must see him fighting his battles, and in those battles, he is not to contemplate chiefly the matter of the dispute, but the fine play of the muscle, the sure aim of the stroke, the position of the combatant wisely chosen and maintained with a kingly attitude. A hireling fencer certainly he is not; but you will often be surprised, after much preparation, to see this

Titan take his stand against Jove in behalf of some climbing boy, or a poor penniless beggar—some stray heroism on earth not loudly sounded, but recorded by an angel in heaven.

There are few men from whom the professional scholar and literary man can drink in a nobler spirit; few who can afford more valuable aid in that most difficult task—the formation of a literary character. Perhaps Fichte may lecture more scientifically, but Lessing gives us more varied and more interesting exemplifications; he is the very eye of inquiry, the sword of research; the Prometheus Purphoros of the multitudinous world of books, a world, which, if one is not taught to use it wisely, instead of being an inexhaustible armoury of Pallas, will eat into a man like a cancer, and ossify him to the very core. We therefore recur to what we set out with, and urge the study of Lessing upon our studious youth, not for that part of him which appears tangibly in finished works upon paper, neatly inventoried by historians of German literature; but for the spirit of truth-worship which breathes in all his works; for those high lessons in the noble art of intellectual gladiatorship, which his example supplies. We do not wish to overpraise him. We are no blind devotees of German literature. Where, indeed, shall we find in that region the breadth of easy strength, the "Lions at play," which a Rubens might paint, and a Shakspeare dramatize? If Goethe was a Hercules, Weimar was to him an Omphale, in whose arms the man of muscle, before he had performed half his feats, was fondled into effeminacy. The poet of Faust had mass and luxuriance, but he wanted manliness. Lessing wants mass and luxuriance, but he is a beau-idéal of vigour, intellectual and moral. Menzel is right when he eulogizes him as the manliest man that the Germans have; and they who study the art of studying under him must be accordingly. It is pleasing to trace in him, amid his unsettled notions, no wish to destroy what is beyond price in the eyes of many. Not a particle of the sneering infidelity, the literary baseness, the foul dishonesty of quotation, the vile flippancy, and the still viler raillery in the room of reason, that brands the school of Voltaire, debases Lessing. We cannot believe that he published the *Fragments* with the design of aiding the cause of religion; but we are quite assured that he would not have relished their modern termination in Strauss. He probably wanted to see Christianity defended from the force of all objections that had seriously affected himself, and found in the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* the "Origo

mali." In putting forth these papers for the solution of theologians, he would not improbably have rejoiced in a successful combatant against these corroding doubts; but he never lived to see him armed at all points for the conflict with Rationalism and Neology. Had he placed religion in her united sovereignty over the feelings, affections and reason, he would have done well; but he sought to confine her to the latter, which is not half her empire. Archbishop Leighton rightly says, "Never be afraid to doubt, if only you have the disposition to believe; and doubt, in order that you may end in believing the truth." To this state the wise archbishop puts a limit. The student of Lessing must take this for a motto.

ART. II.—1. *Lettre sur le Saint-siège*. Par M. l'Abbé P. Lacordaire, Chanoine honoraire de Paris. (A Letter on the Holy See. By the Abbé P. Lacordaire, Honorary Canon of Paris.) 1838.

2. *Agende für die evangelische Kirche in den Königlich Preussischen Landen. Mit besonderen Bestimmungen und Zusätzen für die Provinz Westphalien und die Rhein Provinz*. (Agendum for the Evangelical Church in the Royal Provinces of Prussia. With particular Dispositions and Additions for the Provinces of Westphalia and of the Rhine.) Berlin. 1834.

3. *Versuch einer Statistik des Preussischen Staats*, bei Voigt. (An Essay on the Statistics of Prussia, by Voigt) 1837.

AMONGST the questions agitated in this reforming age of ours, by far the most important is that which regards the connection between Church and State; though the outcry raised against it in some quarters cannot be more justly qualified than as altogether absurd. On perusing the diatribes on this subject, it is impossible to avoid the sad reflection that the dearly-purchased experience of ages seems to be at times utterly thrown away upon some generations. The ancients, those great masters of political wisdom, have left us, on this subject, lessons which should be constantly inculcated in these days of forgetfulness. They had, for instance, no notion whatever how a state might exist of which an established Church should not constitute a vital principle. It is true that society has since undergone great alterations, and we do not overlook the absolute difference between our religion and theirs; but this circumstance only strength-

ens our argument, for had they, like us, been made partakers of Divine Truth, they would have founded their institutions on a basis solid enough to oppose an effectual resistance to the assaults of the philosophic indifference which undermined their religious establishments. To deny, in the first instance, that the State possesses a right to pronounce on the fundamental dogmas of its religion, is a doctrine too absurd to require refutation; and to demand that the Church be abolished, and religious instruction abandoned to the exertions of private individuals, or, to speak more correctly, to chance, is, in our opinion, a proposition fraught with fatal consequences to any State, and to mankind at large. It is our conviction that religion, of which the light is reflected on every action of man, which leads him, as it were, by the hand from the cradle to the tomb, through a dark labyrinth of passion, prejudice, ignorance, error, misfortune and political storm, ought to be made the first care of all governments, and the moment they betray the least indifference to it, they forfeit the high commission they have received, to watch over the welfare of their subjects. That the indifference of rulers in matters of religion has ever been followed by moral degradation, despotism, licence, or anarchy, is attested by every page of history.

These observations lead us to consider the efforts lately made by the King of Prussia to establish a national Church with the view to consolidate the power of the monarchy, which had just experienced a terrible shock from the Roman Catholic party in his dominions. The long and furious religious controversy which has been carried on with Rome must be well known to all our readers; yet though a moderate library might be formed of the publications that have appeared relating to it, the subject is, however, still very far from being exhausted. On the contrary it has been much obscured, owing to the partial views taken of it by writers influenced by political bias; and the question of the newly established Church in Prussia, the subject of the present article, has been very imperfectly adverted to, and, in most cases, entirely disregarded.

Some subordinate questions, bearing upon the subject under consideration, are intimately connected with it; and these we shall first briefly touch upon as far as our limits will allow. We begin by assigning its proper station respectively to each of the three parties engaged in this late religious contest—namely, Prussia, Austria, and the Pope.

The hostility to Protestantism which has been evinced by the House of Hapsburg for

centuries, is well known to all who are versed in political history. This hatred has ever served Austria as a mask for her endeavours to establish her influence in Germany, to the exclusion of Prussia, the only rival capable of competing with her for the prize. The latter, whatever may be affirmed to the contrary, must be considered as the head of Protestantism on the continent, her Protestant subjects amounting to one half of the Protestant German population; and in point of nationality, she is the first amongst the German states; her German population being about ten millions, whilst that of Austria may be estimated at no more than six. These advantages of religion and nationality, united with a high degree of civilisation and civil liberty, gave Prussia a decided superiority in the time of Frederick the Great, who put an end to the Austrian supremacy in Germany. During the French invasion, Austria was deprived of the small remnant of her former influence, which she had continued to exercise through the Pope, by the authority of the latter being then entirely abolished, and a German National Catholic Church was established, of which the primate of Frankfurt, Prince Dalberg, one of the most enlightened men of his age, became the head. The case was different with regard to Prussia who, though humbled to the dust by the reverses of fortune she experienced in 1806 and 1807, preserved influence enough to rouse subsequently the Germans into driving out their foreign masters.

At the re-establishment of peace in 1815, the former advantageous situation of Prussia compared with that of Austria, as regarded Germany, suffered a very unfavourable change. By the acquisition of the Rhenish provinces, and of the Grand Duchy of Posen, Prussia, though she extended her external dominion, did in fact diminish her internal strength. The Roman Catholic inhabitants of these countries, especially of the former, having been again subjected, much against their inclination, to the authority of Rome, Prussia found a most formidable enemy, not only in the Pope, but through him, in Austria, whose former influence over the German confederation was revived at that epoch.

In order to estimate the extent of the danger which Prussia had to apprehend from the Pope, we must view him in his double quality—as the head of Romanism on the one part, and, on the other, as a general in the service of Austria.

Great pains have been taken of late, not only on the continent, but especially in this country, to propagate the belief, that Romanism is synonymous with every kind of liber-

ty as well as the security and order of the state; than which assertion, triumphantly refuted by history, there can be none advanced more entirely groundless. In the language of popery, the state means the Church, and *vice versâ*; excluding the co-existence of any other power, not subordinate to it. The orthodox Papist must look upon every heretical government as illegal, and as that which they are bound in conscience to overthrow. The absolute submission, indeed, which the Pope requires from his followers is incompatible with their duties as subjects of an independent State; and to take one instance out of a thousand, we may refer to the words of a pope's legate addressed to Casimir III. King of Poland. When the latter refused to give the see of Cracow to a Papal nominee, saying that he would rather lose a kingdom than comply with such a request, the legate replied, that it would be better that three kingdoms should perish, than that a word of the Pope should be set at naught. This sublime of despotism is linked with moral degradation of the worst description; one of the Popes, Alexander VI., having boastingly said, that the more foolish a religion was the more fitted was it for the people. To keep the latter in the most abject slavery is the main object of Popery, and this principle was well expressed by a talented supporter* of the system, when he represented the State in the form of a triangle, the top of which was occupied by the clergy, and the body by the king and nobles. The remainder of the nation was left out of his construction. No wonder, then, that in whatever country Popery succeeded in establishing its power, it left behind its pestilential effects not to be obliterated for centuries. Look at the Roman States, the finest district in the world, converted by the Romish priesthood into a morass; look at Spain, Portugal, and Poland, during the sway of the Jesuits, still suffering from its baneful influence. Hence it has been invariably the case that whenever a nation has endeavoured to rise from a state of degradation, it has always shaken off the Papal yoke. And what does Popery say of such spiritual regeneration? Does it not always stigmatize it as the *tyranny of human reason*? Lest we should be accused of misrepresenting facts, we extract a passage from the letter of Abbé Lacordaire, which stands at the head of our article. The Abbé, well known by his controversy with Lamennais, is now one of the most distinguished preachers in France, and a zealous defender of Papacy.

"War," says he, "has been in Europe for fifty years . . . But where is that war? It is higher

* Orichovius.

than opinions, higher than kings, higher than nations; it is between human reason and faith—between Roman Catholic and rational power. The Papal See therefore does not join any party, does not interfere with any form of government, but keeps up a friendly intercourse with every country in which, as for instance in Belgium and in France, the *tyranny of reason* has been put down; it protests against the violence offered to Church and conscience wherever, as in Spain and Portugal, *that tyranny raises its head*.*

Now if these high-sounding words be translated into plain English, the *tyranny of reason*, so much complained of, means nothing more than a purer sense of religion, liberty of conscience, and above all, independence of Papacy: it especially points at Protestantism. In the letter first cited, the Abbé affirms positively that such is the case, and goes on to say that Rome would prefer an alliance with the Greek Church, the most ignorant of all that have ever disgraced Christianity by assuming its name. The Pope excommunicated the Polish clergy in 1832 for the part which they took in the late insurrection. And on what grounds? Because some of the Polish clergy considered a National Church independent of Rome, as the most conducive to the spiritual welfare of their country. According to the Abbé Lacordaire, the Pope considers the broaching of such opinions more dangerous than the slavish spirit of the Greek schism, which so well accords with that of Romanism; and to bring about an union between them is now the policy of the Court of Rome. In the consummation of this design, the Abbé perceives the only means of saving Europe from irreligion. "Make of it" (Greek schism), says he, "Protestantism, and it will become in some respects worse than Rationalism itself (the tyranny of reason), as it would confirm, by a divine sanction, the division of minds. The Greek schism is certainly less dangerous than Protestantism."†

It would appear that the occupation of Constantinople by Russia has found the most zealous supporter in the Pope, for this blessed union of both creeds is to be sealed by an Ukase of the Czar dated from the city of Constantine the Great.

Unfortunately, however, for the Abbé

* Hear the eloquent complaints of Dante, Machiavelli, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, all Romanists as they were, against this enfeebling system to all virility of mind.

† By this the Abbé implies Protestantism itself, not that absurd system gendered by the young liberty of German intellect running into every monstrous night-mare imagining, which we intend to demolish, from Semler to Strauss, in every one of its hydra heads. This, as we have recently pointed out, is the spawn of Deism, and is disowned entirely by Protestants, both in name and principles.

Lacordaire, we can assign less spiritual motives for the Russian sympathies with Papacy. The Abbé Lamennais, whose political and religious opinions we are, however, far from partaking, but whose honesty is above suspicion, adverting to the same subject, says, that the Pope excommunicated the Polish clergy as a reward to Russia for having guaranteed to him the possession of the provinces called Legations, which Austria at that time seemed disposed to take possession of for herself. This is probably the more true explanation of the Papal policy, the subserviency of which to Austria we shall shortly notice.

The utter helplessness of the Pope in the centre of his own dominions, from which he is in constant dread of being driven by his own subjects, has of late become proverbial. In this state of things, the great influence which he still exercises in some foreign countries, and especially the formidable resistance which he recently made in the contest with Prussia, would appear an anomaly, were it not certain that the Pope is actually a subservient agent in the hands of Austria. The times when the thunderbolts of the Vatican humbled to the dust the Emperors of Germany are long past; the Popes have now in their turn found masters in the Emperors of Austria; very mild ones, it is true, but still masters. We have already stated one fact in support of this assertion, and a few more will place it beyond doubt. About the close of the last century, a Pope travelled to Vienna, in order to implore, though in vain, Joseph II. not to prosecute his ecclesiastical reform commenced by the abolition of monastic orders. The Romish clergy in Austria must be very tolerant, and say nothing against mixed marriages, about which such an outcry was raised in Prussia, and which subject we have noticed in No. XLIV. The members of the imperial family often intermarry with Protestants, and even with Greeks, and the validity of such unions is never questioned. When on the occasion of the death of the Lutheran consort of the Archduke Charles, the monks of the Capuchin convent, which contains the vaults of the imperial family, ventured to express some scruples about admitting the body, the Emperor Francis told them to be quiet, on pain of being abolished. This subserviency of Rome to Austria has much increased of late, since the latter has become an immediate neighbour of the Pope, whom it supports against his own subjects, and whom it might deprive of a part of his dominions. The cabinet of Vienna avails itself of the influence it possesses over Papacy either to extend its

political power, or to keep down countries the allegiance of which to the house of Austria seems doubtful. With this view, the order of Jesuits has been revived, and an attempt was made to introduce them into Hungary, but was successfully opposed by the people on constitutional grounds; but in provinces not enjoying the benefit of a constitution, as in Galicia, the Jesuits have been established since 1815. These moral poisoners of nations, now no less dangerous than the Northern Colossus to the civilisation of Europe, have been also planted in some of the minor German states bordering on Prussia, and which are under the exclusive influence of Austria.

Backed on one side by the powerful support of Austria, and on the other by the advanced ranks of the well-disciplined army of Loyola, the Pope came forward after the peace of 1815 to negotiate with the cabinet of Berlin in favour of the Romish Church in the Rhenish provinces. The conditions he proposed must have been very exorbitant, since five full years elapsed before the parties concluded an agreement. The Pope's bull, *De Salute Animarum* issued on the 16th of July, 1821, and soon after sanctioned (the 23d of April) by the King of Prussia, must be regarded as the Prussian concordat. The conditions are most unfavourable for Prussia, when contrasted with similar agreements contracted by the smaller German states; and on its contents being made known it excited the greatest astonishment; for whatever was clear in the document, gave immense advantages to the Romish See, whilst the remainder was couched in ambiguous terms, from which much evil subsequently originated. By this concordat, the Pope obtained the right to nominate, during six months of the year, all prebendaries, deans, and provosts; and during the other six months, the nomination was entrusted to the bishops of Cologne, Treves, Paderborn, and Munster. In questions of organization only, was the royal placet required. Besides these great advantages, the Romish Church was rendered entirely independent of the political government, not only in matters of religion, but even in its revenue, by the enactments of the Diet of the German Confederation, guided at that epoch by the influence of Austria.

Prussia was at that time in a very perplexing situation, owing in the first instance to the imprudent promise she had made, in the hour of her distress, to introduce a representative form of government; which if granted, must, considering the heterogeneous character of her subjects, have ended in the dissolution of the monarchy. The dis-

satisfaction which followed the non-performance of this promise was very considerable; and almost every German state found itself in the same predicament. The fear that social order in Germany might be disturbed by internal revolutions was not a vain one; and the Austrian cabinet availed itself with great skill of this apprehension, to draw her Prussian rival into adopting coercive measures to suppress the political excitement of the Germans. On the same grounds, Prussia was persuaded to grant the Romish Church such exorbitant privileges, forgetful that Ultramontaniam associated in the minds of the Germans with every species of bigotry and ignorance, would only serve to promote the views of her antagonist. The decay of Prussian influence in Germany, and which is now almost extinct, may be dated from that epoch.

The *imperium in imperio*, introduced into Prussia with the establishment of the Romish Church, the cabinet of Berlin endeavoured at first to soften down by promoting the diffusion of knowledge, by an enlightened system of education in the schools and universities, by the impartial administration of justice, and by a comparatively free press. The plan was attended with marked success, so long as affairs were directed by Prince Hardenberg; but the death of this distinguished statesman in 1830, and that *pression du dehors*, consequent on the many political revolutions that broke out at that epoch in different countries, wrought a total change in the policy of Prussia. She now cordially joined Austria in passing measures devised by the diet of Confederation in 1832, for the subversion of all public liberties. Austria, who had remained stationary for the last three centuries, and had consequently no improvements to check, was the only gainer by it; whilst Prussia, whom the Germans had been accustomed to look upon as their leader in the advancement of national civilisation and political power, found that their minds were alienated from her, and that her influence on the affairs of the Confederation had sustained a most serious injury. Prince Metternich, who had been waiting all along for this catastrophe, then perceived that the time was arrived for overwhelming his Prussian rival, and he accordingly let loose the Pope and his host of priests upon him.

The first blow was aimed at the cause of enlightenment by ruining the college of theology at the University of Bonn, under pretence that the doctrine of Hermetes, one of its professors, was heretical. The fact is, he taught that the tenets of Romanism are not contrary to the postulates of reason, a doc-

trine which, previous to 1832, had been found so good, that it was even expounded at Rome. Professor Günther at Vienna goes a step further and teaches that Romanism is in accordance with the postulates of reason, and yet it was by no means the Pope's intention to excommunicate him. But this was, as is evident, a mere mask for attacking the Protestant religion. The second act of this drama was the affair of mixed marriages, which we pass over, as the subject has been amply discussed in a former article of this Review.* The only plausible ground of complaint against the Prussian government in this disgraceful conduct of the Romish clergy, is the forcible removal, without a previous trial, of the Archbishop Baron Droste from the see of Cologne. The extraordinary circumstances attending this measure may, however, palliate it; as there existed no doubt as to the guilt of the archbishop, who acted in open defiance of the laws which he had engaged to respect, and had actually declared war, by seditious appeals to the people. He was treated as a prisoner of war. There cannot be any doubt that he was the agent of a foreign intrigue, ready to take advantage of any popular excitement in case of his trial, and this is evident from the character of the deputation sent by the Westphalian nobility to implore the king to bring the archbishop to a trial, which deputation was headed by a relation to Prince Metternich. Bavaria, under its priest and Jesuit ridden king, was the hot-bed of this intrigue, and from thence the Rhenish provinces were filled with inflammatory pamphlets, which, but for the timely interference of Prince Metternich, must infallibly have led to open war.

These machinations of the Romish Church assumed a very serious character, not only through the active co-operation of Bavaria, to which we have already alluded, but also through the threatening attitude taken by Belgium, which is at this moment the chief seat of the Jesuitical propaganda, and whence some disciples of Loyola were actually smuggled into Rhenish Prussia. To the same dark source of intrigue, and especially to the more direct influence of the Jesuits established in Galicia, may be traced the counterpart acted by the Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, M. Dunin, with regard to mixed marriages, which affair commenced as soon as that of Cologne was over. As this question is intimately connected with the subject under consideration, and has not yet been mentioned in this Journal, we think

it advisable to give a few details concerning it.

In the Grand Duchy of Posen, children born of mixed marriages were to follow, not as in the Rhenish provinces, the religion of the father, but that of either parent, Protestant or Catholic, as might be agreed upon by the parties. To such marriages the Romish clergy were accustomed to grant their benediction, without exacting any promise from the Catholic party that the children should be absolutely educated in the Roman creed. This practice, which the Prussian law renders compulsory on the clergy, had continued without resistance on their part since 1815, in which year the Grand Duchy of Posen, which had been separated from Prussia by Napoleon in 1807, was again made a part of her dominions. The practice would have no doubt been quietly continued, as the natives to the duchy being for the most part Poles, both Catholic and Protestant, and frequently united by family ties, members of the same family often belong to different Christian persuasions; had it not been for the unexpected opposition raised by M. Dunin, the Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen. This prelate, who, like his predecessors, had all along suffered mixed marriages to be blessed by his clergy, now affected scruples of conscience, and felt himself bound to proclaim such unions to be contrary to the spirit of Romanism, and to the laws of the Catholic Church guaranteed to it in the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1815. It seems, however, that he was at first not quite certain of his right, as instead of denouncing by his own spiritual authority the practice in question as illegal, he applied to the king for permission to do so, remarking that the existing laws of the Prussian monarchy were at variance with the papal decrees—namely, with the breve of Benedict XIV. issued to the Polish bishops in 1748, and with that of Pius VIII. issued in 1830, to the Archbishop of Cologne, which condemned in strong terms the practice actually prevailing in the matter of mixed marriages. With regard to the breve first mentioned, the Prussian ministry observed to M. Dunin that it had been subsequently abrogated by the Polish diets; and with reference to the second, that it in no way binds him, having been exclusively intended for the Rhenish provinces, with which the Grand Duchy, from the peculiar character of its national institutions, had no analogy whatever, either political or religious. Should a different meaning be attached to that document, it might be affirmed with equal justice that some particular clause in the concordat between Rome and Berlin would be

* See No. XLIV.

obligatory to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, which is too absurd a doctrine to be thought of. In another application addressed personally to the king, besides the foregoing arguments, the archbishop urged, and we think with more justice, that the Romish Church ought not to be compelled to administer the sacrament of marriage in direct violation of its principle; that should the compulsion be enforced, he would allow his clergy, but on the condition, *sine quâ non*, of both parties taking a solemn engagement that their children should be educated in the Roman Catholic religion. From this latter source have arisen all the difficulties both here and in the Rhenish provinces, and we think that the Prussian government has been decidedly in the wrong on this point. By compelling the Romish clergy to bless mixed marriages, the officiating of a Protestant priest alone being deemed insufficient to ensure the validity of the marriage, the king actually encroached on the spiritual prerogative of the Pope, whilst the abandonment of this condition would have as fully answered the purpose. It is thus that affairs of this kind are managed in Russia, and Rome does not venture to object to the practice. There children born of mixed marriages must absolutely be brought up in the Greek creed, and the matrimonial tie is considered binding though administered by a Greek priest alone. On this account marriages between Protestants and Greeks, or the latter and Roman Catholics, are very scarce in Russia, as the persons contracting them know beforehand all the consequences of such unions.

These communications between the Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen and the cabinet of Berlin took place towards the close of the year 1837, and as diplomatic negotiations between the latter and the see of Rome, on the subject of mixed marriages, were still going on, it was expected that both parties would at length come to a mutual friendly understanding. M. Dunin, however, did not wait for the result, but as if all his previous correspondence were a mere manoeuvre to enable him to take more decided steps, he began to act in open defiance of the government by addressing the following circular, dated Posen, 17th February, 1838, to the clergy of his diocese:—

“Reminded by the allocution which the visible head of our holy Church, Pope Gregory XVI., delivered on the 10th of December last year, and in which he condemns as perverse the practice introduced into the kingdom of Prussia with regard to mixed marriages, of a former bull, much esteemed by us, addressed to the primate, the archbishops and bishops of the ancient kingdom of Poland, and ordered to be observed in all times, namely, that no

Roman Catholic willing to enter the matrimonial state with a dissenter, and *vice versâ*, shall be admitted to the sacrament of marriage, performed according to the ritual of the Romish Church, until he shall produce sufficient guarantees to the following effect:

“1. That every child born of such marriage shall be bred up in the Roman Catholic religion.

“2. That the Roman Catholic party shall be secured from all attempts at conversion.

“3. That there shall exist some hope that the dissenting party will be brought within the pale of the Roman Church.

“That such is the Catholic doctrine, is proved by the more recent breve of Pius VIII., dated in 1830, beginning with *Litteris altero abhinc anno*, which was issued at the request of the bis ops of the western provinces of Prussia, allowing the clergy to give their benediction only under the above-mentioned conditions. Yet as sad experience shows that in many places priests have forgotten that injunction, do not wonder, therefore, reverend fathers, that your archbishop, who is called by the Holy Spirit to watch over the sanctuary of Christ, whilst lamenting such frequent sacrilegious administration of the sacrament of marriage, should decree penalties against the transgressors of this law, that at least the present and future spiritual fathers may be deterred from a similar sacrilegious distribution of the sacrament to those who are unworthy of it, (*a sacramento indignis sacrilege administrando*.)

“For this reason we suspend, dating from the present moment, every priest in our diocese from his clerical function, office, and benefice (*suspendimus ab omni ordine, officio, et beneficio, ipso facto*), who shall in defiance of the literal meaning of the above-mentioned decrees of the Holy Church, dare to administer the sacrament of mixed marriages; that is, of a Catholic with a Dissenter, and *vice versâ*, according to the Roman ritual,—or to give his approbation in any way to the said marriages; unless the dissenting party offers first a sufficient security that all children of such marriages will be educated in the Catholic religion. We subject to the same penalties every priest who shall not exert himself to his utmost power, in order to impress on the minds of his flock that such marriages are illicit, and strictly forbidden by the Church (*talía matrimonia esse prorsus illicita et ab ecclesiâ severe prohibita*).”

It requires little attention to perceive that the archbishop, by the above document, went beyond the limits of his spiritual authority. Instead of a passive resistance, he recommended to his clergy, under severe penalties, an active propaganda amongst the Protestant population. By threatening every refractory priest with the loss of his office and benefice, he acted in direct opposition to the existing laws, which do not admit of such proceedings but with the concurrence of the civil authorities. Upon such grounds the circular of the archbishop was cancelled by the ministerial order, dated 25th June, 1838, and an injunction issued that the existing laws regarding mixed marriages should remain in force. The conduct of the government towards M. Dunin was marked with more moderation than in the case of the Archbishop of Cologne; he was neither to be suspended from his office nor forcibly re-

moved from his see, until he should have had first a fair trial. But now a new difficulty arose, as to who should try him. The archbishop insisted upon his immunity of civil tribunals, affirming that he was amenable to ecclesiastical courts alone. This privilege the Polish clergy had long tried to assert in ancient Poland, until it was at length decreed that being citizens of a free state, they were amenable, like every other individual, to the tribunals of laymen, for offences not of an ecclesiastical nature. It appears that the Prussian government acted upon this decision, and deeming the archbishop guilty of a breach of the existing laws, ordered him to be tried by the upper tribunal of Posen, which condemned him to six months' imprisonment in a fortress. The following paragraph, which appeared in the official gazette of Berlin, explains the ulterior history of this sentence:—

“The sentence of the upper tribunal of Posen, pronounced on the 28th February, 1839, against the Archbishop Dunin, in consequence of his appeal, made on the 23d of April, to the king's mercy for a mitigation of it, was modified by a ministerial order of the 20th of May this year, so that the six months' imprisonment in a fortress was cancelled, and the removal of the archbishop from his see delayed, until it could be ascertained whether there did not exist some means of conciliating the duties of this office, such as the archbishop conceives them, with the existing laws. As in the actual state of things the archbishop could not be permitted to return to his diocese, he was informed that he must not leave Berlin without permission from the minister for ecclesiastical affairs, but that he might, after a previous communication with the said minister, betake himself to any place he should choose in the Prussian dominions. Contrary to this royal prohibition, repeated in a cabinet order of the 10th of September, the archbishop secretly left Berlin on the 3d of October, and returned to Posen, in order to take possession of his see. This fresh act of disobedience compelled the royal government to remove for a second time the archbishop from his see. In consequence of a royal order he was removed, and confined in the fortress of Colberg until it shall be otherwise determined.”

There cannot be a doubt that M. Dunin was throughout the whole affair urged by foreign influence to pursue a line of conduct so much at variance with the frank, generous and honest character, which even the opponents of this prelate allow him to possess. But such is the nature of Papacy that, like every unprincipled despotism, it must ultimately bring dishonour upon those who devote themselves to its interests. The Pope eulogized to the skies the conduct of M. Dunin, in an allocution delivered on the 13th of September, last year, in which, amongst other things, he said—

“We take heaven and earth to witness, that we bitterly lament whatever has been done to the pre-

judice of the Catholic faith in the kingdom of Prussia. One circumstance, however, brings us relief in our affliction, namely, the unshaken firmness which the Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, a worthy champion like the Archbishop of Cologne, has shown in defending religion and the discipline of the Church in the matter of mixed marriages.”

After the removal of the archbishop, the General Consistory of Posen ordered on the 10th of October, a general mourning, prohibiting the use of organs, bells, and music, in all churches, and calling upon the faithful to carry the mourning into their domestic circles. This measure is alluded to in the following terms, in a letter dated Posen, the 15th of October, last year:—

“Last Sunday, after church service, it was announced from all the pulpits that, in consequence of the forcible removal of the archbishop, a general mourning is to take place. Henceforth the ringing of bells and music is to cease. It has also been enjoined to all the faithful that they should observe mourning in private. Letters from the country mention that the clergy, on account of the mourning, refuse to bless marriages, which must at least be celebrated without. Those who know how much importance the Polish peasantry attach to the wedding music, will easily imagine the great sensation produced amongst them by this prohibition. After the departure of the archbishop, a decree left by him was immediately published, suspending from their functions the chapters of Posen and Gnesen, leaving them only *curam animarum*. All ecclesiastical government is therefore disordered; it exists no longer.”—*Swabian Mercury*, 27th October.

The result of all these proceedings, as in the Rhenish provinces, was an extraordinary excitement amongst the people, thus led to confound the intrigues of Rome with the persecution of their nationality, and little was wanting to set the country in a blaze,—a consummation devoutly desired by the Pope. For what would be the consequence of an insurrection at the present moment in the grand duchy of Posen, which would spread conflagration through the Prussian dominions?—That Russia and Austria would interfere with an armed force, as they are bound to do by the treaty concluded at München-Gratz, in 1835, between the three powers, should an insurrection break out in any province of ancient Poland. Austria would seize upon Silesia, torn from her by Frederick the Great, and Russia upon the grand duchy of Posen; and this would precisely answer the views of the Pope, to whose sympathy for the Czar, and his preference given to the Greek schism over Protestantism, we have already referred. This would also be in accordance with the rallying watchword of the Jesuits, who used to say that it was better to give Poland over to the Muscovites than to the heretics. Our

opinion is fully borne out by the recent conduct of the Pope towards the Emperor of Russia. In the beginning of the last year, no fewer than four millions of Poles belonging to the Greek church, though acknowledging the Pope as their head, were compelled to exchange him for the Czar, and some of the refractory priests were either banished to Siberia, or incorporated as privates with the regiments of the line. And what said the Pope to this violence of conduct? Did he protest then as boldly as he did in reference to the King of Prussia? Nothing of the kind. He condescended to crouching flattery, having said, amongst other things in his allocution, delivered on the 22d of November, last year—

“We have taken every possible step to remedy this state of things, and we will yet address ourselves to the mighty Emperor, because we expect from his impartiality, from his noble and generous character, that he will listen to our appeals and wishes.”

The Emperor, however, caused the Pope to be told that unless he remained quiet, he would at once put an end to his authority in Poland, by appointing a Pope of his own, and immediately prohibited the Polish bishops from holding any intercourse whatever with the see of Rome. The fact is, that some of the bishops, instead of shepherds, proved wolves, and had sold their sheep long before their congregations were aware of it; the abject ignorance in which the Romish priesthood kept the people prevented them from perceiving the truth. Thus it appears that the degrading system of Popery proves a two-edged sword, with which it destroys both itself and its followers; and in this we must perceive the finger of Providence, which grants success ultimately to a just cause alone.

The little we have said respecting the proceedings of the Romish clergy in Prussia, is sufficient to justify the assertion that had they been suffered to run their full course, the ruin of the Prussian Protestants would have been inevitable. This supposition becomes certainty, when we contrast the strict soldier-like discipline of the Romish church with the disunited state of the Protestants. The Roman Catholic clergy enjoys in Prussia many advantages not possessed by the Protestant, and compared with the latter is enormously rich. The Roman Catholic clergy numbers two archbishops, two prince bishops (*Fürst-Bischöfe*), three bishops, eight suffragan-bishops (*Weih-Bischöfe*), twenty-five prelates, ninety-nine canons. The total number amounts to 8539; whilst the Protestants have only four

bishops, 369 superintendents, and 5720 prebendaries. The Roman Catholic population and the Protestant are as 5 to 8, there being five millions of the former, and only eight of the latter; but this numerical disparity is fully compensated by the advantages which we have already mentioned are possessed by the former. Add to this the support of the Pope, of Austria, of Bavaria, and of the Jesuits, and no doubt can remain that in a contest between Romanism and Protestantism, the latter must inevitably succumb. This was the fate of their Protestant neighbours in Poland, who, though at one time more numerous than the Romanists, were yet entirely oppressed, owing chiefly to the want of union amongst themselves.

These weighty considerations confirmed the King of Prussia in his former resolution of cementing a union between his Protestant subjects, Lutheran and Calvinist. The task he had imposed upon himself was a difficult one; all similar attempts formerly made having failed, owing to the resistance of the Protestants themselves. It would appear that as far back as the year 1798, the King entertained this wish, having then commissioned three priests of the Lutherans and Calvinists respectively to consult together, and suggest means for the accomplishment of the union. Their labours seem to have been interrupted by the subsequent misfortune which befel Prussia, as nothing further was heard of them. After the peace of 1815, another commission was appointed for the same purpose, composed of the most distinguished divines, and the result of their joint exertions during five consecutive years, was an *Agendum* or New Liturgy, which was first introduced into the cathedral at Berlin, in 1821. The Church thus established was called “Evangelical.”

The principle upon which, according to this *Agendum*, the Calvinist and Lutheran Churches were to unite, was the adoption of a common ritual as regarded the outward form of worship, without compelling either party to abjure any of their fundamental dogmas. The principal difference between the two consists in the words used in the Lord's Supper; the Lutheran form being, “This is the body and blood of Christ;” that of the Calvinist or rather the Evangelical Church being, “This represents the body and blood of Christ.” Such is at least the sense, if not the very words. The royal family themselves belonged to the Calvinist persuasion, of which the followers amount to scarcely one-third of the Lutherans.

The *Agendum* was not introduced into the Lutheran churches by compulsion, as

some affirm was the case, for the very obvious reason that every individual in Prussia being trained to the use of arms, the Lutherans, as by far the most numerous, could have easily resisted any attempt of the kind; nor were any measures taken to procure its immediate general adoption. On the contrary, the government addressed itself to consistories of every province, which had been invited to consult all the members of the clerical body to take into consideration scruples of conscience, long-established church practice, and the customs prevailing in different localities. The project, as had been anticipated, met with much opposition, in part arising from conscientious motives, in part from a philosophic indifference, with which the promoters of the new reform were themselves charged. Upon the whole, however, the result was favourable to the government, as a great majority of the Lutherans embraced the new liturgy without reservation. Such, at least, is the statement of recent writers on Prussia, and especially of the one whose statistical work stands third in the list of publications at the head of this article. We have ourselves had opportunities of conversing on this subject with Lutheran clergymen, and they have usually expressed themselves in these words; "Why, the difference is so insignificant, that I have no objection to adopt the Agendum."

Full thirteen years were taken up in endeavours to persuade the Protestants of various shades to adopt the new liturgy; and it was not till 1834, that the king, assisted by the ecclesiastical advisers of the crown, published an edict giving the sanction of a national law to the Agendum, thenceforth to be obligatory to the Protestant clergy in the Prussian dominions. The Agendum then republished differs from that which appeared for the first time in 1821 only by the introduction of some additional pieces, exclusively referring to the Protestants of Westphalia and of the Rhine. These concern only certain outward forms of worship, principally sanctioned by custom, and which are to continue obligatory only in these localities. The royal edict is a document of great importance in this matter, and contains both a justification of the measure, and a succinct narrative of the proceedings connected with it. We reprint here the principal part of it, as it appeared along with the Agendum published at Berlin in 1834.

"Our ancestors, as well as all other sovereigns who, at the time of the Reformation of the Church, accepted, together with their subjects, the restored, pure, evangelical doctrine, soon discovered that there existed an urgent necessity for introducing

into their territories certain Church ordinances and agenda, which, without infringing on the dearly-bought liberties of belief and conscience, should produce a salutary unanimity in the forms of Church service, and should set a limit to the rapidly spreading licence of opinion which is entirely opposed to the object of the Reformation. By means of these Church agenda, drawn up principally by distinguished divines, and under the especial guidance, and with the counsel, or, at least, in the spirit of the Reformers, and introduced by the sovereign sanction and command, an almost general unanimity in matters appertaining to Divine service was diffused throughout the Evangelical Churches then forming themselves through Germany, inasmuch as these agenda were all regulated according to the same principles. For centuries these excellent Church ordinances maintained themselves in their original form and holy usages; but in proportion as erroneous views of Church affairs, a spirit of innovation, lukewarmness and indifference continually gained ground, they fell by degrees into such great decay and oblivion, that in most places scarcely a traditional recollection of them was preserved. It had long been the heartfelt wish of all those who seriously desired the internal peace and firm unity of the Evangelical Church, that some bounds should be set to the disorder and licence arising from the above named causes. There was but one means of effecting it, and this was to endeavour, before all, to rescue those truly Christian ordinances existing in the Evangelical Church from oblivion, and to restore them to life, having, however, at the same time, due and sufficient regard to the necessary requisitions of the age. This consideration was the original cause of the Church Agendum, which appeared first at the close of the year 1821, and subsequently with improvements and alterations for the cathedral at Berlin. The approbation bestowed upon this Agendum, which was drawn up according to the above principles by several esteemed divines, enjoying a high reputation, and who were well acquainted with our views, immediately excited the repeatedly expressed desire that measures should be speedily taken for the general diffusion of the same. In order to promote this, there soon after appeared the preliminary requisition approved by us, and addressed to the clergy of every province, in which they were called upon to declare themselves either for or against the reception of the same. Notwithstanding the violent and unjust attacks of the opponents of the Agendum, the result might still be called most favourable, as by far the greater number of the Evangelical Churches in a very short space of time declared themselves in its favour. In order, however, to justify the non-acceptance of the Agendum, many scruples were brought forward, and wishes expressed often of a very contradictory nature, as would necessarily be the case under the prevailing circumstances, some of which were grounded on local considerations, and some had their rise in attachment to established custom, or other considerations, associated with a variety of other motives. In order, therefore, to proceed in this matter, as it was our wish to do, with all possible indulgence, and at the same time with due regard to provincial customs, which were appealed to in the exposition of many of the said wishes, so far as by their nature they needed not to be viewed as in any respect unfitting, we caused such scruples and proposals to be collected and arranged by the provincial consistorial courts, in order then to be submitted to the careful consideration and judgment of a special committee, consisting of the spiritual council of the provincial consistory and of several of the most esteemed divines of the pro-

vince, and we further ordered that the result of this proceeding should be reported to us by the council for ecclesiastical affairs. Accordingly, after a similar process had taken place in the provinces of the Rhine and those of Westphalia, though modified according to the constitution of the Church in those districts, we ordered the proposed and accepted acquiescence in this new and still further improved Church Agendum, which we had caused to be prepared in order that thenceforth the whole might appear in better and more appropriate connection. to be received. Such objections as were grounded only upon one-sided views and wishes, and did not contribute to the general confirmation of the whole, were not included, in order that the greatest possible universality, the fundamental principle of the Agendum, should be preserved. At the same time both the provincial consistories were instructed to proceed respecting them with due consideration, and provided with full power to that effect."

The royal edict was accompanied by a short introduction, drawn up by four ecclesiastical councillors of state, all eminent by their learning and high station—namely, Drs. Eylert and Neander, both evangelical bishops, Dr. Ehrenberg, and Dr. Therman. Their approbation of the Agendum is expressed in the following terms:

"We feel ourselves bound, as the ordained and appointed ministers of the Word, to declare further, that, according to our firm conviction, the Agendum fully agrees in all its parts with the precepts of the Holy Scriptures as the sole rule of faith in our evangelical Church, as well as with the precepts of the same derived therefrom."*

After a minute examination into the different parts of the Agendum, we do not hesitate to subscribe to the opinion above expressed. We have looked in vain for those articles of the Agendum in which, as some of its opponents assume, it is said that love is inculcated towards the king, and only praise to God. The endeavours of some members of this opposition to bring the Evangelical Church into ridicule may be traced either to the political persecution they had suffered, which originated from entirely different causes, or to the religious scepticism, indifference, and cosmopolitism, so much advocated by some writers of the modern German schools. The Jewish Heine, for instance, affecting the wit of Voltaire, sarcastically assailed it in the following words:—"And the king's Agendum, carried on the wings of the red eagle, third class, flies from church steeple to church steeple." The king did in fact confer that

order on many clergymen who had distinguished themselves by their zeal in promoting the union of the two principal Protestant creeds, which was unquestionably a highly meritorious and patriotic work; nor can we attach any blame to the conduct of either party so far as it was actuated by conscientious motives, which there is every reason to believe was the case in most instances.

The only part of the Agendum which to us seems objectionable is that clause in the ordination of priests, by which they are obliged to take an oath not only to fulfil the duties of citizens towards the State, but also to denounce traitorous designs conceived against the sovereign. The same objection attaches to the absolute condition enforced upon them, that they must be of unquestionable northern origin. Our objection is not grounded on the nature of these conditions, which may be good in themselves as dictated by political prudence, but exclusively on their being included in an oath in which they are erroneously enumerated amongst the fundamental dogmas of Christianity.

The Agendum having been willingly accepted by a great majority of Protestants, and having, by the royal sanction, acquired the force of a fundamental law of the country, it followed, as a matter of course, that transgressors against it should be visited by corresponding penalties. No government could possibly exist should such right be denied to it. In countries where the people themselves enact their own laws, this right is never questioned. In Prussia there does not exist any legislative body to check the will of the sovereign, but this circumstance does not change the nature of the case; it only represents the king as a *persona moralis*, a collective body, a parliament whose authority is acknowledged by the nation. Prussia, however, is only a nominal autocracy, the king being himself the first servant of the law; and should he become an unprincipled despot, it is certain that, considering the high degree of civilisation and the strong sense of justice, as well as the material means which the Prussian subjects possess, he would not be able to govern twenty-four hours longer. It was by furnishing her subjects with such means that Prussia rose from an insignificant state to the rank of a first-rate power in Europe, and should a different line of policy be adopted, it would prove her political suicide.

But we return to our subject. Against such individuals as should use active means to bring the Agendum into contempt, as well as against non-conformist Lutherans, fines varying from one to fifty dollars, were

* . . . fühlen wir uns verpflichtet, als verordnete und berufene Diener des Wortes, noch zu erklären, dass, nach unserer fester Ueberzeugung, die Agende mit den Lehren der heiligen Schrift als der alleinigen Glaubensnormen unserer evangelischen Kirche, so wie mit dem daraus entnommenen Lehrbegriffe derselben in allen Theilen, völlig übereinstimmt.

decreed by a cabinet order of the year 1834. An occasion for carrying this order into effect was soon furnished by the Lutheran non-conformists, who either congregated in secret places, to receive the Lord's Supper according to the ancient ritual, or preached openly in the schools against the Agendum, or refused to give the names of the priests who baptized their children, as obligatory by the existing laws. Respecting the latter offence another cabinet order was issued, dated the 12th of February, 1838, to the effect that all persons, whether the father or a mere witness, who should refuse, when required by the authorities, to give the name of the baptizing clergyman, should be liable to three months' imprisonment in the house of correction. Several instances of resistance to this order occurred in the Saxon provinces and in Silesia, in which latter place the new Church appears to have met with much opposition. The offenders were sent to prison; but as it appeared that their resistance arose from truly conscientious scruples, they were soon set at liberty, the government wisely leaving to time and to persuasive measures the completion of their work, which a cruel persecution of its opponents would only have counteracted. Such considerations appear to have dictated the following circular order of the Prussian ministry issued on the 14th of June, 1838.

"The circular orders issued by the undersigned ministers on the 12th of February, 1837, have not answered the object they were designed to effect, as the individuals whom they concerned laid so much stress upon the religious scruples they had conceived respecting the evidence demanded of them, and which were in all probability excited in their minds by secret persuasion, that, with some exceptions, they chose rather to go to prison and await their fate in persevering non-compliance till the period of their release. Although there seems to be no room to doubt that a consistent perseverance in the measures hitherto adopted against refractory witnesses would have entirely removed the evil; yet it cannot be denied that, according to the notions conceived by several individuals involved in these proceedings, and who think themselves bound *pro præterito* by the scruples of their misguided consciences, the before-named measures have a character of severity, which might be easily employed by non-conformist Lutherans aspiring to become martyrs, as a means of gaining notoriety, and of exciting their fellow believers to imitate their example. After having therefore considered the state of the case, as well as the circumstances bearing upon it, which shall be duly weighed, with a view to the ulterior measures to be taken concerning the Lutheran non-conformists, the undersigned ministers deem it expedient to acquaint the provincial authorities, that they are to abstain from prosecuting the forcible means hitherto employed, in order to discover the individuals who have performed forbidden clerical functions, and that they shall in consequence release such persons as may have been confined in pursuance of the circular order issued on the 12th of February last year; re-

serving, however, the right of carrying into effect such forcible measures as may be adopted for the future.

"The ministers for ecclesiastical, educational, and medical affairs,

"Signed, VON ALTENSTEIN. VON ROCHOW."

One immediate cause of the above circular may perhaps be traced to two cases attended by unusual harshness, aggravated, no doubt, by the over zeal of some inferior government officials. One of these cases was that of Pastor Augustus Graben of Heliogstadt, who was committed to the house of correction at Erfurt, without a previous trial, and detained there for some months, until he was liberated at the request of the Upper Tribunal of Halberstadt. The other occurred in Silesia, where several fathers of families were sent to prison for refusing to give testimony as to the persons who performed the baptism of their children, but were soon restored to liberty through the interference of the Upper Tribunal of Ratibor. The excitement of these individuals belonging to the class of peasantry consequent upon these occurrences, was so great, that they determined to leave the country for Australia, or some other part of the world. The king did not dispute their right to emigrate, which is possessed by all his subjects; but, foreseeing the hard consequences of their rash resolution, he required, as a condition of their emigration, that every father of a family should prove the possession of 215 dollars, and every other individual of 110 dollars. It would seem, however, that these conditions, which the poor people were unable to satisfy, were dispensed with, as we learn that about 150 Silesian peasants from the district of Trebnitz passed through Berlin during Whitsun week, last year, on their way to Australia, their chosen place of emigration. This occurrence is so much at variance with the benevolent character usually attributed to the King of Prussia, no less than with his recent conduct towards the Tyrolese Protestants, that it has occasioned much regret to the well-wishers of the Evangelical Church. It is only two years since the king granted a hospitable asylum in the same Silesia, and a liberal support from his own purse to about 140 Tyrolese Protestants of Zillerthal, whom a cruel persecution, by the Austrian Romish clergy, had compelled to leave their country, to which their attachment is proverbial. But when the welfare of a whole nation is concerned, the personal feeling of rulers must be silent; and such, no doubt, is the case with the King of Prussia, than whom no one probably more laments the sad necessity which forced a number of his people to leave their country for the sake of conscience.

The cases of Pastor Augustus Graben, and of these Silesian emigrants, have been very incorrectly stated, and the number of the latter strangely exaggerated in a letter published in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 12th of March of the present year. It is as follows :

"Extract of a letter dated Newcastle upon Tyne, 8^{mo} 6, 1839.

"Large bodies of Prussian emigrants are passing through our town on their road to America, in consequence of the persecutions they are suffering at home. They are Lutherans, and the Prussian government is using most coercive measures to induce them to conform to the Reformed or National Church. This they cannot conscientiously do, and severe fines and imprisonment are the consequence. Four companies have already arrived, containing on the average 150 or 170 persons in each, and many more are gone to Liverpool. These have chiefly been under the care of one Pastor Augustus Grabau [Graben?]; he was in the last company with his wife and family, an apparently sweet spirited man. He had been in prison in Heliogstadt for seventeen weeks in the early part of the spring, and was only released on account of severe illness. Another thousand with another pastor are expected daily. They have no introduction to any one here, but soon obtaining notice, a few persons have been down from time to time to inquire into their wants. A public meeting was held on their behalf a few evenings since. There are many poor people and a large number of peasantry among them. They do not in any way ask for pecuniary aid, but receive it with streaming eyes when a little is presented, and acknowledge that in many instances their all has been paid for passage money. Baron von Rohlf has gone first, advanced money and made contracts for them. Some come from Saxony, some from Pomerania, and their first destination is New York. But from the difficulty of understanding them, as they spoke only German, their exact destination was not known. It seems generally acknowledged that the King of Prussia is coercive and arbitrary, though generous and benevolent if people fall in with his views. We have several times attended their services, and been much struck with the solemn awe and heartfelt interest that appeared to prevail. They are well supplied with Bibles and other good books. Their stay is generally short, often but a few hours, and they never come into town, but proceed at once from their steam-boat to the rail-road. Their appearance and circumstances most strongly remind one of the pilgrim fathers and other good men of old; such reverend looks in many cases, such simplicity of attire, such kind affectionate manners, such beaming countenances, plainly showing that many of them must have passed through much, and been tried in the furnace of affliction."

From the same, 2^{mo} 3, 1840.

"You have heard of the deep interest we felt last summer in the circumstances of some hundreds of Lutheran emigrants, who passed through our town on their way to North America. We wrote to Hamburg for further particulars, and eventually a large mass of documents was forwarded. The sufferers never take up arms in their own defence. A most remarkable absence of information on this subject seems to prevail in this country. Prussia has taken extreme care that we shall not hear of it. A vast deal has been said respecting the King of Prussia's kind reception of the Austrian converts

from Popery, but truly his own conduct has been incomparably more intolerant than that of the Emperor of Austria. The tale will probably surprise people, but names, dates and references will be clear, and whoever pleases may do what they can to refute them, or write to the continent, where they must only be confirmed by farther investigation.

"Some thousands more are expected to emigrate in the course of the present year.

"From the last accounts they are suffering great privations in America.

"Six hundred have gone to South Australia; eleven hundred to North America."

Whilst publishing the above letters, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* did not certainly imagine that a contemporary of his, the *Morning Post*, quite unconscious of their existence, would be inserting on the same day a refutation of them, contained in the following paragraph, extracted from a French paper, the *Gazette of Metz*.

"*Emigration from Germany.*—The *Gazette de Metz* says—The rage for emigration, which for several years past has been depopulating Bavaria, the Grand Duchy of Baden, and part of Alsace, has at length reached our department (the Moselle). Last year a great many families from the cantons of Bitché and Volmunster took their departure for the New World, and last week forty more families, reckoning together about two hundred individuals, left this part of the country for the United States."

The fact is, that the Germans constantly emigrate by hundreds of thousands, neither from religious nor political persecution, but in order to seek their fortune elsewhere, when their prospects grow dull at home. During their long peregrinations they often suffer every species of distress; and it was on beholding a family of these emigrants, composed of aged men, women and children, exposed to extreme wretchedness, that Heine, whilst wandering on the coast of Normandy, burst into the exclamation—"Oh, stupid countrymen of mine! why do you not make thirty-six revolutions, as your French neighbours would do, rather than emigrate?" But the Germans are a quiet, humble, inoffensive race of people, hostile to political commotion, by which, besides, they could gain nothing. Since the re-establishment of peace in 1815, the number of German emigrants may be reckoned at more than a million; most of them went to the United States of America, and amongst them were some political enthusiasts, disappointed at home, and still full of admiration for American republican liberties, which we are now beginning to be able to appreciate. Emigration is most frequent amongst the working classes, and there are actually some hundred thousands of German workmen in Russia and Poland. Their distress has much increased of late, owing partly to the superabundance of population, conse-

quent on a long peace, and partly to the severe system of prohibition introduced by Russia all along the frontiers of Poland, of which restrictions, so injurious to trade, the German press is filled daily with bitter complaints; and no State suffers more by it than Prussia, being the immediate neighbour of her Russian ally.

The circumstances to which we have just referred, probably furnished the King of Prussia with additional reason for persevering in the measures he had adopted for uniting, by an indissoluble tie, his Protestant subjects, by inspiring them with a love for national institutions, so as to render their happiness inseparable from their prosperity. This indeed is, and has ever been, the secret of the greatness of nations. What country could prosper with a population of fortune-hunters, whose political creed is—*ubi bene, ibi patria*? Private individuals may be excused for caring first for their personal prosperity; but rulers have higher obligations to fulfil, being bound to provide for the future safety of the State and the welfare of their subjects, regardless of the censure of their age, which seldom renders them justice. Such is the view which in our opinion should be taken of the question respecting the Evangelical Church in Prussia, and though it should not be crowned with ultimate success, the statesmanlike and benevolent intention in which it originated will be for ever memorable in the annals of Protestantism.

Some time previous to the year 1830 steps had been taken by the king to induce the Protestants of Poland to adopt the *Agendum*, and thus to establish a branch of the Evangelical Church in Kalisch, Warsaw and Cracow. The attempt, however, failed through obstacles of a political rather than religious nature, which it would be superfluous to enter upon here.

We hope that time will remove these obstacles, and that the unmasking of the disloyal and grasping ends of the Papacy, will prove the beginning of an intimate alliance between the principal Protestant countries—an alliance which would have a most beneficial effect on the liberties and social order of Europe, a point of policy which, like several others, has been entirely disregarded by our slumbering ministry.

We may be allowed to take this opportunity of mentioning the high esteem in which our Church, assailed by factions at home, is held by the Protestants on the continent. The approaching celebration of the anniversary of the Reformation in the north of Germany has given occasion to an author to publish one hundred and one theses, of

which the fifty-ninth, referring to our Church, is conceived thus:

“England has ever been an important support of the Evangelical Church in Europe, inasmuch as it has also endeavoured to cause the diffusion of the same in the other parts of the world.”*

If we now consider the general result of the contest of Prussia with the Romish Church, it will strike our attention as a self-evident fact, that the former has entirely lost her moral and political influence over the German Confederation, and more especially over the states of the south. The immediate consequence of this state of affairs was her cementing a still stronger alliance with Russia; an alliance which is much deprecated by her own subjects, who are decidedly anti-Russian. This alternative, it would seem, was the only one left to her, threatened as she was with internal commotions on the part of the Roman Catholic population, surrounded by envious and hostile neighbours, in the midst of whom she stood entirely isolated. To the support of her Russian ally, Prussia looks at the present moment for recovering her former commanding station in Germany, and, if possible, for aggrandizing herself at the expense of the States of the Confederation. All these advantages are to be secured by force of arms, which, but for the intrigues of the Pope and Austria, Prussia would have obtained by the natural progress of things. This posture of affairs is truly ominous to the peace and welfare of Europe. Are there no means left to induce Prussia to change the line of her actual policy? We think there are, and that England possesses them, and that, by making a timely use of them, she may, for a second time, preserve Europe from a despotism a hundred fold worse than that of Napoleon. England needs only to come forward and accept the hand which Prussia is now stretching forth to her. A Prusso-English alliance would be most popular with the people of Prussia and of Germany at large, and of the utmost importance to England in case of her going to war with Russia, which must eventually take place in spite of Lord Palmerston's Russian predilections. Another immediate result of such an alliance would be the affording protection to the Protestants of the German Baltic provinces of Russia, now exposed together with the Romanists to a cruel persecution, and perhaps eventually the incorporation of them with Prussia and the German Confederation; a consum-

* Theses CI.—Zur Reformationen-Feier in Nord-Deutschland. Basel, 1840.

mation devoutly wished by the people themselves, and which reunion would also put an end to Russian intrigues in Germany, the Emperor Nicholas having attempted so lately as last year to become a member of the German Confederation, in the character of representative of the said Baltic provinces. The Northern Colossus, the pressure of which now chokes the breath of Europe, would be shaken from its foundation, and the civilisation of Europe would gain an immense advance upon Asiatic barbarism. For the acquisition of the Baltic countries, Prussia would not hesitate to part with her Polish provinces, the allegiance of which is very doubtful; Poland might be restored to her ancient independence; and thus the protests of our parliament and ministers would cease to be vain professions without meaning.

The objection usually brought against an alliance with Prussia is, that the latter cherishes hostile dispositions towards England, of which the Prussian commercial league, excluding English manufactures from the markets of Germany, is adduced as a proof. This objection is weak, because Prussia by establishing it had a political rather than a commercial object in view—namely, that of preserving her influence in Germany, which had latterly been so much undermined. The prohibitory system introduced by her exists more in name than in practice, English goods, owing to their intrinsic superiority, finding their way into the German markets.

If we dwell upon such considerations, it is because, if they are not the best to be immediately acted upon, they have at least the recommendation of probability, which a wise policy never leaves out of its calculations. Political science has also its fixed, we may say strictly mathematical axioms, upon which an enlightened cabinet constructs its system calculated not for a year, but for centuries and generations. It is said that Napoleon once remarked that he only lived within two years, by which he meant, that he neither imagined nor understood beyond what he was able to realize within two years. Some states, as Russia since the time of Peter the Great, may say that they live within centuries; and it should therefore not excite wonder that she makes dupes of our Whigs, who foresee nothing, and reckon their life, not even by years, but by days, hours, or perhaps minutes.

We have besides hazarded the foregoing considerations with a view to combat a fatal opinion promulgated by some English writers, who, on contemplating the present menacing attitude of Prussia in alliance

with Russia, and impressed by the magnitude of the evil which must result to Europe from it, have drawn conclusions suggested by despair rather than by a just estimation of the actual position of affairs. Those writers say: abandon Poland, abandon Prussia, abandon one half of Germany to the insatiable ambition of Russia, for it is with them a hopeless case. And the next day they would probably advise to abandon to her also all the Continent until the channel should remain our boundary. And what do they propose as the consequence of this? They gravely tell government that it ought to interfere with the internal affairs of Germany; secure, in spite of Austria and Prussia, the rights of political liberty and a representative form of government to the southern states, and unite them into a confederation with the cantons of Switzerland. We have too much respect for our readers to attempt a refutation of such Utopian speculations, the absurdity of which is self-evident.

Another class of politicians, less visionary, but acting from less disinterested motives, and belonging no doubt to the Jesuitical propaganda, wish for the restoration of Austrian supremacy and of Ultramontanism, in order to enlist the Germans in the approaching contest with Russia. The fatal consequences of such a measure need not be enlarged upon. It would render Germany a prey to religious dissensions and social revolutions, and finally plunge her into the horrors of another thirty years' war. Austria, who has remained three centuries behind the other German states, would be compelled to put a violent stop to their progress, while Prussia can to-morrow, if she chooses to do so, place herself in harmony with them, by throwing herself back on the system of her former rational German policy.

The geographical situation of Prussia, considered in a military point of view, is very unfavourable to her, compared with that of Austria and other neighbouring states. Voltaire used to ridicule Frederick the Great by comparing the configuration of his provinces to a pair of gaiters, and his brother Prince Henry affirmed that they wanted logic. Though he removed these objections by the conquest of Silesia and some Polish provinces, yet subsequent acquisitions, sanctioned by the peace of 1815, make Prussia still liable to the same reproach. Her length from east to west, from the banks of the Niemen to those of the Sarre, is 900 miles; from the south to the north her greatest breadth is 390 miles, and her average width is no more than 120. To the disadvantages of such a disproportionate

extent of dominions, owing to which her capital occupies an eccentric position, and which in accordance with the nature of modern civilisation and that of her government, a centralisation of power carried to the highest degree should be placed in their centre, Prussia adds another inconvenience, namely, of having some of her provinces included in other states and *vice versâ*. Should a general war break out, and the most fatal to Prussia would be one consequent upon a revolution in France, Prussia would present the strange spectacle of a young state suddenly risen by conquest, and enervated by the same cause in a still shorter space of time. As it is now, her scattered possessions may be only considered as so many bivouac stations on her way for the conquest of the whole of Germany, which it is doubtful if she can accomplish by following her present policy.

In the next general war, which no doubt will also be a religious one, Prussia will have another great evil to contend with, namely, her Roman Catholic subjects, who are as two to five in the ranks of her army, upon whom she not only could place no dependence for active service, but who would perhaps turn against her. But we are mistaken as to the probability of a future religious war; it has already broken out, and to support our opinion we have a more recent authority than the Abbé Lacordaire. A Swiss paper, the Gazette of Fribourg of February last, contains on this subject a curious correspondence which we take this opportunity to reprint.

“From the Rhine, 15th of February.

“As somewhat earlier there has been a young Germany, a young Italy, &c. so now there is arising a young Jesuitdom, which, from its cradle in Belgium, has spread itself especially over the Rhenish provinces, and which presents itself here and there with such daring confidence that one must conclude that it has some powerful secret support. We must here call attention to a fact but little known. By Ganganelli's bull, the order of the Jesuits cannot be abolished, as they are in possession of an ancient papal breve, in virtue of which any abolition of the order caused by a pope under compulsion of circumstances, is pre-declared null. In this fact we have the key which explains the rapid restoration of the society and their extraordinary pecuniary means. At the present time also the number of secular and for the most part unmarried affiliated members, is much greater than that of the regulars of the first, second, and third classes; and these are in fact the most dangerous, because they contrive to deceive the Protestants and to secure their protection. The sender of this is in possession of facts calculated to awaken the sleepers, and to excite just suspicion of the masked brethren. And since certain steps have been ventured upon in the midst of Protestant states, and without apprehension of consequences, things must have advanced pretty far! That which is now passing in Switzerland ought to excite watchfulness. We see how the so-

ciety avails itself of the political fermentation there, in order to turn the revolutionary element, which has its ground in the constitution, to its own anti-religious purposes. May this discovery not come too late!”

We abstain from any comment upon this strange document, for which task certain gentlemen connected with the periodical press of Dublin seem to be better fitted, and cordially unite in the writer's sentiment—“may attention not be awakened too late.” There is too another deplorable event since these pages were penned, to which we wish to direct the once vigilant eye of England. We allude to the deeply regretted loss of Frederick William, the King of Prussia himself, thus favourably disposed to England, as we have described him, and to the fact that the wily Nicholas was at his death-bed, and is in at the assumption of sovereignty by the son, Frederick William IV. born Nov. 15, 1795. No objection can possibly exist to kings possessing the same kind feelings towards their connections as subjects feel, but when we well know that every sentiment in the autocrat sinks into minor importance in comparison with political aggrandizement, we doubt extremely whether even at present measures totally opposed to a Prusso-Anglian alliance are not already realized, and whether the reigning sovereign be not already the blind tool of Russia beyond recall. Strong hands will be required at the helm ere long, if this be so, and strong hands must come in soon, for the failing ministry are sinking fast into deeper and deeper minorities; and when they are in a minority of the *whole house* against the *cabinet*, then we may look for *resignation even from them*.

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- ART. III.—1. *Kong Carl Johans Historie. Hvad Tidsrummet fra hans Valg til Svensk Thronfolger betræffer forfattet af* Henr. Wergeland. (The History of Charles John: the period after his Election as Crown Prince of Sweden, by WERGELAND.) Christiana, 1837, pp. 92, 32mo.
2. *Histoire de Charles XIV. (Jean Bernadotte) Roi de Suède et de Norvège*, par TOUCHARD LAFOSSE. Paris, 1838, 3 tom. 8vo.
3. *Bidrag till Sveriges Historia efter den 4 November, 1810.* (Contributions towards the History of Sweden since November 5, 1810.) [By Captain Lindeberg.] Stockholm, 1839, 2 vols. 12mo.

THE career of CHARLES JOHN, now King of Sweden and Norway, is one of the most

extraordinary in the whole compass of ancient or modern history. It strikes the imagination more as a legend from the middle ages, or a saga of the old northman warriors, or a *lais* of the paladin princes of chivalric song, who over-ran the world as with a fairy wand, or conquered kingdoms with naught but their good spear-point,—rather than the serious and unexaggerated description of real sober facts occurring in our own time. Ninus, it is true, warred against and took “Nineveh, that great city,” and Cyrus founded Persia, overcame Cræsus and seized Babylon “that Eastern Queen,”—but myriads of Asiatics served under their banners. Alexander, like a second Bacchus, ruled in sovereign splendour from the limits of fair Greece to the centre of the gorgeous Ind,—but his genius-sabre swept along supported by the inflamed nationality of revenging Hellas, and the all-conquering discipline and impenetrable masses of the Macedonian phalanx. Cæsar could boast of “*Germania subjugata*,” though not of our “*Insula Britannia*” bowing before the eagles of the eternal city; of victories many and of liberty subdued,—but the Roman legions guaranteed his fame. In short, Napoleon and numerous other chiefs have held worlds or provinces in chains,—but countless armies or wide-spreading insurrections, or the fierce breathing *enthusiasm* of knights in holy war, accomplished all their feats.

But that the son of a decent quiet attorney of Gascony born at the foot of the Pyrenees and nurtured in the bosom of “sunny France,” should rise from nothing to be *Maréchal de France* and *Prince de Ponte Corvo*, should almost peril the diadem of Napoleon himself, and should at last (without the voice of a single musket or the sight of a single bayonet asserting his claims) be elected by acclamation to the thousand-miles-off snowy thrones of the great Vasas and of the fair-haired Harold, and should there govern in peace during thirty summers two kingdoms which he had never seen, of whose languages he knew nothing, and in which even babbling fame had scarcely breathed his unknown name and titles—this is indeed an event so wonderful, that a slight and rapid sketch of the causes which guided him to his sceptres and of his after-fortunes cannot be without interest to every reader.

JEAN-BAPTISTE-JULES-BERNADOTTE was born at Pau in Bern, on the 26th of January, 1764.* The harshness of his mother,

who preferred her eldest son, added perhaps to his own impatient temperament, disinclined him to the law, which his father had wished him to follow and in which he might have had fair prospects, and drove him to that great refuge for all discontented spirits—the army. On the 3d of September, 1780, he entered, as volunteer, the regiment *Royal-la-Marine*, which, under its colonel the Marquis de Lonse, was then quartered in his birth-place. After having passed two years of garrison life in Corsica, eighteen months of furlough at home in consequence of ill-health, and a similar period of *hanging-on* in service, he at last decided, in 1785, to devote himself seriously and entirely to the field of arms. It is during this interval (from 1780 to 1785) that most writers of his life have ignorantly attributed to him a campaign in America under Lafayette, and (like the first article in our list, and Crichton† among ourselves) long employment in the *East Indies* also. As the origin of this latter rumour has hitherto remained unexplained, and as it affords a striking characteristic of our hero's disposition, we will here insert it. In 1804 Bernadotte was Marshal of France and Governor of Hanover:—

“Among the Hanoverian officers received by the Marshal-Governor, he particularly distinguished General Von Gonheim, an amiable old man universally esteemed. He had formerly served in India in an English company, and like all old veterans took great pleasure in recounting ‘how battles then were fought,’ particularly those in which he himself had taken part. One day at the governor's table the conversation turned upon the siege of Kuladore in 1783, and the unfortunate sortie attempted by the commandant, M. de Bussey, at the head of a reinforcement brought him by the squadron of Suffren. Suddenly, the brave old soldier grew animated in speaking of a young serjeant of *Royal-la-Marine* who was wounded and among the prisoners that had fallen into the hands of the English. ‘I was then colonel,’ continued Von Gonheim, ‘and this *militaire*, who was brought to me, attracted my attention as much by his conduct as by the manner in which he expressed himself. I caused him to be transported to my tent, my surgeon lavished the same care upon him as he would have done upon myself, and in short this young Frenchman merited my affection so well that I kept him with me long after his recovery, and until he was exchanged. Since then’—added the aged general affected—‘I have been unable to hear any news of him.’—‘I will give you some,’ cried out Bernadotte with eagerness; ‘this serjeant wounded under the walls of Kuladore, this prisoner whose life you saved is—the marshal who speaks to you at this moment. He esteems himself happy in publicly acknowledging what he owes you, and will let no opportunity escape of proving to General Von Gonheim his gratitude.’

* He was, like Keppler, and many other distinguished men, a weak and sickly seven-months' child; his mother had been alarmed during the wild freaks of the Carnival.—*Lafosse*, t. i. p. 31.

† Scandinavia, by Wheaton and Crichton, v. 2. p. 269. This elegant work is weakest after 1812. As regards Sweden, details as well as engravings would have been much improved by a residence in Stockholm.

"The scene which followed may be easily imagined. The embraces, the tears, the expansive declarations of the good Hanoverian were the natural consequence of so singular a recognition. The officers of Bernadotte, who knew that he had never served in India at all,—kept countenance and said nothing.

"When Von Gonheim had retired, the aides-de-camp of the marshal hastened gaily to ask him what could be his object for so far taking upon himself the debts of the serjeant of 1783 as to become his substitute. 'Did you not see,' replied Bernadotte, 'how happy this excellent old officer was in recalling to his recollection the obligations rendered to a soldier of the regiment in which I passed my first years of service? I wished to continue his happiness. What does it matter that an error continued it to him? I have restored to our honest Hanoverian one of the most fortunate events of his life. Who knows? Perhaps Von Gonheim accused of ingratitude the favoured prisoner of the *Royal-la-Marine*! It was a good recollection of *esprit de corps* to justify my old comrade.'

"In reading this episode in the life of the Bernese general, we shall discover perhaps a trait of his country. But reflection will teach us to recognize more particularly the overflowing of a good heart, and that bounding of a generous soul which could not brook the idea of a debt of gratitude not yet paid."*

Such undoubtedly may be the opinion of a panegyricizing Frenchman, but we doubt not that every English reader will agree with us in denouncing it as an unworthy and heartless trick—as *gasconading* of the worst description.

The Revolution opened to Bernadotte, as to so many other low-born *braves* of France, free scope for advancement to the highest ranks. His fearless and opportune bravery, in saving the life of his colonel, M. D'Ambert, during an *émeute* at Marseilles, gained him well-earned advantages and a flattering compliment from M. Barbaroux, the procureur of the commune, "who was not, however, destined to see the fulfilment of his prophecy concerning Bernadotte; an illustrious child of the revolutionary Saturn, he was to be ere this devoured by him."† At a later period he was, much to his dissatisfaction, transferred to a lieutenancy in another regiment, and refused the permission he had asked to serve in the West Indies. "Bernadotte hastened, therefore, though sorrowfully enough, to join the regiment of Anjou in Bretagne; for the decree was positive he must either obey or retire. But in this new corps he managed to gain the respect of his comrades and the esteem of his chiefs more rapidly than he had expected. When the regiment *Royal-la-Marine* returned to France, the adjutant of 1790 was already colonel, whereas he would have

been a captain at the most if he had accompanied it to the colonies."*

In 1793, our republican soldier of fortune, now high in command under Kléber, performed good service in the army of the Rhine, and again developed great energy and presence of mind by suppressing a dangerous mutiny of the troops besieging Landrecies, after the murder of General Gogue. "More than once since then, this officer will show, on similar occasions, the fortunate ascendancy which military eloquence may have when properly applied."‡ This is true: not even his enemies, and their name is Legion, have ever attempted to deny it. Personally brave, calm, calculating and brilliantly impetuous (though sometimes imprudently so), educated in a school of excitement and revolution fitted to develop all his distinguished qualities, and lured on by partaking in the honours and the spoils showered upon the conquerors and plunderers of almost all Europe, Bernadotte gave early indications of a superiority which his after-life has fully verified. But we cannot help observing here, with an author rather his eulogist than his critic:—"In all the remarkable circumstances of his life, Bernadotte had the advantage of increasing the effect of his *actions d'éclat* by some solemn measure taken either by the officers of the army or by bodies regularly constituted. If it is to the devotion of some intimate friends that we must attribute this, we must confess that he had the art of meriting *warm* attachments; if it is to his personal *savoir-faire*, we must conclude that he well understood how necessary it is, in order to reap the fruit of one's *better actions*, not only to do them, but also to labour once more to prevent their being forgotten or misunderstood. He undoubtedly found himself in an excellent school for adopting such a maxim as this, and for the rest, we know that he was born *dans la terre classique*."‡

Shortly after the day of Landrecies, he rallied a corps in disorder, by tearing off his epaulettes, throwing them into the midst of the retreating group, and exclaiming, "I am no longer your chief, since you will permit yourselves to be dishonoured,"—and, having again displayed his talents on the field of Fleurus, was created General by Kléber, who wrote in his brevet, "*Promu à ce grade pour traits de bravoure et actions d'éclat*."

His exploit in taking the fortress of Wich gained Bernadotte his stars of *Général de*

* *Lafosse*, t. i. p. 291.

† *Lafosse*, p. 44.

* *Lafosse* t. i. p. 47.

† *Id.* t. i. p. 56.

‡ Extrait de la *Biographie des Hommes du Jour*. Par MM. Sarrut et Saint-Edme, p. 4.

division, and in the campaign of the year III. he seconded Kléber in the German war. Several successes gained him great distinction, but none more so than the *coup de main* of Bendorf, which is so prettily described by our French biographer (himself a military man) that we extract it entire :—

“The great art of the strategist is to calculate whether the importance, and above all whether the probability, of the results which he proposes to acquire can compensate sufficiently the sacrifices which they will cost him. Valour and audacity are only warlike virtues, in so far as they are of service to useful projects. We must declare then, with all that sincerity which ought to be the first law of the historian, that Bernadotte, in the brilliant *fait d'armes* which we shall now relate, sacrificed too much blood to the chances of a success far too uncertain. The facts themselves will justify this assertion.

“Our intrepid general had glanced at the possibility of carrying off an Austrian corps in the plain of Neuwied. He had just been informed that he had boats sufficient to transport at once to the right bank eight hundred men, thirty-six horses, and two pieces of artillery; and that by this means, the half of his division would be thrown upon the other side of the river in less than two hours. A more exact examination proved that all the boats they could dispose of would scarcely hold three hundred men, and that even those had no oars. ‘*N’importe!*’ cried Bernadotte, carried away by his favourite project, ‘even though I should not carry more than one company to the other side, I will attack the enemy’s camp notwithstanding!’

“It was in the month of *Messidor* [19th of June to 19th of July]; in this season the dawn is early. Bernadotte could not commence his bold embarkation at two o’clock in the morning without being perceived by the enemy, who immediately began firing from their redoubts on the expeditionary detachment. Ten thousand Austrians are there: to pass the Rhine in their presence is a design which astonishes the chiefs and the French soldiers. Notwithstanding, five out of the ten companies of grenadiers assembled by the general, embark under a deluge of fire; the chief of this first detachment has orders to seize a redoubt which particularly incommodes the passage. . . . The redoubt is carried, and with their feet in the blood of two hundred men whom they have butchered, our grenadiers turn the cannons of this advanced work against the Austrians who hasten to defend it.

“During this first action, the five other companies pass the river; Bernadotte puts himself at the head of these brave men, and they march directly on the village of Bendorf, occupied by the Austrian lieutenant general Finck. Our grenadiers make their way into this village by main force; the guard of the general quarters is taken; the equipments, registers, plans and maps are seized; and Finck himself escapes with great difficulty.

“But the ten thousand men who compose the Austrian corps, soon recover from the stupor into which they had been thrown by an attack so unexpected. Bernadotte is quickly obliged to defend himself in the position of Bendorf, attacked by four battalions. . . . It then became difficult to disguise from our grenadiers the peril of their situation; many threw down their arms; others are about to imitate them: discouragement is the most contagious of all diseases. At this sight, Bernadotte, *rugissant comme un lion*, and seeing captivity inevitable unless he succeeded in exciting the courage of

despair against this frightful extremity, points out to his soldiers several of their comrades whom the enemy massacred although disarmed, and cries out with a thundering voice: ‘You see that you cannot escape death by throwing down your arms; snatch them up once more, and know how to die bravely, defending your lives and your general!’

“At this moment a third transport of troops arrives; Bernadotte can only oppose about eight hundred men to ten thousand Austrians. His grenadiers fight like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, and, more fortunate than those heroes of antiquity, they triumph. . . . In vain do the generals Finck, Kilmayer and Witgenstein unite their efforts to recover the redoubts and the general quarters; after four hours of an Homeric combat, the republicans force their enemies to retreat, and remain masters of the shore. The trophies of a feat of arms almost incredible are, four hundred prisoners, two thousand sacks of oats, thirty waggons loaded with bread, and a hundred and fifty baggage-horses.

“Success justifies every enterprize; but it ought not to authorize their example, when it was obtained beyond the limits of prudence. ‘Impossibilities,’ as Napoleon said at a later period, ‘are rare conquests.’”

The army of the *Sambre-and-Meuse* continued to advance, and gained Bernadotte an order from the Directory to lead 20,000 men into Italy. During his march he again distinguished himself for the discipline of his troops, and is not inaptly complimented by *Lafosse*, as being “the Jupiter Stator of mutinies.” At last he met that mighty genie whom God had commissioned him, when the time should come, to paralyze and destroy. And here we quote once more :—

“Before we follow the divisions of Bernadotte across the Piave, we must detail some particulars of this general’s first interview with Buonaparte. There was something solemn in the meeting of these two distinguished men, for, as we shall very soon see, they mutually penetrated each other’s character at this their first rencontre. Buonaparte was exceedingly free in conversing with his new lieutenant; Bernadotte was less so; perhaps his reserve arose from his having already divined the secret of the young captain. That he had done so, we may judge from his observation, on returning to head-quarters, to the officers who asked him concerning Buonaparte :—‘I have seen a man twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, who wishes to be thought fifty, and this does not augur well for the republic’

“Buonaparte, on his side, did not characterize Bernadotte with less justice and originality. ‘He has,’ said he, ‘a French head and a Roman heart.’”†

If to this we add the remark of the same great Corsican at another period—“*Il a du sang maure dans les veines*”—we shall obtain a psychological description on which it would be difficult to improve.

In Italy, the Arch-Duke Charles again found more than his match in the commander of Napoleon’s van-guard, who, at the battle of Gradiska, again harangued his

* *Lafosse*, t. i. p. 89.

† *Lafosse*, tom. i. p. 124.

troops in that style of laconic eloquence so common among the heroes of the Revolution:—"My friends," he exclaimed, "do not forget that you belong to the army of the *Sambre-and-Meuse*, and that the army of Italy beholds you!" The troops replied by gaining him the battle, and afterwards added to it several other victories, particularly the capture of the Idrian mines, where five millions (of francs) worth of ore became the spoil of the army. Shortly after, the chief of the *avant-garde* performed an action worthy of all praise, by causing some salt-magazines seized by the troops to be sold, and the proceeds, 200,000 livres, to be given to the inhabitants of two villages, which had been razed to the ground by his engineers in order to assure the defence of Palma Nuova. He was shortly after left by Napoleon governor of Friuli, in which post he behaved with great prudence and moderation. Everywhere he procured himself admirers and supporters; indeed the suavity and attractiveness of his manners, and the scarcely-to-be-resisted charm of his conversation, gave him a power dreaded by Napoleon himself. It might be said of these two generals, in the words of the old Italian proverb respecting the Prince of Condé and the great Coligni,—“God save us from the Condé’s tongue and from the Coligni’s tooth-pick!” To all this must be added his profound and accomplished craft, and his instinctive knowledge how and when to employ the weapon—whether of gold (though not without a pang!) or of steel—most fitted to accomplish whatever object he may have had in view.

But we may as well here, once for all, enter our protest against the sweeping applause sometimes bestowed upon this commander, as though he had been in his campaigns a paragon of civic virtue, a warrior altogether uninfluenced by the principles displayed by the captains and Directory of France in the first heat of the national explosion. Such was by no means the case. *Audi alteram partem*. The disagreeable details, however, of this period of his career, have been so carefully suppressed by all his modern biographers that we might be tempted to suppose the picture had no shades. In order to give a little relief to such bright colours, we cannot help quoting passages from two summonses of Bernadotte preserved in an old and awkward English compilation long since forgotten except by the military student. The first was to the governor of Gradiska, and commenced thus—

“Sir,—You have defended yourself like a brave man, and, by doing so, have acquired the esteem of

military men; but a longer resistance on your part would be a crime, which I would revenge principally on you; and to justify myself in the eye of posterity, I must summon you to surrender in ten minutes: if you refuse, I shall put your garrison to the sword.”*

This demand was successful, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

The second, in 1797, after his ambassador-exploit at Vienna, was to the Rhingrave of Salm, governor of Philipsburg, and concluded in these terms:—

“Should you oblige me to give orders for the assault, I am sure I cannot but succeed, as the number of troops I have with me, and the other means I possess, render it impossible I should fail. But the punishment of those who have been the cause of resistance to the French Republic, shall be terrible; *nor will I restrain the rage of the soldiers, who will give way to their fury against you.*”†

Notwithstanding the impossible in the Rhingrave’s defence, (whose answer was as calm and manly as the summons was insolent,) Bernadotte was compelled to turn the siege into a blockade, and at last to raise it altogether.

In 1797 our hero had another interview with Buonaparte at Passeriano, and to the views he there developed may probably be attributed the peace of Campo Formio, which the great captain soon after concluded. But fire and water are seldom long at peace. A new meeting was followed by new intrigues, and the ambitious master of the Directory, jealous of his rival’s power as well as glory, caused the appointment to the army of Italy, which they had conferred upon him, to slip through his fingers. This event was followed by Bernadotte’s indignant quasi-resignation, a “consummation” cleverly evaded by the celebrated embassy to Vienna. The affair of the tri-coloured flag, and the revenge taken by the populace on the insult,

* *Philippart’s Memoirs and Campaigns of Charles John, Prince Royal of Sweden.* London, 1814, p. 28.

† *Ibid.* p. 51. Mr. Philippart adds, “I cannot avoid drawing a comparison between this summons and the conduct of General Moreau, in 1794. When General Moreau summoned the town of Sluys to surrender, its governor, Vanderduyn, replied, ‘The honour of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence reposed in me, are my only answer.’ It was early in the month of July that General Moreau first sat down before Sluys, and the brave garrison, determined on resisting the rapid advances the French had made in their occupation of the Flemish Austrian provinces and towns, continued to make a most vigorous defence until the 25th of August, when it surrendered. The soldier-like resistance which they displayed induced General Moreau, with Roman greatness of mind and true glory, to grant advantageous conditions to the garrison, and he strongly expressed his pride and satisfaction in having been opposed to soldiers of such determined gallantry.”

are so well known that we need not dwell upon them here.

On his return from Vienna, in the month of August, 1798, Bernadotte, who had refused the post offered him by the Directory, married the present Queen of Sweden, Désirée Clary,* the daughter of a rich French merchant established at Genoa, whose sister was united to Joseph Buonaparte, and who had even once been wooed by the future Emperor himself. Shortly afterwards he was appointed to the command of an army of observation on the Rhine, and was offered the appointment in chief of the army of Italy, but, as he regarded the number of its troops to be insufficient, he declined this post.

We have now arrived at one of the most important events in the life of Bernadotte,—his assumption in 1799 of the portfolio of the minister of war. The machinery which procured him this high office was Buonapartean; Joseph and Lucien Buonaparte judged him a fit person to serve the army, at the same time probably considering him as one willing to serve their brother and himself. In the latter opinion, however, they were mistaken; his career was too parallel to become at once subordinate, and consequently the same power which had lifted him so high, threw him back again into the common military circles. It is well known how remarkably his talents and enthusiasm succeeded in restoring order and a certain degree of plenty to the scandalously chaotic and bankrupt departments of the French defence. Two short months sufficed for him to procure and transmit supplies of all kinds to the various armies of his country. His great weapon was, appealing to the passions and glory of the people. As a specimen of his language, we add extracts from two proclamations of the period, which are rare in French, and have never yet, we believe, been published in an English dress:—

“The soldier of the monarchy was the blind instrument of a capricious will; all his labours had but one great end—to establish the more firmly a tyrant upon his throne.”†

“The soldier of liberty took up arms, only to defend his rights; it is the knowledge of this which is in him the motive to great actions, and liberty is their lever. To this creative movement we owe all the illustrious men who are at this moment the glory of the republic. . . . Some of you are called to overthrow thrones, some of you to preserve liberty in your own country. I have now laid bare the secret

of your strength, and you now see with what eyes you should regard the Austrians and the Russians.”* “Freemen! Let us unite! Republicans! be vigorous but wise, and only see your enemies in royalism. The day when we discover the power of union,—the coalition of kings is no more!”†

While upon the head of proclamations, we cannot help adding a sentence from that to the division in Switzerland, which had just lost their commander, the brave and brilliant Schubert:

“While we had kings it was often said, that after the production of a great man, Nature needs repose. But in your ranks I behold many a Schubert and many a Buonaparte; for in our days Nature herself is changed by liberty.”

Napoleon never forgot this magnificent pique. Indeed it was afterwards repeated by Bernadotte, when he took leave of the troops he had commanded in La Vendée in the year X. :—

“Peace will restore you to a life more sweet; enjoy in repose the remembrance of your triumphs, and never lose sight of the fact, *que l’élan de la liberté vous a conduits*. You may preserve your glory, but with difficulty will you ever be able to increase it. Each of you may with pride raise his soul to ideas the most noble; almost all the generals who have led you to victory *sont sortis de vos rangs*.”‡

After the events of the 18th Brumaire, when the race was literally “neck and neck” between the two great rival generals, but when Napoleon again showed how alone he stood in real depth and grandeur of soul among the giants—pigmies to him—whom the revolution had assembled around him, our republican accepted fresh honours at the hands of—the First Consul. These, however, he forfeited, through his connection with the conspiracy of Marbot. Other causes contributed to extend the breach, till Napoleon seized a favourable opportunity of neutralizing altogether the influence of his dangerous subject, and offered him the governorship of Louisiana. A variety of delays prevented Bernadotte from hastening to his post, and in the meantime the cession of the pro-

* *Proclamation aux Conscripts.*

† *Proclamation aux Administrateurs.*

‡ We may as well take this opportunity of remarking that a complete collection of the speeches and proclamations, &c., of Charles John, from his first stepping on shore in Sweden on the 10th of October, 1810, to January 28th, 1825, may be read in a very elegant English translation by Mr. Meredith, appended to his “*Memorials of Charles John*,” 8vo. London, 1829.

* The fruit of this union was Oscar, now Crown-Prince of Sweden and Norway, who was born July 4, 1799. His rather remarkable name was given him after the hero in Ossian’s poems (which Buonaparte had just then brought into fashion) by the First Consul himself, who even honoured his father so much as to be inscribed godfather at the baptism.

† *Proclamation aux Conscripts.*

There have been two editions, both published in Stockholm, of the originals in French. The last goes down to November 8th, 1837. But, for reasons which our readers will well understand, those prior to his arrival in Sweden have never been collected, and must be hunted for in all sorts of publications on the wars of the revolution, &c.

vince and the war with England put a stop to the whole plan. Lafosse here treats us with an amusing episode of the prophecies of a "*pythonisse*," anglicè, fortune-teller, who predicted an empire to the consul and a kingdom to his lieutenant. As the story, however, is somewhat of the longest, and probably apocryphal (at least in its present shape), we cannot here insert it.

"A reconciliation afterwards took place between the general and Buonaparte, and, on the nomination of the latter Emperor of France, General Bernadotte was one of the first who signed the document. He is also reported to have made the following address to Buonaparte on this occasion:

"I thought for a long time, Sire, that France would not be happy under any but a republican form of government. To the hearty persuasion of the excellence of this paradox, your majesty may attribute the conduct I have pursued for more than three years. Enlightened by happy experience, I feel much satisfaction in assuring you that my illusions are entirely dissipated. I beg you to be persuaded of my eagerness to execute any measures that your majesty may prescribe for the good of the country. I moreover declare to you, as well as to all my friends here present, that I share the sentiments which General Murat has just delivered to you in the name of the army, not politically and by word of mouth, but with heart and soul."

"Buonaparte rewarded General Bernadotte for his support by appointing him one of the marshals of France, and gave him a command at Hanover."*

In 1805 the marshal, who had displayed great moderation in his government of Hanover, marched to partake in the German campaign, and served with distinction in the battle of Austerlitz. This, in addition to his other qualities *vis-à-vis* the Emperor, gained him in 1806 the principedom of Ponte-Corvo, in Italy. Lafosse has some very pertinent reflections on this system of rewarding "*une valeur toujours éclatante, mais entachée de servilisme*," with "a perspective of titles, dotations, principalities, and even thrones."† When he afterwards was about to leave France and assume his Swedish sceptre, he sold his principality to the Emperor for the sum of 2,000,000 of francs.

The campaigns of 1806 and 1807 raised still higher the military renown of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo. Though it was not always the "*Veni, vidi, vici*" of his later biographers, he still gained many important victories. One was at Saalfeld. At Halle he defeated the Prussian reserve under Eugene Prince of Wurtemberg, with a very inferior force. In the bulletin of the battle of Jena, gained by Napoleon just before, the Emperor had pompously announced that he was in full march with an army of upwards of

60,000 men to engage and destroy *this very corps of reserve* shortly after annihilated by Bernadotte at the head of 15,000. The courier could not be overtaken, and Buonaparte could never forget or forgive the bitter lesson given to his arrogant vanity by this unseasonable victory. He was also triumphant at Lubeck (which was plundered) and at Radkan, where Blucher himself capitulated to his forces united with those of Murat and Soult. The battle of Mohringen, which the Norwegian memoir-writer calls "*en glimrende Træfning*" (a brilliant engagement), was at the very least a *drawn game*. Indeed one circumstance in this "affair" could not but have been disagreeable to the marshal personally:—

"During the action, Prince Michael Dolgowick, with his regiment of dragoons, went round to the rear of the French, made his way to head-quarters without being perceived, and carried off Marshal Bernadotte's equipage, his plate, and some ladies."*

At the attack by the allies on the *tête du pont* of Spanden on the Passarge, the marshal received a wound which, though slight, obliged him to quit the army for the remainder of the campaign, an event of the less importance, as the victory of Friedland put an end to the war.

After the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, Bernadotte was entrusted with the command in chief of the Hanse Towns, and resided for the most part in Hamburgh. While in this city he behaved very generously to a poor old French *émigré*, who had inserted in a German Grammar, as an example in the syntax, "*On dit que Buonaparte est un grand général; mais ce n'est qu'un brigand heureux*." On the incorporation of the Hanse Towns with France, he had fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire by changing Buonaparte to Bernadotte, just as the latter happened to receive the command in chief of his asylum. The white-haired old professor, however, escaped with a fright and a present. Lafosse adds another amusing story, which he calls "*atticisme à la Henri IV.*," about the witty method employed by the marshal to obtain some improvement in his lodgings, but the length of this article will not permit its insertion.

It was shortly after this, that 6000 of the Spanish auxiliaries, under the Marquis de Romana, who had been marched to Denmark and placed under the marshal's own command, made their escape to Spain, an event for which Buonaparte accused the marshal of great negligence. He nevertheless employed his military talents in the

* *Philippart*, p. 67.

† *Philippart*, tom. i. p. 314.

* *Philippart*, tom. i. p. 118.

campaign of 1809, where he partook in the victory at Wagram, although not without being again severely censured by Napoleon for being tardy in his movements, and for his columns having displayed great confusion, even firing upon each other by mistake, which occasioned much slaughter.

The next and last military employ entrusted to the French marshal, was the command of the army at Antwerp, after the landing of the British at Walcheren. The Prince was now living in Paris in full disgrace with Napoleon, but as the need was pressing and his military talents were universally acknowledged, the royal council conferred upon him a command full of difficulty, but which he filled with honour and complete success. In consequence, however, of a proclamation in which he took great merit to himself and hinted at great faults in the dispositions of Napoleon, he was recalled, returned to Paris, ordered to confine himself to his principedom, spiritedly refused, and hastened instead to Vienna, where he reconciled himself to Napoleon, who conferred on him the governorship of Rome—but subsequent events prevented his entry upon its functions.

It is here that we are introduced to the second or Scandinavian half of the life of Bernadotte. The honest and economical, but obstinate and narrow-minded Gustavus IV. had, fortunately for Sweden, just been deposed. The constitution of 1809, the work of some chiefs rather than of the nation, and which did so much at the same time that it left so much undone, had been hastily adopted, and the vacant throne filled by the late King's uncle, now Charles XIII. The Swedish people hastened to give their childless monarch a presumptive successor, and their choice fell upon Charles August of Augustenbourg, with whom they had become acquainted during his command of the troops in Norway. The talents, but still more the virtues, of this noble youth, his simplicity of manners, his affability, and his almost Spartan parsimony—a duty still more admirable and necessary as Sweden was then almost exhausted by the war—attached to him the hearts of all his people, and would probably have ended, as was the plan of the revolutionary chiefs, in attaching Norway to Sweden in voluntary union for ever. But

to raise the subject of our memoir from the *tabouret* of the Buonapartean feudatory to the throne of the great Gustavus, and as the real history of these transactions is wilfully or from ignorance suppressed in the various memoirs of Bernadotte, and is consequently unknown except to a few among the initiated of our countrymen, we shall go more into detail on the subject.

The aspirants to the vacant dignity were three:—1. *The King of Denmark*, supported by the wisest among the Swedes, who knew the vital importance of such a union among the three Scandinavian nations as would not only compensate Sweden for the loss of Finland, but guarantee the future existence of the three states amidst the threatening revolutions of continental Europe and against the despot Czar. But unfortunately, the prejudices of a large party, added to the jealousies of many of the chiefs, who justly feared that such an event would deprive them of all their factitious consequence, succeeded in influencing Charles XIII. to oppose and deprecate the election of his brother sovereign.—2. *The Prince of Augustenbourg*, brother of the late Charles August, and brother-in-law of the King of Denmark. This candidate was patronized by King Charles himself, and by the men of 1809, as the revolutionary chiefs called themselves. His character, however, was that of a scholar rather than of a soldier, and his political position offered no advantages to Sweden in case of his election.—3. *George Duke of Oldenburg*, brother-in-law of Alexander, and a relative of the Queen of Sweden, who supported his claims. His principal adherents were General Adlercreutz and his partisans, whose interest was gained rather through the influence of the Queen and their jealousy of Adlersparre (who was strongly in favour of the second candidate) than by any particular views of superior advantage to the country. The late dynasty had, singularly enough, no supporters. Not one noble held up his hand to confer the crown forfeited by the father on his unoffending son! But this resulted from the well-known dishonest birth of the late king himself, and from his having too grossly insulted the patrician pride of the higher orders, especially the military chiefs, most of whom were nobles.

Napoleon, the principal great power interested in the question, affected to keep his inclinations secret. He had already decided on the gigantic efforts afterwards made against the always false, the always fickle, the always selfish Russia; but the moment of explosion was not yet come. As yet, he needed Alexander's friendship. But the

“*Heu miserande puer!*”

or rather—*Heu miserande popule*—he was to be the Marcellus of the north, and died suddenly in Scania on the 10th of May, 1810.

This melancholy event rendered imperative a second election, and as its result was

formation of a consistent northern monarchy, under the protection of the eagles of France, would, he imagined, close the Baltic against all the attempts of British convoys, lock the gates of that sea against Russia herself if necessary, and assist in the subjugation of that insolent power by co-operating in the invasion of her western provinces. Consequently, although the ambassador at Stockholm was instructed to act with great caution, the demi-official gazettes of Paris were allowed to give hints which Europe could well understand. "*Sans doute*," said the *Journal de l'Empire* for the 9th of June, "*on va proposer un prince de la maison d'Oldenbourg souverain d'un état voisin*."

While affairs were in this state of uncertainty, the Swedish diet was convened at Örebro, instead of Stockholm, which it was feared was too agitated after the late murder of the Count Fersen, who had been suspected by the populace of being the poisoner of the favourite Crown Prince, Charles August. At the same time the King dispatched two couriers to Paris, bearing copies of his letter of the 2d of June, 1810, to the Emperor, in which he begged the assistance and protection of that great chief in favour of the election of the Prince of Augustenbourg.

The one of these two couriers was a young lieutenant in the infantry, a certain Baron *Mörner*, an individual of no consequence, wealth or birth.—To this "*jeune homme étourdi et enthousiaste*," as the Baron Wrede shortly afterwards denominated him, this baron-ling almost as unknown in Stockholm as he was in Paris, Bernadotte was indebted for his election to the throne of Sweden. So inscrutable are the ways of Providence! So are the wisdom, the strength of this world mocked by the ignorance of the foolish!

On arriving in Paris the young baron was informed on all sides of the approaching election of the King of Denmark as successor to Charles XIII. These news alarmed him. Visions of the Calmar union, Christian the tyrant, Danish bailiffs and foreign tax-gatherers, in short all the bugbears of a school-boy's reading, immediately crossed his imagination. Besides, like the army in general, he burned for the humiliation of perfidious Russia, the recovery of Finland, and the restored lustre of Swedish arms. This, he knew, could not be accomplished by the unwarlike Frederick VI. He therefore turned his thoughts to the generals of Napoleon, and, by the advice of M. Signent, a man of talent and liberal principles, who was then Swedish consul at Paris, fixed his choice upon—Bernadotte.

Having procured through M. Signent an interview with the Prince, he explained to him his views, assured him of the support he would receive from the officers of the army, and prayed him to lose no time in preparing for his success by enrolling his name among the candidates. The Prince was not inattentive to these *démarches*, but explained himself more fully some days later, on being visited by Baron Wrede, who was then visiting in Paris in the capacity of an extraordinary diplomatic agent:—

"As to my religion, which you make a motive for my exclusion, I belong, by my family, and especially through my mother, to that professed among yourselves, although I have hitherto followed the religious principles of my father. For the rest, I was born in the country of Henry IV.; what he did not hesitate to execute, I myself am capable of doing.* The study of your language offers difficulties, it is true; but surrounded by Swedes, I hope that I shall soon be able to master it.† And lastly, as to my standing with the Emperor, I am convinced that what you have told me is entirely without foundation."‡

This last expression, which apparently assured him of the support of Napoleon—a view confirmed by the diplomatic caution exhibited by the Duc de Cadore, the French minister of foreign affairs—assisted in giving some kind of substance to the imaginary propositions made by Mörner. The latter having first arranged with the Prince of Ponte Corvo, that an emissary should follow him, so as to reach Sweden after the opening of the diet, dexterously eluded both the Swedish mission and the French police, and arrived in Stockholm without accident. When there, all the individuals most intimately connected with the foreign department were highly indignant at his unauthorized and extravagant conduct. "Young man," cried out the Count Essen, marshal of the army and of the kingdom, "you de-

* At another period Bernadotte happily varied this expression, by saying—"If Henry IV. could change his faith to obtain the mass, surely I can do the same to get rid of it!"

† *Crichton* (Scandinavia, vol. ii. p. 268) gives us the remarkable intelligence that Bernadotte, almost immediately after this wish, found it so miraculously fulfilled, that, after landing at Helsinborg, on the 20th of October, 1810, he "gratified the crowds that awaited his approach" on his journey to Stockholm, by "addressing the peasantry in their vernacular language!" If this language was any other than "the unknown tongue," or the original language discovered by the Eastern king, as narrated by Herodotus, we may safely assert, that neither the prince nor the peasants had much edification from their dialogues; for even at this moment—after the lapse of thirty years—Charles John cannot even read, much less speak, the language of the country.

‡ *Dépêche* du Baron de Wrede, en date du 28 Juin, 1810.

serve to be shut up in a dark cell, and to be deprived for ever of the light of heaven!" However, intelligence of what had passed in Paris gradually spread, the officers and anti-Russian party and the movement, or French faction, began to declare in his favour; and at the opening of the diet, (thanks to the care of this lieutenant of infantry) some score of its members began to be aware of the *existence* of a certain Marshal Bernadotte!*

Fortunately for the latter, his secret agent arrived at this moment in Örebro; *one day later* and he would have been too late. He brought with him a portrait of Prince Oscar, and various verbal communications from Bernadotte; among others, the very proper and prudent one, that, in case of his election, he would only accept the title on condition of the king giving his consent. The arrival of this messenger threw all the parties into confusion. The partizans of Oldenburgh began to give way. Both the king and the people imagined that all these measures of the French marshal (of whom his master daily showed more and more jealousy and hate) must have presupposed both the consent and the wishes of the mighty Emperor. Wrede continually extolled the brilliant qualities of the new aspirant, whose mildness to the Swedes taken prisoners in Germany was continually repeated and exaggerated, and Charles XIII. was old, feeble, and irresolute.

At last, after all these intrigues—and though Mörner had been arrested, and Desaguers, the French envoy, disavowed and recalled by the Duc de Cadore for supporting the King of Denmark; a formal punishment, which could not disguise the real sentiments of Napoleon—the *men of 1809* had still a decided majority. They reckoned 109 votes; the Prince of Ponte Corvo had only 88; and 50 or 60 were still uncertain, and waited the King's own decision. A little more firmness, and his own candidate would have been triumphantly elected. *But he feared Napoleon and the movement party*; and resolved at last, though only after many a pang, to support Bernadotte. This, added to the conduct of Adlercreutz, who went over to the marshal's party (from hatred to Adlersparre, the great chief of Prince Christian's supporters) as soon as he found that Oldenburgh had no more hopes, immediately gave the immense majority in favour of the Prince of Ponte Corvo. The king, adding to those around him, "*J'enleve, par cet acte, la*

couronne de Suède à toute ma famille," proposed him to the states; and this his nomination was "carried by acclamation" in the four chambers of the realm, and the documents of vice-regal sovereignty and adoption were immediately transmitted to the fortunate republican consular imperial military adventurer—now heir to the throne of Sweden—at his residence in Paris. So ended this remarkable election.*

"Such was the splendour of France in 1810, that one of its generals was summoned to support the throne of the great Gustavus and of Charles XII., without her perceiving, in this event, either that she lost one of her greatest captains, or that she ought to glory in a choice which opened out to him a destiny so noble."† At Elsinour Bernadotte embraced the Lutheran faith, before the Archbishop of Upsala and the Bishop of Lund, and on the 5th of November, 1810, was publicly received by the king and the diet in the great National Hall (*Rikssalen*) at Stockholm. His speech on this occasion was, as usual, very judicious and very brilliant, especially in the original French, without exhibiting signs of any thing profound.

But we must again hasten with rail-road speed. The situation of Sweden at this period is sufficiently well known. If we take facts as our guide, and not the boastings so often indulged in of late years by Charles XIV. John, we shall find that the country was in great want of repose and re-organisation after such heavy losses and such a sudden revolution, and longed for a policy founded upon national faith, public liberty, and rigid parsimony, it is true—but that it still retained its honour, and all its real principles of vitality, strength, and independence. Whether these former conditions were fulfilled by the actions of the new sovereign—for the feebleness of the old king rendered him the actual ruler almost from the moment he entered the Swedish council—we shall see hereafter. Still nothing could exceed the tender and devoted care, and the exact regard for all the forms of royalty, lavished on the aged monarch by his adopted son. In this respect his honourable loyalty was unimpeachable.

In 1811 the Emperor appeared determined to compel Sweden to enter into the continental system. But we will now, at length, give a specimen of the Norwegian biographer:—

* The peasants especially were exceedingly puzzled in their deliberations. "Ponte Corvo," (which means, in Swedish, *Ponte Sausage*), "we will not have; Bernadotte is our man!"

* There is a very elegant, though rather short article, on the election of Marshal Bernadotte, in the "*Revue du dix-neuvième Siècle*," t. v. p. 733. Paris, 1838. The author is Herr Lunblad, a Swedish littérateur of great merit.

† Lafosse, tom. ii. p. 161.

"The crown-prince now felt himself at a loss from the haughty advances of Napoleon, and reduced to a complete dilemma by his extravagant demands, which were besides represented in that insolent tone so common among the French diplomatic agents of this period. These disadvantages, ignorance of the language, which forced the crown-prince to make use of the court nobility to whom French was their second nature, and, in general, the oppressive rivalry of the nobility to obtain his favour—rendered it difficult for him to be so useful for Sweden as he wished and might have been. The crown prince made the French minister keep within his limits and prayed the king and council to decide, without any reference to him, as to the various demands of Napoleon, who especially insisted that Sweden should declare war against England, close its ports against its ships and goods, and confiscate the same wherever they might be found within the kingdom. A nearer approach to Napoleon and his policy was certainly advisable, but such blind obedience was neither honourable nor advantageous, and was impossible to the extent called for by Napoleon. The king, however, agreed thereto, and the crown-prince communicated this intelligence to Napoleon in a document which gave him to understand that Sweden had made a sacrifice which must be acknowledged. But Napoleon, inflamed by his hate-breathing idea of annihilating Great Britain by shutting it out from the Continent, (the continental system,) only went still further in his exactions. Sweden was treated with the scorn befitting a conquered nation, and it resented the indignity; the crown-prince was regarded as a suspicious vassal: and it is even said, that a plan was formed to gain possession of his person and carry him back to France. Napoleon, indeed, began to dread every thing from him; he knew that Carl John might become his most terrible enemy—and he became it."*

Yes! the situation of Sweden, and the "signs of the times," and of its accomplished military ruler, demanded that Sweden should become not only the obedient limb, but the subsidied and secret-service-monied ally, of one of the two great powers which then held their mighty struggle. Buonaparte, fatally blind and blindly fated, neglected the auspicious moment—and Bernadotte turned elsewhere.

The treaty of Petersburg, dated March 24th, 1812, laid the ground-work of the future explosion. The crown-prince, of course, "made his terms." But why Norway, the territory of a friendly power, was fixed upon by the two sovereigns, at their famous interview at Abo, as the future booty of Bernadotte, instead of that precious and still bleeding "shield of Sweden," Finland, which Russia had gained more by treachery than arms, is a mystery not yet revealed. Alexander, we know, was a "generous" prince; perhaps he was so in more senses than one; at all events, history proves him to have been *at least* equally "wise" and "prudent."

In 1813, Bernadotte, at the head of 30,000

Swedish troops, was enabled, thanks to an English subsidy, to commence his celebrated campaign of liberation, commanding in chief the combined army of the north of Germany. We have no space, however, to detail the transactions of truce and war occurring in 1813 and 1814. Suffice it to say, that the victories of Gros-Beeren, Dennewitz, and Leipsic, &c. gained under the prince royal, together with the various other successful movements of the allies, drove Buonaparte back upon France, and at last led him to exile and to Elba. The conduct of the Crown-Prince of Sweden, in reference to France, was as unobjectionable as could have been expected. He opposed the invasion of the French territory from the beginning to the end of the war, denouncing its injustice no less than its impolicy in no measured terms. At last he retired altogether from the field of war, which was assuming a character inconsistent with the interests of Scandinavia, and commenced his operations against Denmark. His successes were as rapid as they were to be expected; and that power—which had neither *moral* nor *material* forces sufficient to resist him—was compelled at last gladly to rescue its capital by the surrender of the *terra vexata*—Norway. This was a heavy blow. No compensation of moment was ever afterwards obtained, and all the intrigues of the court of Copenhagen failed in averting its fulfilment. Norway, and its rich overplus revenues, will never be Danish more!

The question of Norway, its revolution, its confederation with Sweden, and its remarkable development since that period, would be an episode impossible to do justice to here. However interesting the subject, therefore, or tempting the occasion, we must shut our eyes and stop our ears, and pass onwards. Perhaps some more favourable opportunity may occur hereafter of entering upon a subject so little known in Great Britain.

Suffice it to say that Bernadotte, impelled by the pressing necessity of closing with Norway, *coûte qui coûte*, and thereby throwing the question at once out of the forum of the allies (whose tendencies and whose falseness he knew too well), and thinking, Frenchman-like, in his profound ignorance of the Norwegian character, *nous changerons tout cela*, sanctioned after a short campaign the nearly republican constitution of Eidsvold in August, 1814, and thereby assured to himself and his dynasty *one throne more*, and to Sweden, in exchange for all its expensive efforts, all its sacrifices, and all its generous confidence, *a valuable negative western frontier!*

* Wergeland, p. 47.

Having now dispatched every thing relative to the campaigns and warlike deeds of our illustrious hero, we can follow with greater calmness the stream of his civil government during a period of thirty years, without having our attention distracted by the din of arms or the sound of the hoarse-voiced trumpet.

One of the first important measures of the new government was ill-omened for the liberties of Sweden. On the 16th of July, 1812, the Diet was induced, partly during the enthusiasm of the opening campaigns, and partly from the *express assurance* of the court chancellor, Count Wetterstedt, that it was only a temporary measure, and would be almost immediately repealed—a royal promise the government has not yet thought proper to fulfil—to sanction a new law relative to the liberty of the press, whereby, among other regulations, the power of confiscating the public journals, &c. “without judge or jury,” was entrusted to an organ of the government.

The ordinance published the same year prohibiting Swedish subjects, “on pain of death, confiscation, and dishonour,” having any the most slight or necessary communication with the late royal family or their descendants, has at this diet occasioned much bitter disputing. Certain it is that during the present king’s reign the country has seen a *very great number* of accusations and punishments for high treason, &c.; many of them no less ridiculous in their origin than objectionable in their execution.

One of the greatest stains upon Bernadotte’s government is the disgraceful *liquidation* of the foreign debt of Sweden, as by a kind of Swedo-Hibernicism, a measure of national bankruptcy *quoad hoc* was denominated. The personal interference of “his majesty’s very dear son, the crown-prince,” in this transaction, whereby he procured “to himself and his heirs,” an annuity for ever of 200,000 rixdollars, banco, and the disagreeable mystery in which *the details* of the “liquidation” have always been surrounded, render the whole subject particularly unpleasant to every admirer of the famed honour and good faith of the Swedish people.

We may also as well mention here, in connection with the above, the extraordinary transactions connected with the sale of Guadeloupe and of Pomerania, &c. Charles John, by a most unheard-of interpretation of the treaty of London, the 3d of March, 1813, assumed the transfer of the island of Guadeloupe, as being to himself personally and his heirs. Consequently, when he arranged the repurchase thereof by France, on the restoration, he quietly put the proceeds, 24,000,-

000 of francs, into his pocket, *generously* giving back the half of this sum towards the (alleged) payment of the foreign debt. But not content with this, Pomerania and Rügen also, though conquered by the gold and blood of Sweden two centuries (and not two years) before, was in the same manner—without the diet being called upon for their consent, and also by some sort of mental doctrine of the national provinces being the *private property* of their illustrious ruler—disposed of to Prussia, for the sum of 3,500,000 riksdaler courant. This was in June 7, 1815. Two millions of this sum were, *out of grace and favour*, and with another flourish of trumpets, applied to the service of the state. We really cannot understand what principles can have governed the representatives of those times to tolerate such illegal scandals. The enthusiasm, however, in favour of their new revolutionary chief, and the late union with Norway, the *actual* amount of whose benefits for Sweden were as yet scarcely dreamed of by the people, surrounded the administration and its head with a kind of *gloria*, a halo-brightness, which later years have only slowly, though too surely, dispelled.

The “rouble fund” is another transaction in the same taste. A million and a half of riksdaler banco were the *douceur* appropriated to himself by the chief of a state, whose tax-paid forces constituted his power. These transactions, by which nearly 2,000,000*l.* sterling have been appropriated to the royal house of Sweden, together with a clear annuity of 4,000,000*l.*, prove how very far *north* Bernadotte is, and that southern sovereigns are vastly his inferiors in the art of extracting money from their people, since the civil list is quite distinct from these “*petites affaires*.” If we consider the poverty of Sweden in relation to other countries, Bernadotte is unquestionably the most richly endowed sovereign in Europe.

The only remaining colony of Sweden, the island of St. Bartholomew, would have shared the fate of its predecessors. But

“When the government in 1818 drew up a plan for selling Bartholomew also, the states-general were this time consulted upon the project, and although they sanctioned the scheme, made it a condition that the proceeds should be disposed of to the state’s advantage. Whether it was this proviso, or whether it was a want of purchasers, we do not know; but in one word, no bargain has yet been made, and Bartholomew is consequently to this day a possession of the Swedish people.”*

In 1812, the government procured the adoption of a plan for excepting this island

* *Lindeberg*, tom. i. p. 185.

from the control of the common authorities, &c., and placing it under the immediate jurisdiction of his majesty! From this period many abuses date themselves! lately, especially, complaints have been made of the local authorities having favoured piracy in the seas around it.

On the 5th of February, 1818, the old king, Charles XIII., a weak but ambitious man, who had twice been called to direct the vessel of the state, died quietly in his bed, followed by the regrets of his people. The crown-prince immediately succeeded him, under the name and title of Charles XIV John King of Sweden and Norway. His coronation in Sweden took place on the 11th of May, at Stockholm, and in Norway on the 7th of September, at Christiana. The people every where expressed their delight and enthusiasm. A feeling of hope and confidence in the future, from the character and abilities of the new sovereign, filled every breast, and inspired the most lively popularity. It was indeed an occasion full of important lessons, this elevation of the low-born republican of France to the thrones of Oden and of Nore; and we perfectly agree in the observation of Lafosse:—

“There is something unwonted and full of intoxicating charms for the imagination, in the homage rendered to the sovereign dignity decreed to the illustrious man, when he owes all his renown to himself alone. It is the triumph of merit and of justice consecrated by gratitude, and nothing is so satisfactory to noble spirits as the spectacle of a whole people discharging such a debt.”—*

Shortly after this period we find the king directing his attention to several objects useful for the country. Foreign sheep were imported, and the production of fine wool encouraged; literary works of importance for the annals of Sweden obtained some support; and military pensions and education received several additions and improvements. Charles John also again gave a very favourable specimen of his powers as a writer in a letter dated April 3, 1824, and addressed to Prince Oscar on his departure for Norway, which land the king himself had before, as he has again since, visited with so much pleasure. His letter is full of counsels and instructions on the duties of a legislator and a ruler; many of the sentiments are full of weight, and great dignity of style pervades the whole.

But, as if again to mock our satisfaction, and destroy our confidence in the more active efforts of the administration, the Swedish government, in 1825, was guilty of another

scandal famous “the whole north over.” The South American States were in rebellion against the mother country, and had as yet been acknowledged by none among the great European powers. But Columbia, which required a navy, commenced certain measures with European houses (for the most part Jewish bankers, &c.), whereby it should obtain, under the disguise of their being for a merchant expedition, first *two* and then *three more* ships of war, armed up to the teeth, and with Swedish government crews, for employment in its service. His majesty and his ministers were tempted by the price, which exceeded their value in Sweden, besides allowing “pickings,” and the expedition would always give employment and experience to the officers and men on board. In the meantime, however, the affair “took wind;” the Spanish ambassador in Stockholm protested against such a bare-faced violation of the interests of a friendly people, and of the rights of nations, and at last *appealed to the Russian ambassador for his interference*. This last step, in consequence of the peculiar position of Charles John in respect to the holy alliance, which still flourished, and of which Alexander was the chief, was instantaneously effectual; an exceedingly determined note from that power demanded the immediate abandonment of the whole design.

The king was indignant and enraged, threatened war or any extreme rather than suffer the indignity and humiliation of a non-fulfilment of his obligations, and expressed great surprise at what was very naturally to be expected beforehand; but the council were cowardly unanimous in abandoning a plan which they had before as unanimously supported, and he was obliged to give way. The bargain was broken, the money and fraudulent “expenses” returned, and the Swedish government *lost in compensation* to the ostensible buyers, the Swedish Jewish house of Michaelson and Benedicks, the sum of *half a million* of rixdollars banco. As usual, however, the power of the government shielded at the diet all the criminals. In the meantime it was fortunate for Sweden that it instantaneously branded the transaction with all the infamy it deserved. Exposing *men* and *materiel* to the speculation of Jew and Christian usurers in direct opposition to the rights of nations and to common decency, selling war-ships, whether new or old, to foreign states, under pretence of their being worthless or merchantmen, and bargaining with intriguing agents for the “best bidder” on the stores of the kingdom, might, if tolerated in a civilized country, at any moment leave the state *sans*

* T. iii. p. 169.

fleet, *sans* troops, *sans* honour, *sans* every thing!

Charles John is a Frenchman; France is a great land power, and the army has consequently always been his favourite weapon. This might all be very well; "*non omnia possumus omnes*," one thing at a time, "*festina lentè*." But we naturally expect from such a great captain the introduction of every possible reform, simplification and improvement, which so experienced a general could have approved for his new country. And to a certain extent, and we admit it with pleasure, such must be acknowledged to have taken place. The spirit and discipline of the troops are excellent; the arsenals of the kingdom are full of military supplies; the education of the officers is much improved, and the engineering and artillery departments especially are now on a very respectable scientific footing. But still innumerable changes, perpetual and most expensive uniform alterations, the multiplication of officers, the lavishing of enormous sums upon all sorts of buildings without the least regard to economy or necessity, and a general spirit of waste and extravagance acceptable to a few of the highest grades, who enjoy comparatively luxurious incomes, but ruinous to the lower class of employes, who subsist upon almost nothing, and consequently are perpetually in danger of demoralisation and of debt—have completely undeceived the nation as to their king enjoying those invaluable *organising* talents for which it had given him credit. On the whole, considering the immense budget now disposed of by the government, compared to that of 1810, the situation of the army, and more especially of the navy after thirty years of peace, is such as by no means to call for the undivided satisfaction or security of the nation they must defend.

On the 26th of September, 1832, the king had the satisfaction of opening the Great Götha Canal, which flows through the heart of Sweden, and connects the North Sea with the Baltic. This magnificent undertaking had been planned and commenced before his arrival in the country, and was generously supported by the grants of the diet; but his Majesty supported its distinguished chief, Count Platen, on many trying and difficult occasions, with the whole influence of the government (which thereby obtained in the count a zealous convert), and may therefore boast of having, in no inconsiderable degree, contributed to the happy completion of this gigantic work. For the rest, his majesty has just reminded us that fifteen millions of dollars banco have been expended in public works since his assump-

tion of the government. The merit of this, however, for the most part belongs to the diet.

The fine arts also have on many occasions experienced his majesty's assistance. On one occasion, we remember, he displayed *un élan de sentiment* much more to our taste, and, in our opinion, much more "*à la Henri IV.*" and really magnanimous, than any of the anecdotes related by Lafosse. The Swedish academy had resolved to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation by Gustavus III. Accordingly they made several arrangements for that purpose, and, among the rest, caused a medal to be struck in honour of his majesty, and a deputation of the academy, headed by the late celebrated Archbishop Wallin, had the honour of presenting it for his acceptance. On this occasion Charles XIV. made the following reply, which we will *this once* give entire, and in his own words :—

"Messieurs!

"Instruit par votre secrétaire que les membres de l'académie avaient l'intention de perpétuer par une médaille, à mon effigie, l'appui que j'accorde à vos honorables travaux, je l'ai chargé de vous faire connaître l'étendue de ma reconnaissance; mais en même temps je lui observai que si la protection commandait la gratitude, la création avait le droit d'ainesse.

"Protéger une institution qui existe, est un devoir facile pour celui qui est investi du pouvoir; mais pour créer, il faut joindre au pouvoir qui autorise, le génie qui conçoit et le courage qui fonde. —Un sentiment intérieur, que vous approuverez, m'a porté, en acceptant votre médaille consacrée au protecteur, à en faire frapper une qui rappelle le fondateur.

"Je vous la remets, Messieurs, et je vous prie de la distribuer à chacun des membres de l'académie, en les assurant de la continuation de mes sentimens affectueux."†

The course of events now leads us to

* Gentlemen—Being informed by your secretary that it was the intention of the members of the academy to perpetuate by a medal, containing a portrait of myself, the support that I afforded to your honourable exertions, I instructed him to express to you my grateful sense of your kindness; but at the same time I remarked to him that if the patronage of art commanded gratitude, the creation of it had an elder claim. To protect an existing institution is an easy duty for one who is invested with power, but to create it we must add to the powers of authority the genius of conception, and the firmness requisite to carry conception into effect. An inward sentiment, which you will approve, has induced me, on accepting your medal commemorative of patronage, to order one to be struck which may recall the founder. To you, gentlemen, I consign it, and request you to distribute it to every member of the academy with the assurance of my affectionate regard.

† Recueil de Lettres, Proclamations et Discours de Charles Jean : Seconde Partie. Stockholm. 1838 P. 255.

another and the last *great faux-pas* of the Swedish government—the trial and punishment of the celebrated assessor Crusenstolpe† in 1838. This individual, whose personal character it is by no means our intention here to discuss or to defend, had first risen rapidly into public notice as a member of the opposition in the Swedish House of Nobles. Having, however, doubtless for *substantial* reasons, gone over to the government party, he displayed in their service the same zeal and talent which had already gained him such public notoriety, being their tactician general at the diets, and editing in their interest a newspaper, called “*Fäderneslandet*.” But probably finding himself disappointed in the expectations he had formed from the government promises, he suddenly turned round, and commenced the publication of works which have constituted an epoch in Swedish literature for the playful, light, conversational, kaleidoscopic beauties of their style, mixed with the most bitter attacks upon the person and family of the king, and the whole policy of the government at large. The mixture of anecdote and small talk, of scandal and of “secret history,” in these publications, rendered them at once excessively popular, and their frequent mistakes or misrepresentations were only dishonourable to the author, without making them less acceptable to a curious, astonished, and delighted public. But such was the caution of the writer, such the prudent wrapping-up of the most caustic insults in the most mellifluous panegyrics, that it was difficult to imagine any other method of reaching the writer than prosecuting the *tendency* of whole passages in several of his latest productions. This the government omitted to do; instead thereof it commenced, after long delays, an action for *high treason* against a *single sentence* in one of his letters, in which he had, with great truth and in an *innocent, jesting style*, accused the *council* of Sabbath-breaking, for having issued a certain officer’s commission of advancement on the Sunday. This was so extraordinary, that people could not believe their own ears and eyes. The *council* is responsible, the king is sacred; if it be high treason to state facts or arguments relative to the council, (although the king be a member thereof,) then is his majesty, who governs through this unimpeachable council, a sovereign despot. The conclusion is plain and irresistible. The action, however, proceeded. A jury,†

even according to the Swedish law, illegally and dishonourably chosen, gave their sentence of *guilty*, and the prisoner was condemned to three years’ solitary imprisonment! This decision outraged every feeling of dignity and right in the nation; sympathy was excited for the liberty of the people and of the press, so foolishly attacked in the person of a favourite author, and large crowds cheered him in the court and on his road to prison. But the day of his deportation arrived. Circumstances occurred which excited well-grounded suspicions of agitation and discontent among the lower classes. The moment of his transportation was imprudently delayed, the crowds increased, the military force was ridiculously small, and was left to its fate, though only some hundreds of yards from the garrison troops, and the natural result was a kind of vulgar *émeute*. During this coarse but not unexpected expression of the instinctive hatred of the mob and the masses to injustice and oppression, the town-house (where the prisoner was confined) and its guard were attacked; the military were compelled to fire in self-defence; and *after* Swedish blood had for the second time flowed in civil tumult during the reign of Charles John, a reinforcement cleared the streets, and put an end to the disorder.

This is the epoch of the rapid fall of the fame and character of the king and his servants. Since then, scores of books, hundreds of pamphlets, increasing poverty, and general dissatisfaction have so far enlightened the public mind of all parties, that the voice of the opposition has become the voice of the nation, the enchanted palladium glory of the aged monarch is waning fast away, inquiry into all departments of his administration brings forward daily discoveries of neglect, abuse, and imbecility, and the diet now sitting will perhaps become the instrument of constructing, *de novo*, the representation, the constitution, and the council!*

That Charles John should have omitted

the Swedish law, is in connection with the liberty of the press; and even then, it is a partial and mangled misrepresentation of that great bulwark of national freedom. It consists of nine members, of whom six must be unanimous to procure a verdict of guilty. But three are chosen by the prosecutor, three by the prisoner, and three by the presiding court. Consequently, in government prosecutions, the jurymen nominated by the crown and the court may reasonably be supposed to be unanimous, and the prisoner’s doom is fixed. Besides, the jury have to decide only respecting the *law* and not the *fact* of the case!

* There is no doubt that Charles John is not so much to be blamed for his prosecutions against the press as his councillors, weak and interested blinders of his judgment.

† The only case in which a jury is allowed, by

* Since writing the above, a law has passed the diet, making the council a regular, responsible ministry, and most of its former members have been replaced.

the brilliant opportunity presented him by Sweden and by Providence of giving life and freedom to the languishing trade, commerce, manufactures and legislation of his country, and of re-constructing the present worn-out political form of government, in which four chambers each sixth year—

“Like wounded snake slow draw their length along”

with a want of power, unity and efficiency alike destructive to the interests of king and people, must excite the surprise and regret of every admirer of his remarkable career. It is true that a fear for his throne and of the intrigues of the holy alliance may have kept him back during the former part of his reign, but twenty years have since then elapsed, and nothing has been done. There has been a perpetual and unworthy nibbling at the laws and rights of the people, a supine neglect of all the higher duties of the legislator and the statesman, a system of corruption by showers of stars and titles, a luxury of administration and of living in a poor and exhausted country, and an evident leaning to a military despotism abroad,* and to tyranny at home, which have very naturally *at length* produced feelings of great discontent and bitterness among the mass of the people. In general, the details of the administration are in as great confusion at this moment in Sweden as they were thirty years ago. And how valuable is the interval? A generation of profound, of uninterrupted peace! It is true that the population has increased; but this is not always

* Amongst those events which most wantonly and unwarrantably shocked every feeling most sacred and most natural to the Swede, was the baptism of the fourth son of the Crown Prince Oscar in 1831, by the name of *Nicholas*, in homage or compliment to the illustrious czar. This, too, to the *occupiers of Finland*! The silent and yet alarming progression of Russia in every direction is quite evident *now*, and we do not know one European or Asiatic power on which she does not meditate similar incursions. Poor Turkey is almost her own; and so is Greece. Circassia holds her at bay, but will share the fate of Poland, if not assisted. Persia is with her; India and China are obviously next in contemplation; Prussia and Austria must keep a sharp look-out; and even France is narrowly watched, in the hope of some convulsion in the unpopular dynasty of Orleans, to push forward a candidate for the throne, such as Prince Louis Napoleon, were he sufficiently facile (and he knows full well the feeling of his correspondent at St. Petersburg, the *Chevalier St. George*, alias the *Czar*) to sink into a satellite of the great northern planet, and to wind about her political centre, partaking of all her mutations and affected by her influences. We shall never cease to point attention to the extreme danger to be apprehended from her upon every point of European or Asiatic territory.

a benefit; and at all events this at least can scarcely be boasted of by a government whose best characteristic is, to have done but little, and that little seldom well! A few laws and improvements have certainly been made, but they have been mostly at the wish and after the plans of the diet itself. In short, without, like Lindeberg, blindly denying the government *any* merit, and we have freely acknowledged that many changes for the better date themselves from Charles John, we may safely conclude, that the immensely costly, however otherwise amiable dynasty of Bernadotte has as yet been productive of few advantages to Sweden, many to itself.

In Norway, on the contrary, we meet a very different picture. Instead of increasing, we find almost vanishing taxation. Instead of commerce in ruins, we see a vastly extended merchant-fleet ploughing every sea. Economy, trading liberty, and a free representation have lifted the country to a rank worthy its old renown in the annals of Scandinavia. It is true that his majesty, no doubt from good motives, has repeatedly attempted to persuade the Norwegian *Stor-things* to sacrifice to him the great bulwarks of their republican organisation, and to admit a system which would have nearly assimilated them to Sweden; but it is also true that they have at each successive diet calmly and magnanimously refused, and that the admiration of Europe and the prosperity of their beautiful land has been the result. In Norway the king is the patron of improvement, because it is a happy and highly-developed country that makes its president (whether he be chosen or hereditary) *strong*. In Sweden the king, or his interested minister, jealously guards every thing in a *status quo*, because the monarch of a highly-taxed and ill-represented people must govern rather by intrigues and corporate interests than by national votes. In Norway we find the government friendly to reforms, and popular among every class; in Sweden we see fast-rooted abuses and increasing discontent.

In the meantime, to give an idea of the gradual development of the government system of Sweden, we append on the following page an outline of the budgets fixed at the successive diets from 1810, when the French marshal was elected crown prince, to the diet of 1840, which is at this moment sitting in the capital.

But we must here say some words respecting the literary and historical qualities of the works at the head of our list. The first is by a Norwegian writer of some celebrity, who began his career as a violent enemy to the details of the union, and who

Outline of the Budgets faced at the successive Diets from 1810 to 1840.

Year.	First Head. — Civil List.	Second Head. — Provincial Employés.	Third Head. — Army.*	Fourth Head. — Navy.	Fifth Head. — Fine Arts.	Sixth Head. — Benevo- lent In- stitu- tions.	Seventh Head. — Pension List.	Eighth Head. — General and Extra Grants.	Ninth Head. — Agricul- ture, Trade and Commerce	Tenth Head. — Ecclesias- tic and Education Grants.	Ad Inte- rim Sec- tion.†	Total.
1810	Dollars Banco. 467,823	Dollars Banco. 448,489	Dollars Banco. 1,493,816	Dollars Banco. 1,039,025	Dollars Banco. 10,453	Dollars Banco. 18,414	Dollars Banco. 30,290	Dollars Banco. 368,264	Dollars Banco. 100,000	Dollars Banco. 6,953	Dollars Banco. 489,774	Dollars Banco. 3,434,276
1812	574,982	566,746	2,985,273	1,212,517	10,453	19,303	30,290	449,155	21,786	6,593	327,765	4,292,718
1815	618,153	748,353.	2,526,278	1,242,180	11,870	26,743	30,290	484,627	100,000	6,793	271,659	4,824,769
1818	623,468	754,898	3,267,868	1,301,180	20,018	30,559	36,000	331,001	100,000	21,168	289,844	5,474,844
1823	738,549	1,813,808	3,072,530	1,039,025	26,487	115,751	51,000	417,872	113,389	403,614	288,894	8,121,357
1830	719,263	2,056,417	3,274,486	1,212,517	27,085	119,198	63,000	678,657	134,348	544,307	306,217	9,136,200
1835	719,250	2,354,480	3,392,500	1,242,180	26,430	161,630	63,000	759,890	164,930	565,620	248,280	9,698,190†
1840‡	719,250	2,354,480	3,529,886	1,301,180	48,316	164,630	63,000	864,890	182,930	594,500	260,800	10,015,862

* This head embraced both the land and sea departments up to the diet of 1823, when they were stated separately. The fourth head was previously devoted to ecclesiastical and educational grants. For the sake of simplicity, however, we have transferred these last to the tenth head, which they now constitute.

† This section is for offices which expire with the present owners, or till they obtain some other appointments, &c.

‡ By the extra loan from the government-debt bank, the actual annual budget after 1835 amounted to 10,898,190 dollars.

§ The sums for 1840 are the budget demanded, not the grant made. As far as can be judged at present the grants will not exceed those of 1830. The exchange averages twelve dollars banco to the pound sterling.

some time after the publication of his *Life of the King* received a pension from his majesty to assist his literary studies; and it is written with meagre details, but with tolerable correctness for a hastily compiled work, great liveliness of style, and an *approach* to impartiality uncommon in the biographers of Carl Johan.

The production of M. Lafosse* is, up to 1810, moderately complete, and generally worthy of credit. But after that period it is for the most part a continued running panegyric on "the hero of the north." *Not one single fact* at all calculated to injure the fame of the great Bernadotte in the eyes of admiring Europe, is allowed circulation through his pages. For the rest, the style is pretty enough, and the author is a man of sense and experience. In such a case, a few glaring misrepresentations must be looked for, as inevitably connected with his purpose.

The volumes of Captain Lindeberg, which have produced an immense sensation in Sweden, may be regarded as the exact chemical opposites to those of Lafosse. The one is alkali; the other naught but a tartish acid. The captain's book, however, is the most valuable source we know for enabling the historical student to complete his knowledge of the real character of the Bernadottean epoch in Sweden. But his style is too prosy, heavy, and hard; his views are often exaggerated and one-sided; and the personal pique of an injured man is visible enough in his calm statistics. Still, we repeat it, no investigation of this period can be complete, without the assistance of the laboriously compiled and, *as far as they go*, trustworthy volumes presented to us by this great opposition champion.

But this reminds us, that we have as yet given no important specimen of the captain's paragraphs. We therefore close this article with a very appropriate *summing-up* by our Swedish Cobbett, which we extract from his second volume, page 74, &c.

"..... If we are to judge from the words of our state chief, no Swedish ruler, according to his opinion, so far at least as it has yet been publicly expressed, has done so much for his country and has such wide-spread claims to the love and gratitude of the people as—himself..... A single phrase is often full of meaning on this point, and the remark perhaps is not therefore without importance, that the motto of the present king is of a quite different character from that of all preceding sovereigns. Thus, for instance, that of *Frederick* was—*God my hope*; *Adolph Frederic's*—*The general weal my weal*; *Gustavus III.'s* was—*Our fatherland*; that of *Gustavus IV. Adolphus*—*God and the people*; and *Charles XIII.'s*—*The People's weal my highest Law*; but *Charles John's* motto is—*The Peo-*

ple's love is my reward. All preceding kings thus displayed their feeling of their duty, or the hope humbly living in their hearts. The present king alone advances a claim to a reward, and that the most brilliant any regent can desire or gain—the people's love. But we willingly admit, that a word is often nothing more than a word, and sometimes much more is wanted by which to judge the action. But complete speeches, after mature deliberation, made to the whole people assembled through their representatives,—surely say much more. Thus when Gustaf Wasa, that man whom no one has dared call *the great*, as this might be in some measure comparing him to others, although no one can be found to be compared to him, on completing his 70th year, felt his strength decreasing and imagined his end to be at hand, he thus addressed the states, on the 16th of July, 1560:—'I do reverence the care of eternal Providence, which has been willing in and through me again to call to life the ancient and well-loved stem of King Magnus Ladulås and of Carl, after it had been compelled during so many hundred years to lie despised and beaten down; through the tyranny and violence of foreign masters. It is surely one of the works of God that, even as David from the herdsman's cottage, I should be sought out, drawn forth, and at last anointed as the king and governor of this realm. That I should reach such honour I never could have imagined, when my birth was as yet forgotten, and I was driven to hide me behind the mountains from the cruel sword of bloodthirsty Christian. But God and the commons of Sweden have been my help. And therefore do I give you thanks, my dear beloved children and my faithful subjects, for that ye should thus show favour unto me, and lift me up to royal dignity, and acknowledge and proclaim me as the father and founder of your royal house. If, my dear subjects, I have been able to work out aught good, give God the praise thereof; but all wherein human weakness hath made me fail, belongeth to me alone, and is such the which ye must pardon me for Christ his sake.'—With a pardonable pride he further uttered the persuasion that posterity, which he trowed would not soon forget him, would do him justice, and that the time would come when they would dig him up again out of the earth if that they could so do—a prophesy which was too soon fulfilled—but as a protection against all threatening dangers, he counselled his people to hold fast by God's word, and prayed them to follow him to God with their prayers.

"When the great Gustaf Adolph, after a reign of nineteen years filled with perpetual struggles and dangers, out of which nevertheless he himself and his kingdom rose triumphant, and in spite of which both had become established in strength and in fame,—after he had recovered a peace with Denmark which was purchased dear, but with undiminished borders,—after having acquired by the peace with Russia the districts of Ingermanland and of Kexholm,—after having conquered Livonia, and though endeavouring in vain to make peace with Poland, having still at last compelled it by his exploits to a truce which left the Swedes in possession of all they had subdued;—when after all these employments, he marched to dare the most perilous of all contests against the mightiest monarch then in Europe, a contest, however, for the light and liberty of the world,—he also collected around him the chambers of the kingdom, recommended his infant daughter to their care, and thanked them for their readiness to grant the taxes asked for carrying on the war, especially as he well knew 'that only with great difficulty could they be paid.' Nevertheless they should thank God—not his sword—for

* The work of Lafosse has also appeared in a German dress.

having kept their kingdom during so many years from the ravages of war, and for having lent them such good fortune in victory and in conquest. Thereafter spoke he of the approaching war, its dangers, and its lofty objects, straightway adding:—“For what regards myself, I know full well all that can befall me; already have I many times and oft for Svea kingdom spilled my blood, and one time or other shall doubtless spill my life, for so long the pitcher goeth after water, till that at the last it be all cracked and broken. Therefore, before I this time separate from my fatherland I will with fervent prayer commend ye all, inhabitants of Sweden, present as well as absent, to the protection both for life and soul of our God most high, hoping that when our time shall come we may all meet each other in a joy that never perisheth!”—To his placemen gave he counsels and warnings many, wishing them strength and understanding to fill well their offices. Then to the clergy spoke he of union and real piety, while to the nobles he pointed out the road to his favour and to unfeigned knightly lustre and renown through bravery and exploits. To the people he spoke thus:—“And you burgesses and commons here assembled, wish I all kinds of happiness and good fortune. May your humble cottages be changed to durable houses built with stone, your little boats to large capacious ships, and may your fields and meadows fill your barns and stores a thousand fold, to the great enrichment of yourselves and country. Yes! all of ye, beloved inhabitants of Sweden, do I pray God mercifully to comfort and protect, and now give to you my hearty farewell,—perhaps never to say it more!” The king had in all this not one word about his own great deeds, not one word about his ceaseless labours, during the short intervals of battle, for the domestic organisation and for every thing that could tend to the gain and glory of Sweden; he did not even mention how he had given the whole fortune he had inherited from his father to the university of Upsala, thus making himself poor that his country might be rich in knowledge and in wisdom;—in one word, he thought not at all of himself, although his coming fate hovered before his spirit, and he had already given orders to begin building his tomb: No! it was to God alone he attributed what he had done; and to him therefore gave he the glory.

“When Charles XIV. John, after nineteen years of residence among the people which had called him, an unknown foreign soldier, to the throne of Sweden, which had now been his own for twelve years, dismissed the representatives of this people in 1830, he said to them among other things: ‘That he had been called to defend you,’ and that the constitution framed by the state ‘required to be confirmed by war and victory.’ The same good fortune has followed my endeavours in the path of the administrator as in that of the warrior, and Providence has extended the success of my efforts further than your wishes dared to stretch themselves.”

“We are further informed how the ancient Sweden, twenty years ago, only reckoned 2,400,000 inhabitants, whereas its numbers now reach nearly 3,000,000; that the kingdom then had fifty-three millions of dollars of National Debt, of which forty four millions have been extinguished, and that while the benevolence tax amounted in 1812 to 2 650,000 dollars, it had been since reduced gradually by nearly a fifth part. The king congratulates himself on having done away with the hindrances to the completion of the Götha Canal. ‘My administration has seen itself induced to check its

career, to seek the origin of the hindrances which meet it, and not expose to dangerous accidents the new energies and the national spirit it has called forth. It has succeeded in extricating this peninsula from the misfortune of civil discord and its unhappy consequences. I have subdued the irritations of ambition and of force of arms, and have made them obedient allies to the laws. Rather a mediator than a monarch, rather protector of the law than a prince, I have endeavoured to uphold all legal and legislative rights, without in the mean while losing sight of the moral force of the monarchy. In a word, I have sacrificed all to the union and prosperity of the two kingdoms. Persuaded of their common wants, Swedes and Norwegians have ceased to shed each other's blood and to destroy each other's property. . . . After having consolidated your political rights, my whole anxiety has been directed to the support of the fundamental law. I have preserved it uninjured. Let us calm all interests, and so arrange our situation that he who lives by his labour may not need to fear that to-morrow he may find the resources for his existence cut off from him. Should it be that our representation requires an improved organisation, still let us never forget, that the four chambers of the realm have constituted during three centuries the pillars of the legal monarchy. . . Before I go to unite myself with that king who adopted me as his son, I feel myself happy in having acquired the right to say to you—understand your government; the good it has accomplished gives you cause so to do.’ . . . [Similar language pervades the speeches from the throne at the diets of 1835 and 1840.] . . . The difference of tone in the addresses of these three kings to the nation is so remarkable, so strongly contrasted, that we need not direct the attention of our reader to it. . . .

“In the former volume of this work we endeavoured to discover to what height of glory, power and happiness it really was, to which the country since 1810 had been ‘lifted up.’ The result of our inquiries has been, that Sweden during this time has won no victories on the field of glory, has not extended its territory, but instead thereof has lost the opportunity for so doing which in all probability occurred,—has seen its old conquests sold away, and the new one, which it might perhaps have obtained, changed, not to a gain for Sweden, but to a present to its king individually. We have seen the advantage afforded by a fortunate conjuncture—that of a foreign colony being made over to our country, transformed into a benefit for the Crown Prince himself. We have seen the royal majesty, in order to uphold its dignity, develop a severity as yet without example in our history. We have seen the liberty of discussion which was appropriated to itself by the Swedish people before the 5th of November, 1810, after this period suffer frequent mutilations, partly by the laws being illegally modified, and partly by their being applied in a different spirit from that in which they were enacted. Lastly, we have seen the taxes levied in the kingdom, since the above-named epoch, trebled in amount. All this is, after the common ideas of mankind, no benefit to a country, either in boundaries, in money, or in freedom. As, however, in developing the plan of this work, in order to do away with every just accusation of partiality,—we have followed the principle to extend mildness and liberality as far as the limits of justice possibly can permit, so we acknowledge that a government may be one neither of conquest nor of victory, and still honourable and useful to the country by upholding its dignity abroad and

increasing its prospects at home ;—that it can lay increased burdens on the people, when at the same time it increases their resources, their trade and their prosperity, and consequently the ease with which they can be borne,—nay ! that even, led by a lamentable but not uncommon policy, it may dread freedom of discussion as something liable to oppose its views, and yet love the people and labour for their benefit. Such conduct, for instance, cannot be denied to Napoleon and to the Russian government, although both by no means favoured the liberty of the press. This fear always must be a stain on the real greatness of a government, but it can be disguised by the lustre of other and substantial merits. We will examine, then, how far the government possesses such in reference to the improvement of the country materially and morally. In spite of the faults we have already been forced to point out, it might have been able to advance commerce, agriculture, manufactures, arts, sciences, and the defensive force of the kingdom ;—it might have taken care that its placemen exactly fulfilled their duties, and that its people gained more and more in comfort, prosperity, content, enlightenment, and intellectual and moral strength, and thus—partly by a prudent calculation and partly against its own plan—have created all these elements which in their development lay the foundation of the real glory and power of a state, because they lay the foundations of a people's pride, energy and independence, and thereby of its feelings of liberty also. Let us now see what it has done for these objects in general, or for any one of them in particular !"

The answer to this inquiry must be, in the judgment of every impartial observer, very unsatisfactory. It is true there have been many excuses for the lamentable neglect. His majesty's ignorance of the vulgar tongue, (though a fact more to his dishonour than his excuse, for after thirty years of residence he should at least have been able to *read* the language,)—the strength of the parties interested in the abuses of the country—the *royalistic* and unmeasured flattery dealt out to him for so many years, not only by all who approached his person, but by the diets themselves, (a flattery resulting from the miserable representative system, and the falseness and want of sound manly character unfortunately too common at present among the higher and middle classes in Sweden)—and the obstinacy of approaching age on the one hand, together with the power of his favourites, and the ruling camarilla on the other,—all these and many other reasons must plead in mitigation of the severity of our sentence against him.

Let us hope, however, that this old hero, this general so illustrious during so many campaigns, this chief of the army of liberation which struck the mighty tyrant to the earth, this remarkable and accomplished founder of a new dynasty in two great northern kingdoms,—will not outlive his fame, or permit the sun of his career to set in opprobrium, hatred, or contempt ! He

has yet time before him. Providence seems to have lengthened out his days beyond the number of the years of the children of men, and to have given him a "green old age,"—even uncommonly remarkable for its spirit, vivacity and vigour—that he might happily finish the important work he commenced thirty years ago. The law just adopted and sanctioned by his majesty for commencing in Sweden a real *bonâ fide* system of ministerial responsible government, and the dismissal of so many of the councillors and ministers most obnoxious to the diet and the people, are, we hope, tokens of good both to prince and peasant. No one admires the bright qualities of Charles John more than we ourselves, and to them we appeal against the narrow and unworthy policy of his later years. Let who will lament—we, in common with his faithful subjects and all lovers of the north and its prosperity, should hail with unfeigned delight the reviving lustre of his crown, and the re-establishment of his "fame and name and exploits" on a foundation so firm and sure, that it never should be moved from the one generation even to the other. He has still time to *die à-propos*. Yes ! the recording angel of history stands ready, ere he goeth down into the house of the tomb and is no more seen for ever, to inscribe on the tablets of Scandinavia hopes deceived, broken promises, and the unregarded prayers of an indignant people, or an immortality of glory freshly springing up from renewed institutions, enlightened and remodelled laws, trade and commerce freed, and a fresh impetus—whose goal none can see—given to the energies and liberties of an ancient, brave, illustrious, and still core-sound nation. One power at least, who is daily adding province to province, satrap to satrap, and crime to crime, whose cannons can even now be heard in the Swedish capital, who has every where her agents, and who subsists only on the weakness and disorganisation of the states around her, is—"ready, aye ready."

ART. IV.—*Osteographie, ou Description iconographique comparée du Squelette et du Systeme dentaire, des cinq Classes d'Animaux Vertébrés recents et fossiles, pour servir de base à la Zoologie et à la Geologie*, par M. H. M. Ducrotay de Blainville, Membre de l'Institut (Académie des Sciences), Professeur d'Anatomie Comparée au Museum d'Histoire Natu-

relle. *Ouvrage accompagné de Planches, lithographiées sous sa direction*, par M. J. C. Werner, Peintre du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris. Texte grand in 4to Velin; Planches in folio format demi-Jesus. Fasc. I.—IV.

THE general taste that prevails amongst all classes of educated persons for examining the laws which have regulated, and the phenomena that have accompanied the formation of the globe, has rendered geology one of the most popular sciences of the day; so much so, indeed, that it probably ranks amongst its votaries a greater number of individuals belonging to the various professions than any other branch of learning. It would appear from this fact to be taken up by many as a mere amusement for leisure hours, and therefore the conclusion might at first be drawn, that it is a science which can be acquired without much mental exertion, and without the sacrifice of much time. A superficial knowledge of it may indeed be obtained without much effort, and in a short period, but any one who wishes to become profoundly acquainted with the remarkable truths brought to light by geological investigation, who is willing to test the correctness of the observations recorded in its annals, and who may feel disposed to speculate in theoretical explanations of the changes which have occurred on our planet, must be prepared to devote the best part of his life to the pursuit, before he can hope to have his exertions crowned with much success. Great encouragement to exertion exists for those who are really willing to give themselves up seriously to this pursuit, for as a comparatively unbeaten track of knowledge, it still affords an immense field for the observation of new facts, many of which, when discovered, will no doubt cause great modification, if not entire subversion of some of those theories which at present appear to be most satisfactorily established.

Though geology may be regarded by a great number of individuals more as a superficial or popular branch of knowledge than a science, never probably was a greater error committed, for next to astronomy no science ought to rank higher; not on account of the apparently rapid progress it has made in a few years, for at present it is only in its infancy, but from its intimate and important connections with most of the other sciences: indeed, so far from geology being only a branch of what at the present time is termed popular information, a profound acquaintance with it is unattainable without an extensive knowledge of astronomy, geography,

mineralogy, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, natural history, comparative anatomy, &c. Such is its vastness, that for the purpose of facilitating its progress, the same kind of subdivision has been introduced into it as has been made in other sciences. Thus we find that some of the most talented individuals of our time, who have been most instrumental in advancing it, have limited their researches to one branch only:—whilst Lyell and Elie de Beaumont have speculated upon the causes of the position of the different strata, and the upheaving of mountains and continents, Cuvier and Buckland have drawn most important deductions from the remains of organized beings found in the different deposits. Other equally celebrated persons have distinguished themselves by furnishing information to facilitate the determination of the particular species to which these remains belong; a task which is rendered peculiarly difficult when only a few portions of the skeleton of an animal are discovered. An intimate acquaintance with the comparative anatomy of the osseous system of different animals is indispensable, before any probability can exist of its being possible to determine the species to which any fossil bones may belong.

The object of the work under consideration is to afford persons who have not opportunities of studying large collections of skeletons of different animals, the means of gaining some knowledge of the comparative anatomy of the osseous system in the five classes of the vertebrata. It is to be published in parts, four of which have already reached this country; the text is illustrated by lithographic plates, representing the skeletons of the vertebrated animals, both modern and fossil; and if the author bestows the same pains on the succeeding numbers that he has on those which have already appeared, he will confer an immense benefit on the scientific world. The celebrity Monsieur de Blainville has obtained as a naturalist and comparative anatomist, is of itself sufficient to attract attention to this work, which we are inclined to predict will raise his reputation still higher. No individual at the present day, probably, is more competent to perform this undertaking than Monsieur de Blainville, for his researches have always been more or less connected with this subject, as well as the lectures which he has delivered during the last twenty years at the Sorbonne, Jardin des Plantes, &c., and therefore, though from the nature of the work some time must elapse before the whole can be published, there is every probability of its being ultimately completed within a reasonable pe

riod, and in the same efficient manner in which it has been commenced. He has also at his disposal the magnificent collection of skeletons of the Museum of Natural History in the Jardin des Plantes, which is probably the most extensive in this department in Europe, the collection of fossils described by Cuvier, which has latterly been nearly doubled by the addition of those obtained by L'Abbé Croizet, in Auvergne, and by Monsieur Lastet, in the environs of Auch, besides a considerable number of models in plaster of fossils discovered during the last few years in India, America, and in Germany. The object the author professes to have in view is to afford geologists, who, it is very properly remarked, are seldom naturalists and less frequently anatomists, the means of determining, as far as that is possible, to what part of any of the vertebrata one or more fossil bones may belong; further, of ascertaining, no matter how obscure the fragments under consideration may be, to what class, order, or family, the animal belongs to which they may appertain; and lastly, to what species, and whether the species differed or not from those living at the present era. The works which have hitherto been generally referred to for this information are those of Cuvier, Parkinson, Pander, and D'Alton, but the plan adopted by these writers is not so good as that followed by Monsieur de Blainville, who besides giving plates of the bones of the vertebrata both modern and fossil, has likewise given figures of the teeth, which is a most important addition, and has never been done before. Indeed the teeth, upon the whole, may be said to be more useful to the geologist in enabling him to determine the species to which an animal belongs, than any other part of the body. The plates seem to have been executed with much care, and what is very important, the proportions of the figures represented must be accurate, as they have been preserved by means of the "*diagraphie*." They consist of five series. 1st, the whole skeleton is represented; 2d, the crania; 3d, a selection of parts peculiar to the animals; 4th, the teeth, with their roots and alveoli; and 5th, fossil remains, and copies of representations of the animals left us by the ancients.

The work commences with a dissertation on osteography, including some account of the different articulations, or surfaces by which the bones are united together; this part will be found interesting to the geologist, because the articulating surfaces always present peculiarities corresponding to those of other parts of the skeleton. Besides, the extremities of bones are among those por-

tions of the skeleton that are most likely to be met with in fossil remains, on account of their having greater bulk than the remainder of the bones to which they belong, in order to afford sufficient space for them to be united with the corresponding parts of other bones, to form the joints. In the long bones the texture also is different from that of the shaft, being generally composed of denser material internally, and coated with a layer of hard osseous substance, to protect them against injury from the continual friction to which they are exposed in the motions of the ends of the bones upon one another. On this account, though the shaft of a bone may have been destroyed, the articulating extremities of it are often found in a sufficiently perfect state to enable the comparative anatomist to draw very important conclusions from them.

In speaking of the bones in general, our author says—

"The consideration whether a bone is symmetrical or non-symmetrical is of great importance, and is the first question to be decided by the geologist or paleontologist when examining a fragment of a bone. If it be symmetrical, which it is always easy to determine, it must belong either to the vertebral column or the sternum; if non-symmetrical it belongs to some appended part of the skeleton, which cannot be determined with the same facility, as for example, in the instance of the bones composing the middle finger."

Monsieur de Blainville includes the teeth in the class of bones which he has termed "*Phaneros*," of which he gives the following description:—

"To comprehend the general form of a '*phaneros*,' it is necessary to know that it is a portion of dead matter, produced and exhaled from the surface of a bulb or '*phanère*,' which is in organic continuity with the body of the animal, and implanted more or less profoundly in the skin, or sometimes in the subjacent tissues: the form of the bulb has therefore great influence upon that of the '*phaneros*' or body proceeding from it."

The hairs, as well as the teeth, are considered by most physiologists as productions of the same kind, both being regarded as appurtenances to the skin or integuments, emanating from bulbs of a similar character.

The remarkable property of preservation which belongs to bones, results from their being composed of earthy and animal matter, intimately blended together. When a recent bone is steeped in diluted hydrochloric acid, its earthy particles are dissolved, and the animal portion is obtained in a separate condition in the form of a membranous substance, preserving the shape of the bone, but without its solidity. The same results are procured when a fossil bone is treated in this manner, notwithstanding it may have

belonged to an animal whose race is now extinct. By the action of heat the animal portion is destroyed, and then the earthy substances are obtained separately. The relative proportions of these organic and inorganic elements vary exceedingly in different classes of animals, and in different bones of the same animal. In the cartilaginous fishes the organic matter is superabundant; but in the petrous or rocky portion of the temporal bone (so named on account of its extreme hardness) of the higher orders of the vertebrata, which contains and protects the delicate organ of hearing, the quantity of earthy matter is greatly in excess. This part of the temporal bone in the elephant is as dense as marble.

"The osseous system in the mammiferæ differs greatly from that of the other classes of vertebrata, because it is composed of a very much greater proportion of inorganic matter than of organic, which latter is almost entirely gelatinous, and its intimate union with the inorganic or earthy matter enables it, under certain circumstances, to resist decomposition for an almost unlimited length of time after death; indeed, fossil bones procured from the quarries of Montmartre became blackened when Vauquelin exposed them to the action of fire."

Such is the extraordinary quantity of animal matter in the skeletons of some extinct animals, that it is stated, when the bones of the *Toxodon* are heated in the flame of a spirit lamp, they not only exhale a very strong animal odour, but likewise burn with a slight flame.

When a fossil bone is discovered, it is not always so easy, as is generally supposed, even for a skilful comparative anatomist, to determine with certainty to what animal it belongs, and what peculiarities that animal possessed, on account of the great variety offered by skeletons of animals which are of the same order. The number of bones in different divisions of the skeleton is by no means constantly the same; the same number of vertebræ, of phalanges, &c. are certainly most frequently met with in all, but exceptions occur which are sufficient to throw a doubt over the whole. For instance, the mammiferæ in general have only seven vertebræ in the neck, but the sloth, however, has nine. It would therefore be impossible to decide from the imperfect skeleton of an extinct animal nearly allied to this creature, whether it possessed the same number of cervical vertebræ as our sloth, or whether it had only seven, like most other mammiferæ.

"The number of bones in the skeleton of the mammiferæ is never sufficiently constant to be called certain, unless in any particular part, as for instance in the case of the cervical vertebræ, which are seven in number, or of the phalanges, which

are only three; in neither case, however, are these numbers absolutely constant."

The following observations are well worthy perusal, as they point out more in detail the difficulties, if not impossibilities, of determining with certainty all the peculiarities of the entire skeleton of an animal, of which only a few bones are possessed.

"Without doubt between all the solid portions entering into the composition of the skeleton of a vertebrated animal in general, but of a mammiferous one in particular, there exists a remarkable harmony between the number, form, position, proportion, and a combination producing a peculiar kind of locomotion, so that within certain limits at least, it is possible to prejudge from physiological knowledge, certain osteographical peculiarities, and vice versa. This is an observation which has been continually made from the time of Galen; but to imagine the science is so far advanced, or that it can ever be brought to such a high degree of perfection, so that from a single bone, or only one surface of a bone of any animal, it is possible to re-construct, or re-compose its whole skeleton, and afterwards the remainder of its organisation, is a pretence which will appear more exaggerated and more extraordinary, in proportion to the depth with which the question has been examined, both a priori and a posteriori. In my opinion no one has ever been able to do this, no matter what it has been pretended to be possible to do. Individuals very probably may have supposed they could do it, because when they have possessed a particular bone of one animal closely resembling that of another animal, perfectly well known, whose skeleton was present, and to which no remarkable peculiarity belonged, it may have been possible to determine the form the bone joined to it ought to have. Beyond this, however, all is mere conjecture, unless this key-bone should be characteristic of a certain family, as the astragalus in Ruminants, whose skeletons are very similar, and have teeth and a digestive apparatus quite peculiar to themselves: but even in this case, the astragalus could not give the proportion of the other bones, nor enable any one to decide whether there existed rudiments or not of the external pair of toes, a complete fibula in the posterior, or a cubitus in the anterior extremities, or canine teeth in the upper jaw; whether the frontal bone was furnished with horns or antlers, and whether there were one or two pair of them. But if it be impossible in such an easy family as this, to deduce from the examination of a bone, so characteristic as the astragalus in Ruminants, all the above named peculiarities, how would it be with a family where the gradations are less marked, and especially in animals whose locomotive apparatus presents peculiar anomalies. Indeed it may be confidently asserted that in such instances, even if a particular bone were chosen, it would be impossible to decide accurately on the form of those which should come next to it.

"In the skeleton of the *Simia Pithceus* what bone besides the sacrum could lead to the conclusion that this animal has no tail, whilst the greater part of the other *Cynopithec*i are often furnished with a very large one? the lumbar vertebræ in this creature have their spinous processes placed in a similar direction to that which they have in the *Cercopithec*i. What bone except the trapezoides could enable any one to decide that a *Simia* of the divisions *Colobus* or *Ateles* has no thumb? What part of the extremities of a sloth could lead any one to foretell whether the animal has seven, eight, or nine cervical vertebræ? Had the head only of the radius

of this animal existed, what would be the peculiar form of its fore-paw? and what the number of digits? Would it not be useless to endeavour from the singular form of either of the toes of the *Dasyurus* to point out the shape of the other? The *Cheiroptera*, like the *Talpæ*, have a longitudinal crest on the sternum, to increase the surface for the attachment of the pectoralis major muscle, in order to render it larger and therefore fitter for moving the arm: but any attempts to guess from this peculiarity the shape of the humerus would be sure to lead to error. Is it possible to determine the form of the scapula of the *Talpa*, from its singularly shaped humerus? Could it be decided from any part of the fore-foot of a particular group of the *Carnivora*, that the humerus is perforated at the internal condyle, and that it is not so in another group of the same animals very much resembling the former? How could any one discover the relation between this peculiarity which exists in all the *Didelphis* without exception, and the co-existence of the marsupial bones which are never wanting in this class? If the still greater error be committed of expecting to find a relation between the teeth, and the skeleton and its peculiarities, how could any one guess from examining the skeleton of the large-eared dog of the Cape of Good Hope, that its teeth were so different from those of other dogs both in form and number? What connection is there between the carnivorous teeth of the *Dasyurus* and those of the *Phascolumys*, which are perfect rodentia? And yet the condyle of the lower jaw is not placed more transversely in the one than in the other. Is there any peculiarity in any bone of the anterior extremity of a carnivorous animal, which could lead to the decision that it did or did not possess a clavicle?"

It will be seen from these observations, which we particularly recommend to the consideration of the geologist and paleontologist, that the determination of the peculiarities of any skeleton, a few portions only of which can be procured, is an undertaking very difficult to be accomplished, even by those who possess an extensive knowledge of comparative anatomy. In fact, its impossibility has been shown in a great many instances, which must throw a great doubt on the correctness of many of what are termed the restorations of animals, that, in the course of the last few years, have been brought out rather hastily, and with too much presumption. It would be well for geology if such attempts were less frequent and made with more caution, or otherwise they will tend to bring the science into disrepute. They never would be undertaken so indiscriminately, if persons were more aware of the difficulties that attend them; and then we should not be so often astonished, as we are at present, with drawings of most extraordinary looking animals, which are pompously described as faithful representations of creatures that swarmed on the surface of the earth before the creation of the human race. Many of these restored animals are probably just as incorrect as a human skeleton would have been, made upon the scale afforded by the remains of the shells of

some enormous turtles, discovered some years back, and which were at first asserted to be portions of human crania, because they had serrated edges like those forming sutures. Resting on these observations, many persons imagined that a race of human beings with heads three or four feet in diameter had formerly existed upon the surface of the earth; this opinion seemed plausible enough, supported as it was by the statement that these bones had belonged to human crania, and its absurdity was not perceived until they were really ascertained to be portions of the shells of turtles. How it happened that the public were not favoured on this occasion with some restorations of the human body on a commensurate scale of magnitude, is not known. It is, however, by no means improbable that errors equally gross are being continually committed by incompetent persons venturing to decide from insufficient data, what the entire structure of an extinct animal may have been. We have long blushed for philosophers who have so egregiously committed themselves in this manner, and it is to be hoped that the hints given in M. de Blainville's work will make them reflect a little before they venture to publish as facts, what in the majority of instances can be nothing but mere conjectures. Such is the rage at the present time for the restoration of so-called antediluvian animals, that scarcely a bookseller can be found, who will venture to publish any travels, unless set off by the attraction of a frontispiece representing the type of some most extraordinary extinct race of beings, to excite the wonder of the ignorant. In this respect modern travellers may be said to possess a great advantage over their ancestors, for they are not satisfied with merely giving an account of what is to be seen upon the surface of the earth, but appear to consider their task not at all complete unless they can exhume from its bowels a quantity of bones, out of which some outlandish creature is sure to be manufactured on their return home.

An inquiry is next made to ascertain how many of the *Quadrumana* have been discovered in a fossil state, and likewise how many were known to the ancients.

"After having studied and described, as we had proposed, the teeth and skeleton of the three great classes of mammalia, which we have included in the order *Quadrumana*, in individuals belonging to species actually existing on the surface of the earth; we shall next proceed to inquire whether some fragments of fossil bones found in different strata cannot be referred to one or other of these groups.

"The animals which constitute the greatest part of the order *Quadrumana* (*Primates*), or those

which have acquired this appellation on account of their resemblance to the human race, appear to have been observed from the remotest antiquity. But though the ancients were acquainted with a considerable number of different species of apes, particularly after the conquests of Alexander, their knowledge on this point was very imperfect."

The most striking points of resemblance between the human frame and that of some of the Simiæ are well described in the following extract.

"Apes, in extending this title to the order of the Quadrumana, and abstracting some peculiarly anomalous species, offer in the generality of their organisation, externally and internally, so many points of resemblance with the material part of the human species, their principal acts have such a near similitude, that the most civilized, as well as the most ignorant, have admitted an absolute relation between these animals and ourselves. Many philosophers even have imagined they distinguished in the higher orders of apes a degenerated race of human beings; while, according to other, men are only apes in a higher degree of perfection. Others again maintain that men are apes in a state of degeneracy; imitating in this respect the people of Polynesia, who think the ourang-outang is an idle man, who will not talk, to avoid being made to work. That these animals are physically constructed on the same plan as man, is demonstrated by the general form of the trunk, which is much less compressed than it is in quadrupeds; by the head, which is more or less circular, and articulated with the spinal column at a less distance from the posterior extremity of its antero-posterior diameter; by the form and direction of the eyes, of the nose, and of the ears; by the structure of the superior extremities, which are attached to the body at their upper portions only, and which are terminated at their lower ends by a true hand generally furnished with a thumb, that can be moved in opposition to the fingers; by the structure also of the posterior extremities, though they are not so liberally supplied with large muscles, but then their termination in a more perfect hand than is met with in the anterior extremity distinguishes them more forcibly from the human race.

"But the apparent degree of resemblance between apes and men is by no means so striking in all the species which constitute this numerous order; for though there is a vast hiatus between the highest species of the human race and the superior apes, this difference becomes more strongly marked as we descend in the scale."

The higher orders of the Quadrumana cannot support the cold of this country; thus all specimens of the Chimpanzee brought here have in a short period fallen victims to the climate. Their great susceptibility of cold prevents their being generally disseminated over the earth, which constitutes a remarkable feature of distinction between them and the human race. Some species of the Quadrumana, however, can support cold better than others; and it is curious that those most readily affected by it have the greatest resemblance to man. On the other hand, the African, or lowest human variety, is the least capable of supporting cold, and

has the greatest analogy with the Simiæ. The geographical distribution of the Quadrumana is well described in the following passage.

"Another element that can be employed to assist in the resolution of the antiquity of the order Quadrumana (Primates) on the surface of the earth, is that which is afforded by the history of the geographical distribution of the species in general, or certain species in particular, &c. The Quadrumana are now confined to a zone of the globe bounded in the northern hemisphere by the 35° or 36° of latitude in the old world, and by the 23° of latitude in the new world; in the southern hemisphere by the 37° of latitude in the old world, and 27° of latitude in the new; consequently not one species is met with in Europe, in Asia beyond Japan, in North America, in South America beyond Paraguay, in South Asia beyond the Moluccas. They are not known at present to exist in New Guinea perhaps because it has not yet been sufficiently explored, but it is certain there are none in New Holland or in any of the South Sea Islands. The actual state of our knowledge confirms the fact recognised by Buffon, nearly a hundred years ago, that apes and lemurs, properly so called, have never been met with any where but in the old world, or eebi and sloths elsewhere than in the old world. Apes, limited to the old world, and almost to its intertropical regions, exist on all parts of the continent of Africa from north to south, and from east to west, but not in any of its islands. (It is not quite certain, however, whether any exist at Madagascar, though some are said to have been found at Fernando-Po.) A very different distribution is met with in the Asiatic part of the world; for the natural history of apes informs us, that as many species exist in the islands of the Indian Archipelago as on the continent of Asia; from the island of Ceylon in the north to the Moluccas in the south, likewise from Ceylon in the west to the Japan islands in the east. They are only met with on the continent of Asia, from the declivity of the Himalaya mountains at the north to the sea at the south, and from Arabia towards the Red Sea to the frontiers of China. All the species are not met with in all these parts, but different groups are limited to particular districts.

"From this general view of the actual distribution of the Quadrumana on the surface of the earth, it appears that not one species is found in any portion of Europe, even in the most southern parts. Some doubt however hangs over this point, for many travellers of credit declare they have seen the *Pithecius Inuus* at Gibraltar, which is so common on the opposite coast of Africa. If it does exist there, most probably it has been imported, because it is certainly not found in any other part of Spain."

Though human beings stand so pre-eminently above all the rest of the animated creation, yet, to a certain extent, they are influenced by the same circumstances as creatures lowest in the scale. This is particularly seen to be the case in the instance of climate. The account just given of the geographical position of the Quadrumana shows that their abode is limited to particular regions, a peculiarity in which they differ remarkably from the human race. This argument completely negatives the theory

of Monboddo, that man was originally an ape. His adaptation to all climates, contrasted with the obviously limited range of the *Simia* genus, abundantly indicates the nobler and independent range of his powers above the highest imitative animal. Man is able to exist in almost all climates in a stationary condition: in the hyperborean regions, however, where the cold is so very intense, he is in a nomadic or erratic state; because he would be unable to obtain sustenance if he were settled for a length of time in any particular part. The length of his stay is regulated by the means that exist of affording him sustenance, for as soon as the sources for procuring food are exhausted on one spot he moves on to another, where he expects to meet with fresh supplies. The cold is not inimical to the continuation of his existence, so long as he can obtain sufficient nourishment. This is proved to be the case not only in the instance of the Esquimaux, or natural inhabitants of these regions, but likewise with our own intrepid countrymen who have passed several successive years in these parts. The low temperature was easily supported, and the average rate of mortality amongst the crews of the ships sent to explore the arctic regions was scarcely increased. Some constitutions, as might be expected, seemed to be more easily accommodated to the change of climate than others; but there is nothing to show that the cold of the poles is fatal to life, provided a sufficient quantity of wholesome food can be procured. The crews of our ships were dependent on their stores for the means of subsistence, which of course would be exhausted sooner or later; and then, indeed, the cold, rendering it impossible to grow the most important articles of diet upon which we subsist, would, in the first instance, render it impossible to obtain food, and afterwards soon cause the cessation of the vital powers in the individuals themselves; because it would be very difficult for Europeans to endure the privations to which the Esquimaux are exposed, and become accustomed to the kind of food upon which they subsist. The greater and more sudden the transition from heat to cold, and from cold to heat, the more is the constitution tried: people in general have little notion how much the health of sailors is affected in sailing from north to south, and thus passing rapidly from cold latitudes into tropical regions, and then into cold latitudes again. The gradual introduction of steamships, by which the duration of voyages will be greatly curtailed, will have the disadvantage of causing this transition to take place more suddenly, and therefore it will proba-

bly be more injurious than before; at the same time it is to be hoped that better accommodation will be afforded to the seaman than at present, in order that when approaching the equator his berth may be better ventilated, and, on the other hand, when getting into higher latitudes it may be better warmed without being rendered so close as to prevent the free circulation of air. These alterations may be much more easily introduced into steam-ships than sailing vessels; and, therefore, if not made spontaneously by shipowners, their adoption ought to be rendered compulsory by some legislative enactment. Notwithstanding that man appears capable of enduring every climate, and, in this respect, possesses an immense advantage over other animals, still it will be found that some races of men are naturally more capable of supporting the heat of the tropics, others the eternal snows of the polar regions; upon the whole the inhabitants of the temperate regions of the earth are most capable of enduring great variety of climate. The African is the most fitted by his organisation to endure the scorching rays of a tropical sun, and the Esquimaux is most qualified for encountering the freezing blasts of the north; but an interchange of climate between the two would almost infallibly be fatal to both of them. The African, in all probability, would be attacked with a fatal pulmonary affection, and the Esquimaux would soon fall a victim to some fever, so that the power of enduring great change of climate in these races is very limited. The inhabitants of the temperate portions of the earth are most capable of supporting and becoming accustomed to climates different from their own; and it is curious to remark that they include the most intelligent races upon the surface of the globe. Very great extremes of heat and cold are however so fatal to them that they are unable to occupy and spread themselves over the arctic and tropical regions; and these are the only causes which appear to militate against their becoming, in the course of ages, the sole occupiers of the surface of the earth, to the extinction of all the other races. We have in our time the singular fact presented to us of the commencement of such an enormous increase of the great Caucasian race, that they are beginning not only to spread themselves over vast tracts of the globe which are thinly peopled, but to encroach so rapidly upon the natural and savage inhabitants of these tracts, that whole tribes and nations have become extinct, and no doubt in a comparatively short period entire races of them will disappear from the

surface of the earth. At the present time this destruction of the aboriginal inhabitants of the soil is proceeding most rapidly in North America; the continual demand for more land by the thousands of emigrants who arrive every year in that part of the world from Europe, causes the North American Indians to be gradually driven more into the interior of the continent, and they have already receded altogether from the whole tract of country east of the Mississippi. Many of the tribes are unwilling to surrender the lands they have inherited from their fathers without a severe contest, which of course always terminates to the disadvantage of the Indians, and is mostly attended with great destruction of life. These and many other causes, such as the introduction of the small-pox and other diseases, and of spirituous liquors, by their more civilized antagonists, tend to diminish their numbers so rapidly, that not many years will elapse before they must be exterminated, their name being only known in history. The same scenes will in a short time be acted in Australia, now that the tide of emigration has set in so rapidly towards that quarter.

The question next arises, as to what will happen when Australia and the new world are as thickly peopled as the old world? Will their descendants then encroach upon the territories of the inhabitants of tropical regions? No doubt they will; but their increase in these parts, on account of the climate, will not be so rapid, if it take place at all to any great extent, and therefore not so injurious to the aboriginal inhabitants as it is shown to be in the more temperate climates. The conclusions to be drawn from these observations are, that one particular race, in consequence of the superiority of their intellectual powers, has a tendency to spread itself over the surface of the earth, and by so doing, ultimately to cause the destruction of all the other races on account of their inferiority: and no doubt this will be effected in all regions where the climate is sufficiently healthy to admit of the existence and increase of the descendants of the Caucasian variety. Every advance in art and science is favourable to this course, and none will contribute more to it than that great master-piece of mechanical invention, the steam-engine, which will enable its enterprising discoverers to follow their uncivilized brethren into the remotest recesses; the very ocean itself has become the great causeway upon which myriads of human beings will in time be conveyed from one part of the earth to the other, until every nook and corner of it are covered with their offspring. Not only will this gradual but

certain general dissemination of one race of men occasion the destruction of other races of their fellow-creatures, but it will likewise be attended with the extermination of many species of animals, indeed probably of all which are not subservient in some way or other to our wants. To a certain extent this has already occurred in several parts, particularly if the extent of territory be limited, as in our own islands, where many races of animals, wolves for instance, have been almost completely eradicated. The effects of the employment of steam as a motor agent for carriages cannot at present be exactly foreseen, but should it ever be applied successfully to vehicles upon our common roads, which some of our most distinguished engineers declare to be quite practicable, in time most probably those exceedingly common and useful animals, horses, will be destroyed, unless indeed it should hereafter be found desirable to breed them for food, as it is certain they will then no longer be required for the purposes for which they are employed at present. The gradual extinction of whole races of animals, and even of human beings, is then actually going on at this moment, in conformity with the ordinary laws of nature, as we perceive them, and in time the only traces of these beings will consist in their osseous remains which will be buried in the soil. It is clear, then, that races of living beings occasionally become extinct from other causes besides what are called by Geologists the great convulsions which have successively occurred on our planet; but the means of distinguishing the fossil remains of animals which owed their destruction to these convulsions, from those which have been gradually exterminated by the operation of causes similar to those seen to be producing that effect in the present day, have not yet been discovered, and it is not improbable that, as investigations proceed, more races will be discovered to have been exterminated by the same kind of causes as those now in operation, than by great convulsions, though the latter opinion is most generally entertained at present.

A very learned account is next given of the *Quadrupana* known to the ancients, as is proved by their writings, monuments, and other works of art.

“The material traces of the antiquity of apes on the surface of the earth consist of mummies and fossils. It has already been remarked that the Egyptians placed apes among their sacred animals. Notwithstanding, however, that Strabo and other authors of his time have asserted that the *Cynocephalus* and the *Cebus* were considered sacred, the former by the *Hermopolitans*, and the latter by the *Babylonians*, in the neighbourhood of Memphis, I have never been

able to meet with any positive confirmation of his opinion, except in as far as relates to the *Cynocephalus*. Belzoni (*Travels*, ii. p. 15) says, that, in the catacombs of Gurnah, opposite Thebes, he has found mummies of apes in a sitting posture, along with human mummies, which appeared to be *Cynocephali*;* at all events this is certain with respect to one described in another part of the account of his Travels in Egypt."

One of the most remarkable features connected with geology is the great changes that have been continually made in its theories, showing after all that very little of a positive nature is known about it. What can stronger illustrate this than the mutations of opinion on this subject of the author of the *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*? Another celebrated geologist only requires certain modifications of heat and matter, and he can produce any given number of the Saurian genus. A third says the mistakes of these gentlemen consist in the error of imagining that the Saurian reptiles, and other huge animals, are extinct. According to him, they exist in a huge aqueous cavity in the centre of the earth, and penetrate to us by boring from their domicile. We then only light upon those members of the Saurian genus, it would seem, that belong to the Travellers' Club. Who can avoid laughing at these maddest reveries of pleasant madmen? If they stopped here they would be amusing; but when we perceive them in the pseudo-garb of the philosopher,

"Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer," the case becomes widely different. Our trust in the physical truth of the Hebrew Records should become however in no respect impaired by a fleeting system of variable quantities, like geology. Neither do we accede to the ingenious interpretation offered of the first verse of Genesis, since that interpretation, in our notion, would have been devised in a shorter period than 4000 years from the time of publication, and not left to a class of Hebrew scholars, like the present mere plagiarists from ancient writers, few in number, and, excepting Gesenius, of extremely low mental power. The opinion that a successive development of living beings, from the simplest to the most compound, has occurred, is now abandoned by the greater number of the most celebrated geologists of the present day. And yet at one time this doctrine was pretty generally admitted, its plausibility causing it to be readily received, as it appeared very likely that, after each successive convulsion on our

planet, a new race of beings, of a more complicated organisation, should be called into existence, subsequently to the destruction of those of a simpler structure. Further observations have, however, led so far to the modification of this theory, that it seems most likely the characteristics of the new beings were only accommodated to the external circumstances by which they were surrounded, and not that some new races always appeared superior to those which had immediately preceded. The introduction of this modification in some measure prepared the way for the important discovery made within these few years, of the fossil remains of some of the *Quadrumanæ*. No fact can be of more importance in throwing doubts on opinions formerly entertained, because it proves that some of those animals possess greater antiquity than was before admitted, and probably it will at last be discovered that they really were inhabitants of the earth at a period when its condition was previously imagined to be unfit for their existence.

"In the era when the science of organisation was so little advanced, and when, on account of the almost complete dearth of osteological collections, it was nearly impossible for those most conversant with anatomy to establish the smallest relation between fossil bones, without being necessarily led into error. At that period, when no theory existed to explain in the least the manner in which the succession of living beings on the surface of the earth has proceeded, observers were comparatively indifferent about assertions which, in the present day, are obliged to be admitted or rejected, notwithstanding the evidence of facts, and therefore it can be easily understood how many erroneous opinions have been received both with respect to those animals actually occupying our attention, and many others besides, and even to the human race. The first assertion, relating to the existence of a fossil ape, rests upon a complete skeleton of a long-tailed quadruped discovered in 1733 in the metalliferous schist in Thuringia, a representation of which is given by Swedenborg in his *Treatise de Cupro* (tab. ii. p. 168), and who considered it did not belong to a species of *Cercopithecus* or *Cebus*, as Cuvier erroneously stated at p. 7 of his article on fossil crocodiles, but to some marine or amphibious animal, (at this time the term amphibious was generally applied to reptiles,) or to some kind of *Squalus Catulus*. In fact, as Swedenborg imagined, this fossil must have belonged to a marine animal which might or might not have been amphibious; it is therefore clear he never conceived that it could be either an Ape or a Cebus.

"Up to the time of Argenville in 1775, in whose work I indeed imagine this fossil was first described, under the title of 'a tailed quadruped, supposed to have been an ape,' I have never met with any other author on petrifications who has admitted this erroneous relation, &c.

"Hundman says, 'The most extraordinary petrification I possess is the hand of a baboon. It is seven inches long, three broad, as is shown by the figure, which represents it of the natural size. Externally the skin is black and granulated, as is commonly the case in these animals. Anteriorly the fingers and nails are very distinct. Superiorly the nerves are seen protruding. Posteriorly at the side of the carpus, where the fracture has

* There were three unquestionable *Cynocephali* of which our nostrils long retained the odour, in the collection of Egyptian remains brought to this country by Mr. Burton. They were sold by Messrs. Sotheby to the British Museum, the first a young one, for 4*l.*; the second for 7*l.*, and the third for 3*l.* 16*s.*

been made, the bones and marrow can easily be distinguished by their different colours, and so also can the part where the skin has been separated from the muscles.' He adds further, 'that Professor C. G. Fischer, of Königsberg had never met with a similar specimen in any of the cabinets of natural history which he had visited;' and concludes by stating 'he had been offered 100 thalers for it.'

"A third example of fossil bones assigned to an animal of this order, which would be much less likely to become a subject for controversy, at least as far as its anatomical relations are concerned, though the same cannot be said of its fossil state—I allude to the assertion of Imrie on the subject of two crania found by the workmen employed on the fortifications at the upper part of the rock of Gibraltar, and which were at first considered to be human. Dr. Imrie thought they appeared rather to belong to some species of *Simia*, but supposing the former opinion might be entertained by the workmen, which M. Cuvier thought improbable, the differences between the human cranium and that of the *Simia pithecus* being so marked, that scarcely any one could make a mistake of this kind. It appears these crania were really fossil, and found in the osseous breccia of the rock. Indeed the English observer considered they must have belonged to some of the apes that during his time existed on the inaccessible parts of the rock of Gibraltar, and which species, according to some, is to be found there at present.

"M. Fischer de Waldheim, in his '*Paleontologie animale systematique*, p. 132,' doubts whether the skeleton from Guadaloupe, which is considered to be human, might not rather belong to one of the *Quadrumana*;' it is only necessary however to read and consult the description and engraving of this extraordinary fossil by Mr. Koenig, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, to be thoroughly convinced that it belongs to the human species, as I can also state from having had opportunities of examining it in the collections of the British Museum in London. Thus it is certain, that till lately, no authentic traces of the *Simia* had been found in the strata of the earth, not even in the alluvial deposits, which led Cuvier to remark at page 159 on his discourse on the revolutions of the globe, 'No bone or tooth of an ape or Lemur has ever been met with by me during my long researches.' M. Lartet, however, on one hand announced to the '*Academie des Sciences*,' in his letters read at the sittings of 16th January, and 17th April, 1837, that he had just discovered in the neighbourhood of Auch, the fossil remains of an Ape, of a *Cebus*, and of a Lemur: whilst on the other hand, Messrs. Baker and Durand published they had discovered others in some of the tertiary deposits of the Himalaya Mountains. This latter is perhaps less surprising, because that country is still inhabited by some of these animals. The singularity and interest of such an unexpected discovery as that made by M. Lartet, at first threw some doubt over the correctness of his observations; so little was it expected that the bones of *Quadrumana* belonging to Asia and America, would be found to exist in deposits containing the remains of a rhinoceros, *palæotherium*, stag, and the antelope. In fact, it did not seem very unlikely that the most skilful observer, not possessing any means for comparison, except some drawings upon which but little reliance could be placed, might fall into error on this subject. The arrival of a second letter, containing a detailed account of the principal fragment, accompanied with a drawing, ought to have removed all doubt as to the correctness, at all events of a part of what M. Lartet had stated. To prove that it was not only an ape of which he spoke, but likewise a *Simia* Lar. Buff. one of the *Quadrumana* which up to the present time has been found in the islands of the Indian Archipelago only, more than one

hasty sketch was necessary, and also more than one description made without the means of comparison; M. Lartet therefore sent the specimens themselves to me for the Museum of Natural History."

Other specimens of fossil *Quadrumana* have been described by Messrs. Baker and Durand in the 53d number of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1836, and by Messrs. Falconer and Cautley.

With respect to the actual state of our knowledge of the antiquity of the *Quadrumana* on the earth, many species of apes are described in the writings of the ancients, from the time of Aristotle, 2000 years ago, and they must have been the same as those existing at present in the countries where they now abound, and fossil remains of the *Quadrumana* have been discovered in different parts of the world, the Ape or *Pithecus* has been found in the old world, the *Cebus* in the new, but the Lemur has not yet been met with at all. Fossil bones belonging to apes have been discovered in countries where those animals still abound, and in Europe where they no longer exist, or at all events only on a very small portion of it."

The discoveries alluded to in the above extracts may be partly referred to geologists in the present day being better acquainted with comparative anatomy than they were formerly, to which branch of knowledge every one should devote himself ardently, who wishes to advance geological investigation. Unfortunately the opportunities in this country for acquiring it are too few, and ought to be multiplied; we would therefore throw out a suggestion to the different geological societies, that they should not only endeavour to get together good geological collections, but likewise add to them museums of comparative anatomy. If this were done, the specimens of fossil bones might be actually compared on the spot with the skeletons of existing species, which would be the best possible exercise for the student.

The satisfactory proof which has been obtained of the existence of fossil remains of apes, shows that these animals have much greater antiquity than was formerly supposed, and overturns the theory generally admitted by geologists, that the *Simia* and man did not appear on the earth till after the last great convulsion to which it is supposed to have been subjected. This discovery of the remains of apes renders it not unlikely that before long, fossil bones of the human skeleton may also be found in some of the earlier strata; should that happen, it will be clear either that the higher orders of animals have existed for a much longer time than was formerly admitted, or else that the age of the world is not near so great as the geologists pretend it to be. There is nothing improbable in this last supposition; for after the occurrence of violent convulsions is admitted, of which geo-

logists speak so confidently in order to account for different phenomena, it is impossible to distinguish accurately all the effects produced by them, from the results proceeding from other causes slower in their operation. Hence the evidence in favour of the opinion that such immense intervals of time have elapsed between each of these convulsions is not perfectly satisfactory. We cannot conclude these remarks without observing that however captivating a study of geology may be, and however vast its import and intimate its connection with other sciences, it must be admitted that at present it is in a most crude and unsatisfactory state, and all attempts at generalisation of its principles should be undertaken with the greatest caution, for if it contain much truth, it is certain it abounds in error also.

The following account of the observations made by M. Lund, a Swedish naturalist, are rather interesting:—

"I ought further to remark, that M. Lund, a Swedish naturalist, who has passed the last five or six years in exploring the Brazils, has discovered between the rivers Rio das Velhas, one of the tributaries of the Rio San Francisco and Rio Paraopeba, numerous caverns, containing bones, in some horizontal layers of secondary lime-stone. The most interesting fact is, that M. Lund, in his letters to the Academie des Sciences this year, announces, that he has recognised among these bones, which abound in the red soil at the bottom of the caverns, fragments of more than sixty-three species of mammiferæ, belonging to forty-three genera, and that in this number there are remains of two species of *Quadrupana*, one a true *Cebus* nearly double the height of the present existing race, of which he has made a distinct species under the name of *Callithrix primævus*; the other much superior in size to the largest *Cebus*, since it is four feet high; and which he thinks belongs to a particular genus, that he proposes to call *Protopithecus*, but he has not detailed its peculiar characteristics.*"

Our limits will not allow of our offering any more observations on the work before us, except to recommend it strongly to the geologist, as one means of assisting him in the acquisition of a knowledge of comparative anatomy, and of a great deal of valuable information relative to those branches of natural history connected with geology: indeed it may be regarded as a sort of digest of the knowledge acquired by its celebrated author on these subjects, during a life of arduous labour.

* From these various examples of the early existence of the *Quadrupana* what becomes of the argument of Charles Bell, *Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 36—"There is indeed every reason to believe that the classes mammalia and birds were not created in an early condition of the earth." The strong evidence we have adduced shows that *Bridgewater Treatises* are by no means infallible, whether from a Kirby, a Bell, or a Buckland.

ART. V.—*Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*. (The French described by themselves.) Paris. 1840.

THE work before us does not describe the French, though drawn by their own hands, for the French of all nations have the least possible intuition into themselves. In point of entertainment from a work of this description, we do not look for that rich and sterling *bonhomme* in them that characterizes the English. They are more subdued in their risible faculties, and certainly are naturally incapable of the force of the English humorist or even caricaturist. All their witticisms excite nothing more than a smile, for it would be injuring "*bienséance*" to indulge in the joyous laugh. The Castilian gravity is formed of high elements of romance, but there is nothing in the Frenchman, save a want of jollity in his nature, to cause this. Strong feeling, beyond the excitement of the moment when they do wax strong indeed, is denied them. The book before us completely illustrates these remarks. We have tried to laugh at it, and are of a laughter-loving mood, but the thing is impossible. The work consists of contributions from the most eminent literary men in the French journals, in the light of surveys for an accurate description of the national character. All their efforts of this description have been failures. In 1786 they attempted a work of similar features to the present production, though confined to the fair sex only, which made its appearance with the following title;—"Les Françaises, ou 34 exemples choisis dans les Mœurs actuelles propres à diriger les Filles, les Femmes, les Epouses et les Mères." Such directions as are conveyed in this work would certainly conduct to anything but its described issue.

On the first essay, *L'Epicier*, we shall only say that it is anything but interesting; and who on such a subject can be interesting? The next, "*La Grisette*," by M. Jules Janin, contains a true picture of the class in question, which is certainly peculiar to Paris. The illustration to this is extremely descriptive of the humble-minded sempstress; but as no persons are likely to feel much interest in the adventures of Jenny the flower-girl, who performs all the offices of lay figures, besides exhibiting herself, in the state of the rival goddesses at Mount Ida, to all young artists, we shall simply give M. Jules Janin a hint that there are subjects on which it is "*peu sage*" to enlighten the public, and on which the less that is said the better. "*L'Etudiant en Droit*" is not badly sketched, and the description of the student composing romances naïf.

"His romances usually begin in this strain—'On a lovely morning of the spring, two men, enveloped in large mantles, silently descended the hill.' Or at intervals he darts thus into the midst of his subject—'By the mass!' said the young unknown, draining at a draught his goblet full of Hungarian wine, 'we live in strange times, my lords.' All his poetry is of the contemplative cast, sickly and rickety, despairing and forlorn, of which style Joseph de Lorme is the especial patron. Interjections such as 'Ah me,' abound in it. His verse is somewhat of the following character:

'Ah me, like him, the doomed of Israel's race,
My sad and solitary course I trace,
With pale and thoughtful brow;
Poison drinks up my blood—struggles are vain,
My heart is broken, to the dregs I drain
Sad misery's chalice now.'

"This strophe terminates in a cloud of smoke and tobacco, and under the influence of a bottle of eau-de-vie. Seeing that the editors and public turn their backs on him, the Student passes to the state of disappointed talent, and traversing the Pont des Arts, measures with a ferocious glance the distance which separates him from the abyss."

But wisely, we presume, considering—

"That he could die
Whenever he would,
But that he could live
But as long as he could,
How grievous soever
The torments might grow,
He scorned to endeavour
To finish it so.
But bold, unconcerned,
At thoughts of the pain,
He calmly returned
To his chambers again."

The follies herein enacted must make most men recall something similar in their own early career, and the marvel is how such silly persons could have been ever endured. The world has certainly more charity than it gets credit for.

"La femme comme il faut." Here the illustration of a person "bien propre" is extremely pleasing, and De Balzac has entered into the pettesses of the toilet with a most delicate and truly Parisian touch. We are supposed to meet the "Femme comme il faut" le soir, having previously seen her le matin, and to be the unconscious spectators of her coquetry.

"The charming deceiver uses little womanish artifices in a manner that excludes all idea of design and forecast. Has she a hand royally beautiful, the sharpest visioned would really believe that it was a matter of absolute necessity to twine, retwine, or divide either her ringlets or curls. If her profile be splendid, it will appear to you that she is giving irony or grace to what she is saying to her neighbours, by placing herself in a manner to produce that magnificent effect of subdued profile so prized by the great masters, which brings the light on the cheek.

"Has she a charming foot, she will throw herself on an ottoman with the coquetry of a cat in the sun, her feet before her, without your discovering from her attitude any thing more than the most delicious model of lassitude that the sculptor could devise. She is the only being easy in her dress, nothing

puts her out. You will never surprise her like a bourgeoisie, replacing her flying gear, pressing down an obstinate busk, or looking to see whether her tucker accomplishes its office of faithful guardianship over its wards, or surveying herself in the glass to ascertain if her dress floats lady-like around her.

"Her toilet is always in keeping with her character, she has had the time to study it, to decide on what becomes her, for she has long since discovered what does not. To be a 'femme comme il faut' it is not necessary to possess information, but it is impossible to be so without much taste."

One more extract from De Balzac's elegant little essay is all we can give.

"We shall no longer see great ladies in France, but there will be for a long time 'des femmes comme il faut' elected by the general voice to the feminine upper house, and who will be to the fair sex in general what the 'gentleman' is in England. See the force of movement. Formerly a woman might have the voice of a fish-woman, a step like a grenadier, a meretricious air, her hair loose at the back, a large foot, thick hand, she was nevertheless a great lady; but *now*, were she a Montmorenci, if the ladies Montmorenci could ever be so, she would never be a 'femme comme il faut.'"

Passing the "Débutant Littéraire" the "Femmes Politiques," the Rabin, which possess nothing remarkable, the "Femme à la Mode" is elegantly written. We extract one little trait of deep and passionate love which is well given. We are to imagine the meeting of two lovers:—"Though alone, they conversed in so low a tone, that one must love to catch those soft and gentle sounds." "La Cour d'Assises" is extremely dull. "La Mère d'Actrice" is well drawn, but we dislike extracting from such revolting pictures of life. "L'Horticulteur" contains some extremely interesting anecdotes of the passion of florists for their beau-idéal, the tulip, which took place about thirty years ago. A single bulb, the Semper Augustus, at that period was sold for 12,000 francs. The Couronne Jaune for 1,123 francs, together with a carriage with a pair of bays, and the Amsterdam newspapers of the time announced "the Admiral Liefhens is in perfect bloom with M. Berghem." An anecdote recounted of the Duchess de Berri exhibits a deplorable specimen of florist cunning. The duchess had succeeded in 1828 in rearing at Rosni rose seedlings, which produced flowers in twelve instances of remarkable beauty. She instructed Madame de la Rochejacquelein to show them to a celebrated florist. After he had examined them minutely, he pronounced three to be decidedly new varieties, and one out of the three, which far surpassed the others, was named the *Hybrid of Rosni*. Two years after, in the month of May or June, 1830, (it was the last time the duchess saw her roses bloom,) she bethought herself that she

had enjoyed for two years the unique felicity of being the sole possessor of *Hybrid of Rosni*, and that it was right others should enjoy a similar pleasure. She accordingly instructed Mad. de la Rochejacquelein to present the celebrated florist with a specimen. Madame de la Rochejacquelein found him reading in the shade of two tall rose-trees loaded with splendid flowers. He received the present with many expressions of gratitude, which this honourable and delicate attention merited. But the benefit arrived too late to be appreciated by him. In the small space of time in which the roses had been in his hands, he had contrived to abstract two eyes from the finest variety. He had grafted them with the greatest success, and received the message of the duchess under the shade of two *hybrids de Rosni*, far more beautiful varieties than any possessed by Madame.

Our next notice will be "Les Duchesses," and a very lively paper the Comte de Courchamps has made, though most amusingly ignorant of our English style and reception of certain parties. The duchess of the "ancien regime" is naturally described as pleasing her fancy with past heraldic glories. Like one English lady, to whose passion in these particulars we always lend indulgent attention, for the lips that speak of the past are unquestionably gifted with a large portion of the beauty of the present, she is invariably occupied with descents in a right line and pedigrees.

"She has got up the full importance and meaning of the bar sinister as well as the eagle without a beak, and the lion without claws, which always indicates, as every one knows, degradation or forfeiture. She disserts considerably on the Napoleon eagle, whose head the revolutionary heralds turned to the left, which makes this contorted bird describe bastardy. On this point it must be owned she triumphs most maliciously."

The description of the hereditary duchess is highly amusing.

"This variety of duchess has usually a species of Anglomania, and is almost always a blue stocking. All her valets are powdered like the postillions of Lonjumeau. He who serves as the valet de chambre is an actual 'groom of the bedchamber.' Her daughters have all English governesses. She will only speak English, though her mother and husband do not understand a word she says. She can only eat giblet soup and *bread sauce*, (how delicately ignorant, for what Englishman eats *bread sauce* alone?)—and her husband, who is an excellent Frenchman, would be very happy to see her eat 'des pigeons à la crapaudine,' or fricasseed fowl now and then; but he can only obtain his melon at the dessert, and to secure domestic comfort is then obliged to eat it with rhubarb." (We hope this is not intended "à l'Anglaise," for we do protest, though somewhat hen-pecked, as most English husbands are, that this dire fate has not yet befallen us.) "They prepare for him daily soup à l'An-

glaise, that is to say—water, pepper and thyme. He groans at his diet, (alas, poor duke!) but does not put himself at all out.

"As soon as she hears by the bell of a visit, she sets to work to read an English newspaper—an immense gazette, and the conversation always turns on the last ball at Almacks, and the abundant dinners of Prince Louis Napoleon. Afterwards they discuss most interestingly the bets on Count D'Orsay's steeple-chase at Sittingbourn, and Epsom cock-fighting. When you are not obliged to listen to the reading of a biographical or literary sketch of Lady Blessington, you must think yourself well off. But do not complain nor breathe the word Anglomania: you will injure yourself irreparably. They assimilate with that expression every possible brutality on your part. Learn also that a young gentleman is of no repute, and considered low, when he is not a member of the Jockey Club at Paris, where it is formally interdicted to converse on any other subject than women and horse-flesh. Do not think I am jesting. It is one of the principal regulations of this agreeable and sprightly association. This prohibition is always affixed in the great room:—If you wish to talk politics or discuss literature, turn out. People established so comfortably and fashionably have not occasion to bother their brains with those matters. The saloons of the Duchess are always filled with English ladies; there is consequently enormous gossiping; and were I not as I am the thirty-third millionary homœopathic particle of the most polished nation in the universe, I would say that in a house filled with English ladies there are always endless disagreeables. When the Duchess in question takes an airing in the Bois de Boulogne, her carriage is carefully furnished with a desk and inkstand, with Perry-pens, *un buvard*, and paper with large vignettes. She is always encumbered with pamphlets and unbound volumes, keepsakes, landscapes, and especially *Quarterly Reviews*. (What a strange thing it is that our lively neighbours can never put us unfortunates into our fair dimensions—and thus murder without any *quarter*.) You must understand that taking in of this review indicates the most exquisite 'fashionability.' (We have to thank the Count for a new word.) And the Right Honourable Lady Blessington has said, where we know not (we are equally ignorant), that the *Quarterly Review* is the ideal of progressive civilisation."

We must, however, protest against this, since Lady Blessington is neither Right Honourable (even in the feminine Council), nor, however her own parties may be attended by some literary men or the *roués* of fashionable life, including, of course, her daughter's husband, the count, the Stanhopes, Lord Lyndhurst, and a few others of the insouciant Melbourne genus, has she any position in good French society, and unquestionably none in England. So far from giving a tone to society, Lady Blessington is viewed only in England as a third-rate *littéraire*, if even that, a *passée* personage, and one to whom English husbands and fathers are unquestionably in no respect disposed to allow the "*pas de société*," and from whom the English matron and "high-born ladye" has ever been, and will, we trust, ever continue to be, totally removed; for not even genius can gild immorality.

In this paper and one entitled "*La Grande Dame*," the sentiments are of the highest conservative tendency, which the following description may serve to indicate:—"She who is now honoured with the appellation of *Grande Dame*, is only a caricature or antithesis of the true '*grande dame*' of the past, a majestic composition, of which all the parts were perfectly in unison, and sealed with a seal of indelible grandeur. Look at the high-born lady of the olden time; how admirably do her features, the air of her head, the general attitude of her body, harmonize and unite in the pure Greek ideal of the gods, to indicate native superiority. There is grace united to grandeur; but to a grandeur that, like the *Farnese Hercules*, feels it unnecessary to crush to maintain its unquestioned position—an assemblage of the noblest elements of choice nature, polished and repolished by time—brilliant transfiguration of a mass of glory accumulated by centuries—inscribed by a hundred generations on all the pages of our history—the high-born lady of the olden time was the blood of all those high barons of France, whose banners for ten centuries were seen in every fight by the side and almost equal to the *Oriflamme*."

As for the *Grande Dame de 1830*, we shall spare her any comparison with the above, and pass to the next, "*Le Médecin*," which is dull. "*La Figurante*" contains nothing worthy of notice. "*La Garde*" is excellent. "*La Sage Femme*" is equally good, and to us it does unquestionably appear among the most monstrous of modern indelicacies to submit females to the offices of accoucheurs. A dangerous case does not occur on an average in any thing like the hundredth instance in medical practice, and here, and here only, is the introduction of the opposite sex needed. The Greeks and Romans contrived to bring their race to their high physical excellence without any aid but women. Socrates, we all know, was a midwife's child, and all are familiar with the beautiful use he made of this circumstance. The Athenian women preferred death to relinquishing the "*Sage Femme*." While under this head we cannot help noticing the fact of the amazing mortality of the *Hospice des Enfants Trouvés*. It is found on an accurate survey, that the instances of the object of this institution, which arrive at a marriageable age, bear the ratio of 1 to 10,000. We presume the writer means that the living bear a proportion to the dead of 1 to 10; for the above is not probable. But this is enormous. Well, if it be the fact, may the writer of this article observe, that an *enfant trouvé* is nearly always an "*enfant perdu*."

Now our *Foundling Hospital* is scarcely a criterion to be depended on; but yet here the mortality among the children is as 1 to 4 on the whole period in which they continue in that establishment. But with respect to the "*Enfants Trouvés*" in France, when we consider that the poor children are leased out to wretched cottagers for 16 centimes a day, the mortality is scarcely wonderful. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact, that the poor children are, in many instances, perfectly naked when received into these asylums; the wretches who are the agents of the exposure seizing the infants' clothes to sell. The mortality among the children at the *Foundling Hospital* in this country was of immense extent during the time that it was the receptacle for these little deserted beings. When we consider the circumstances and mental affliction of the poor mother, this additional enfeebling from cruel exposure, and the subsequent treatment at the foster-mother's, possibly the riddle is read of this immense mortality.

Though we believe that the nature of the *Foundling Hospital* is very imperfectly understood in this country, we cannot but confess that this system appears to partake largely of wholesale murder, and that the present system of its governors in the reception of children may work to a better issue. We believe the following to be a fair statement of the leading object of the *Foundling Hospital*. When a young woman in service, of otherwise good character, becomes seduced under promise of marriage, and appears sincerely sorry for her fault, on the representation of a respectable individual she will generally succeed in getting her child admitted into that institution. And we think if this object were more generally understood, that great benefit might result from it; but, unfortunately, the reverse is the case. We would further suggest the necessary connection of a *Lying-in Hospital*, like "*La Maternité*," with this valuable institution; and if females were employed as midwives, it would answer the double end of an additional mean of support to that sex, together with the improvement of the national delicacy, and assurance of a competent medical skill.

The high accomplishments of the *sage femme* in Paris make her perfectly safe and fit to be entrusted with her delicate and arduous duties. The *sage femme* of *La Maternité* is a prodigy of skill. In this hospital permission is no longer given to the public to enter and inspect it. The supposed reason is, that on one occasion a curious gentleman was inspecting the institution and recognized

his own sister among the patients. These contre-temps are not uncommon in Parisian life.

We purposely abstain from the dark details at which the writer hints, to procure abortion; and we regret to say, that there are in England also many houses which are known and recognised as bearing the convenient character of either l'Hôpital de la Maternité, or even worse usages. We further regret to state, that "L'Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés" is extensively available in this country to many persons, who selfishly get rid of the offspring of crime at the small cost of passing across the Channel their unhappy victims, mothers and children.

"Le Député" forms the next, and with surprise we read the avowal, that in semi-republican France, "on ne fait plus attention qu'aux députés." Notwithstanding all the varied fortunes which France has undergone, her elective constituency is extremely small, the total number of electors amounting simply to 170,000. To this, and to the entirety of her constituency, may be ascribed the respectability of the deputies; for certainly no person in his senses would dream of describing a member of our lower house as commanding any position in society. Who regards Wakley, Warburton, Hawes, and the O'Connells, as persons fit to introduce even into middling society; if from no personal peccadilloes, they are barred out from their inbred vulgarity. The O'Connells, for example, at a party given by the member for Tipperary, smoked cigars and drank whiskey in a drawing-room filled with ladies, toasting "King Dan," and adding to their repulsive natural vulgarity and broad Irish blarney, this precious addition from their own smoke-dried "cabanes." Nothing but the House of Peers supports the entire legislature of the country from sinking into as bas-ton as a meeting of the Common Council or their constituency the Worshipful Lumber Troop. We trust Lord Stanley will at least clear out that Augean sty on the next general election; for the Irish tail is unquestionably, in point of rank, "La Coda dell'uni-verso."

"The Canoness" is elegantly written, and certainly this class forms a singular species of the society nun. But if any further illustration were needed of the extreme folly of the celibacy system, this small body would furnish it. Here are women neither spinsters, wives, nor widows, and yet, some say, exercising the several functions of all at times. Having taken the veil, but yet unveiled to all beholders;—with oratories in which they do not pray—with confessors, and yet not repentant—with lovers, and yet

affecting to renounce them. The Canoness is an hermaphrodite; one party will not have her because she is a *religieuse*, the other because she is not *religieuse*. She is not admitted among virtuous women, because her manners are too free; she is repulsed by persons of easy virtue as prudish. The devout look on her as an ungowned priest, others reproach her for being too deep with gownsmen. An antithesis to social life, a compound of opposites, a victim to an evil monkish system.

We pass on to the "Joueur d'Echecs." Here we cannot but think that the French have very unfairly assumed far more merit than they possess. Deschappelles has certainly evinced no disposition to encounter the English challenge; and we feel quite assured that Lewis would beat him if a match were undertaken, means being also adopted to enable him to give up his powers entirely to the consideration of the game, from his present important avocations as an actuary to one of our insurance offices; and were Macdonnell living, no person now in force as a chess-player could equal him in the blind game. One instance of the extreme conceit of Deschappelles shows him any thing but infallible. He had given a challenge to several distinguished English chess-players, to beat them at the blind game. Lewis was in the room: Deschappelles sat down to whist, and called the moves from the whist-table. On one occasion he requested Lewis, who was not playing, to make a move for him; Lewis did so, and instantly told him he had lost the game. Deschappelles jumped from his seat, and declared it was impossible, but the anticipated result ensued. Amid the adventurous knights who have joined Sir Palamedes in his noble game, few have attained the renown of Boy, the Syracusan. He fought Charles the Fifth, and vanquished him. Don John of Austria, the victor at Lepanto, fell beneath his hand; and this latter warrior ordered sixty-four squares of white and black marble to be formed, placing living men on them, and played the martial game with his conqueror repeatedly, each issuing his respective orders to his living men. Nor was Boy less successful in beating popes as well as kings, for Paul III. offered him a cardinal's hat, after being gloriously mated by him in the thronged Vatican. And what is more, the beautiful and pallid flower of Venice, the ward of the aged Barberigo, an enthusiast in the game, and who confined the Lady Erminia, from selfish jealousy, after a few lessons from Boy, so profited by the last that she gave *check-mate*, by her departure with him, to

the aged senator. All lovers of the game have before them Charles the Twelfth, playing his own king-like game, moving the king, however faulty, from his own natural vivacity, and losing all in this trait of character so natural to the King of Sweden. How many a gallant story connected with this game do the Eastern annals tell—of pearls of Caucasus, lights of the dim Serai passing into the possession of the successful combatant, unfolding to his moves far brighter charms than unexplored Golconda, or the dark caverns of the pearl-encircled Ceylon.

Who can forget the shriek of Zaloue from the curtain that enshrined her, when one fatal move was about to consign her from the arms of the son of Mahomet to his vizir. The whole history of chess, to say nothing of the delicious aid it lends to lovers' declarations, or the delight of appropriating to oneself a charming woman—a sweeter study than even the enchanted pieces before us—for many an hour in this most enviable "tête-à-tête," unnoticed under this pretext, both protected by the "genius loci" from all interruption or observation, save of each other—assuredly chess has recommendations such as no other source of amusement or recreation can minister. "La Maitresse de Table d'Hôte," "Le Chasseur," "La Femme de Chambre," and "L'Ami des Artistes," are not remarkable. We hate cheap dinners. The Chasseur never seems to us to possess half the character of the English sportsman, and is a much more ordinary personage. The Femme de Chambre is certainly a personage of pretension; but for L'Ami des Artistes, the whole French public is fortunately an artistic public. We have instances of splendidly munificent noblemen, as the late Lord Egremont, to whom artists should have joined in some general effort to transmit their sense of this high feeling for art. One anecdote of this amiable nobleman, for the accuracy of which we can vouch, may illustrate the character of L'Ami des Artistes. An artist had just completed the portrait of his niece, Miss Wyndham, and had succeeded, as that artist always did, in giving a lovely picture of what was really lovely, and Lord Egremont instantly prepared to settle all matters relative to the picture, expressing his entire satisfaction in the work. The artist expected to receive his ordinary terms; and the public may easily imagine the delight as well as the charming sensation of the delicate manner in which it was done, when on looking at the cheque he perceived that the amount was for 1000*l*. Possibly also his twelve children did not diminish his sense of the delicate kindness of Lord Egremont.

Here then it would appear, with respect to one branch of the fine arts, that the artiste lives by L'Ami des Artistes. But the reverse, it would seem, is the case with respect to one branch of art, the drama, in Paris. When Duchesnois died, a person met an old man who was one of her most intimate friends. He was pale, confused, awe-stricken. Every one was trying to console him; but in vain. "Her loss," he exclaimed, "does not affect me so much as her horrible ingratitude. Would you believe it; she died without leaving me any thing in her will—I who have *dined with her at her own house three times a week for thirty years*." "La Femme sans Nom" shall remain unnamed, unnoticed.

But who can tell how far nations have sinned in not providing a remedy for this evil of evils? How completely is Woman thrown out of the scale of employment, and how often do we hear of every effort made to preserve themselves from fast closing evil! The spirit in which "La femme sans Nom" is written does high honour to the philanthropic author, Taxile Delord. How many are there like his degraded heroine; and what but principles infused deep in early life into practice, a living portrait-ure of the "savoir vivre," can prevent their still further increase. Principles of high character which may ennoble the physical, elevate the moral, and awake the religious portion of her being. For with respect to the physical (except in nymphomania) she is less incited than the opposite sex; and she looks down from her position deliberately on the gulf at her feet, and all her spiritual energies can therefore be easily roused. Were she higher educated in education's noblest sense, higher principled, different results would, we are convinced, follow; for from the abstract literary woman we fly with the same horror as "La Femme sans Nom." Hemans even, we have been informed; though perfectly amiable and unexceptionable, was a person with whom few husbands could live, and totally unfitted to superintend her household. The fitting education which puts forth the duties of life in their right position, that developes their utility *here*, their consequence *hereafter*, that forms woman for healthy practical energy, that indicates the weakness of the cloister, and of those silly devotees now becoming so common in England, personal religionists, a foul affinity to a spiritual species of "Femmes sans Nom;"—this is what is requisite to produce a woman of whom it may be simply said, "Domi mansit, lanam fecit," but who has included with these fitting properties of her sex all the glorious, the un-

seen lights of the pure and noiseless duties of the matron.

"La Jeune Fille" contains some lines approaching to prettiness, but nothing further; the conclusion, which we translate, is evidently borrowed from Goldsmith's "Edwin and Angelina:"

"And what is youth? a meteor light,
A day fast breaking forth from night;
Whose azure fades by time's foul power,
A lightning flash mid waters lost,
Presaging to the passion tost,
Ruin in later hour."

The poverty of the stock of physical objects of the writer is clearly indicated in the above extract, in which a meteor and lightning are both applied in illustration of the same image. The French will never write poetry, their language denies them the power, and they have never attained any higher elevation than the "platitudes" of Akenside or Rogers.

"Le Pair de France." There is very little general interest in this paper and the next, "L'Elève du Conservatoire." It is, however, "en passant," rather remarkable that the French House of Peers has gained by the Revolution. Before 1789 Dukes and Peers had no political power in France, and Louis XVIII. first raised them into a third estate. The revolution of July confirmed his decree; but in 1830 the Bench of Bishops all vanished, and only one spiritual peer was present at that day of rule of the sovereign people—the Abbé Montesquiou. He entered the chamber with his hair powdered, dressed in black, took the oath in a low tone, sat a moment, not far from the ministerial side, then quitted it without ever returning; and with him vanished the solitary exemplar of the priest, legislator and judge. We may further add that in France the number of peers is unlimited, and the peerage now not hereditary. Two fatal blows to the aristocracy, which will prevent while they continue in force any thing like the independence of the British House. With respect, however, to the first, even the present ministry dare not attempt any addition or encroachment; and never in the wildest vagaries of imagination dreamt of essaying the second.

Our old acquaintance, the inimitable French postillion, forms the subject of a very spirited paper, and "La Nourrice sur Place," but the poor foster-mother we fear is harshly dealt with. But in England we have very few comparatively with France, where they form a large class, and their mothers actually reckon their services in these points as so much dower to their husbands. "L'Employé," "L'Ame méconnue"—both

these pieces are excellent in their way. "L'Ecclesiastique:" this contains some sadly morbid and distorted views of Christianity. To class Protestantism, philosophy and indifference among the enemies of Catholicism, and as only known for the bad passions innate in the three, is so utterly absurd that we stop not to refute it. Protestants of all religious denominations form unquestionably the one that adheres with the greatest zeal to fixed expressions of opinion. They have no identity with the pseudo-rationalists, though just appreciators of reason. So far are they from favouring indifferentism or philosophic scepticism, that they bind themselves into the strictest adherence to their articles, and view nothing as an article of faith that has not its sanction in the Bible, and though attached to pure philosophy, yet they hold this as not contradictory of their holy faith, but the closest moral assimilation to it, for no one can deny that the Aristotelian Ethics, or the Dialogues of Plato contain strong affinities in moral likeness to the Christian faith, although they may fail in its high and ennobling sanctions to holiness, or in its earnest of futurity.

What has sunk the Roman Catholic ascendancy every where but its dangerous and treasonable tendency? what has debased its ministry but their tenacious adherence to error, with the same pertinacity as truth, that still distinguishes it? what has rendered persons distrustful of their ministrations but the open vice and the dangerous access to their homes of a priesthood of avowed celibacy, even when endued with strong religious feeling, still human in passion, and if not so, causing just apprehension of exciting an abstract devotee spirit amid their females? The revenue assigned to the Church in France scarcely gives even the average of 50*l.* per annum for each of the 30,000 priests, and does not allow of more than one priest to a thousand souls. In England also, the destitution, though not so great, is sadly to be deplored, for of the total number of English benefices, 10,478, 4000 nearly are under 200*l.* per annum, and upwards of 9000 under 500*l.* per annum, a state of things that calls loudly for some alteration, and which all the specious reasoning of Sidney Smith, a reformer *out* of place, a stickler for the "status quo" when *in*, contemptible as a disputant, mighty only as a jester, scurrilous as Swift, without his talent—cannot uphold. The cathedral preferments must, under this state of things, unless six millions be voted to Sir Robert Inglis, be applied to raising the value of small benefices, and twelve respectable parish priests with 300*l.* a year

each will do more good in their generation than a legion of Sidney Smiths sitting in cathedrals and doling out their modicums of wisdom to their few stray hearers. The commissioners for building new churches aided to some extent this desirable end; but their power is sadly limited, their means of endowment too small, and certainly it is high time that England should be divided into ecclesiastical districts, with efficient superintendence. The parish in which these observations are penned consists of 40,000 souls. The rector has a clear income of nearly 2000*l.* per annum. Now is this income to be treated as *his*, or his for *certain uses*. We think the last, and that he should be compelled to provide for the spiritual necessities of the people at some personal sacrifice, but this he refuses to do. Under these circumstances, we conceive that he ought to be forced to provide for the increased spiritual exigencies, or to resign his preferment, since he does not discharge the condition under which he holds. For as his income has increased by population, so ought he to provide against the exigencies of the population.

We do not say to a ruinous extent, but all these large incomes, of which there are not 200 in the entire country, certainly ought to be made more available. They are but few—but still ought to be better applied; 134 of 1000*l.* and under 1500*l.*; 32 of 1500*l.*; and under 2000*l.*; 18 of 2000, and upwards. Stanhope is 4843*l.*; Doddington, 7306*l.* The population of the first is only 4800, of the second 7527; the united population nearly equalling united income. Now let us look at what the income from these two livings properly diffused could effect. It would supply forty parishes each with a minister, possessing 300*l.* per annum. This may have too utilitarian an aspect, we admit. The church property we are also prepared to show is inalienable from church uses, but ought to be applied to them in the most available form. Existing rights should be respected as far as this, that if the Government were to make a new distribution, it ought to indemnify present occupants. Giving, for example, to the patron a fair number of years' purchase, but still requiring incumbents of large incomes to make suitable provisions for the edification of the people. No man when he takes a large parish ought to consider himself the unquestionable possessor of it as a nobleman is of his estate. The law, as it at present stands, and the principles of church extension have been so well understood during the last ten years, that it is idle to plead ignorance, and it is shameful to trace a

clergyman simply occupied in his own aggrandizement, quietly suffering the people to be demoralized and his labouring brethren around him wholly unsupported, and having recourse to every exertion for the bare means of subsistence. The world may do so, but surely the Church should be *self-sacrificing*. The priest of the Romish communion repeatedly makes vows of poverty and celibacy; is it too much to demand of the son of the true Church, of the reason-illuminated Protestant, of the great grasper of the system of Christ in all its purity and vigour, that he should submit to the deprivation of a few luxuries in order that his brethren may be possessed with even means of livelihood.

We shall here terminate our notice of Les Français, which, as a whole, is extremely feeble when viewed as a delineation of national character. The idea was well conceived, but the execution is not equal to the original conception. It does not describe the French as a people, and writers of a higher power than a few sparkling essayists are requisite to give us the living form and image of the time. Still is there much well conceived and fairly expressed; but the illustrations want the power of our Cruikshank, and though good in some instances are feeble in general character. We cannot say that the French ladies owe their designers much gratitude. There really is not a single pretty face in the entire work, which is a leading defect, and very apparent to English eyes familiarized to home loveliness, and its beautiful and highly finished portraiture from the burin.

We trust some future Bayard, "*sans peur et sans reproche*," will exhibit, for the honour of France, demoiselles at least as remarkable for their native beauties as for their artificial tournure, and that *the lady* will appear equally characterized by face as well as fashion; the first being nature's aristocracy, the second art's, and of easily attainable resemblance. We cannot conclude, however, without stating our satisfaction at the improved moral tone of most of the essayists, and the kindly spirit to our country and obvious study of some branches of English literature, which they evince. We trust that this will increase between us; both may be benefited by it, we are fully convinced; and the interest of the two leading powers in civilisation being closely united, we are satisfied that we could bide the buffet of the world; for that which England has done singly, it is not Quixotism to anticipate she may again do conjointly with France, her most powerful ancient foe becoming her strongest friend.

All enlightened views of a higher policy

than has hitherto been adopted proceed from France and England. The influence of the former opened even the foul dungeons of Spielberg, and the sight of a British man-of-war soon brings even the Neapolitan to his senses. Italy may yet claim a little further British attention, and it is deeply to be regretted that on the termination of the war some of her states were not freed from Austrian despotism. France has long kept her eye upon Piedmont, but any attempt at occupancy there would be useless and ungenerous. Neither power requires increase of territory. What has France gained by Algiers? But each should assuredly look to the independence of Italy as forming the strongest barrier against the despotism of Vienna and Russia, who is touching on her confines through her agent the nominal sovereign of Greece. It is mighty to conquer: it is mightier far to raise the conquered in strain and character.

ART. VI.—1. *Italien. Beiträge zur kenntniss dieses Landes*, von Friedrich von Raumer. (Raumer's Italy.) 2 vols. Leipzig.

2. *Papers relative to the Sulphur Monopoly in Sicily. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of her Majesty.*

PROFESSOR VON RAUMER went to Italy about the middle of last year, to examine the archives of the principal cities of that land of ancient associations, with a view to the completion of some important historical works on which he was engaged. He carried with him the most powerful recommendations from his own government; and on his way through Vienna, he had the good fortune to obtain from Prince Metternich personal introductions to most of the principal public functionaries, not only in the Austrian states, but in those likewise that by courtesy are called independent. He had access, in consequence, to official information of various kinds, that from all travellers before him had been most religiously concealed; and while diligently exploring the annals of former times, he became acquainted with a multitude of statistical and municipal details respecting the present condition of the country, which he has put together into two moderately sized volumes, that will be read with interest by all those who take delight in inquiring into the causes of the general welfare of large communities.

Some of his friends appear to have thought that these statistical notices would be deemed

tedious by the majority of readers; and in deference to this opinion, he has interwoven into his work a kind of personal narrative of his journey. We are by no means certain that he has acted judiciously in doing so. The instructive portion of his volumes we are disposed to look on as by far the most amusing part; and it is only where the worthy professor attempts to be playful, that we have found him a dull companion. He has arranged matters, however, in such a manner, that those who wish only to amuse themselves with the usual chit-chat of tourists, may be spared the details of a more serious kind; for the work is written in letters, and it is easy for the reader, on coming to a new letter, to know, at the first glance, whether it is the author's intention to be in a playful or in a grave mood.

Professor von Raumer is what is called a liberal in politics; yet from the beginning to the end of his work, he is an apologist of the Austrian government, and an unsparing censor of all those who look back with regret to the days when the French held sway in Italy. This is something new. Liberalism in Italy has so long been wont to go hand in hand with Gallomania, and so rarely has a voice been raised in justification of Metternich's government, that when a professed liberal comes forward, to show that at no period during the last eight centuries has Italy been so happy, so prosperous, or so well governed as at present, the novelty of the position can scarcely fail to command our attention, more particularly when we find it supported by the sturdy and unanswerable rhetoric of statistical details.

We are disposed to believe with M. von Raumer, that the Austrian sway in Italy has not in general been fairly judged. Most of the accounts hitherto published have proceeded from the pens of political refugees, or of French enthusiasts of the Napoleon school. Our English travellers have, with few exceptions, visited Italy with preconceived notions, which they have wanted time and opportunity to correct; for in countries where the press is entirely enslaved, and publicity of every kind is carefully avoided by those in power, it requires a longer residence to enable a stranger to judge with accuracy of political institutions, than in those where the strongest light is thrown upon every public question by free inquiry and unrestricted discussion. If, however, the Italian administration of Metternich has not been fairly judged, it is his own policy that is chiefly to blame. His morbid apprehension of every thing approaching to the expression of public opinion has not imposed silence on his enemies in France and England, but it has prevented

those who alone were qualified to advocate his measures from entering the literary arena ; and the consequence has been, that while the vices of his government have been studiously held up to public reprobation, little or nothing has been made known of the many redeeming characteristics by which the despotism of Austria has all along been modified.

While, however, we are willing to believe, with the worthy professor, that the Austrian system of government in Italy is not so bad by any means as it has generally been painted, yet we are far from admitting the force of those facts and arguments by which he endeavours to prove it to be the best and most unobjectionable which the lovely peninsula has known, since the day when the stranger first began to exercise his rule. With all the vices inseparable from the aristocracies of Venice and Genoa, we believe that both cities, as well as their dependent territories, had they been restored to independence at the general peace, would have derived greater advantages from five-and-twenty years of uninterrupted tranquillity, than have fallen to their lot while under the sceptre of foreign sovereigns. Mr. von Raumer is not perhaps himself aware of the extent to which his political judgment has been influenced by the urbanity of prince Metternich's reception, and by the courteous treatment which the prince's introductions every where secured to their bearer. Perhaps also the extravagant libels heaped on the Austrian government by the liberals of France may have stimulated the professor, in the warmth of his zeal, to rush into the opposite extreme. Hence, we presume, arises his apparent oblivion of the fact, that Italy has been for five-and-twenty years at peace. It is, we believe, to the duration of so inestimable a blessing, rather than to the profound wisdom of the Austrian administration, that many of those improvements in the social condition of the country, for the truth of which we are quite willing to take his word, are mainly to be attributed.

From the preceding remarks, our readers will perceive, that it is only with certain limitations we adopt the views of our author. His facts, we have no doubt, are correct ; indeed, in most instances, they are derived from official sources ; but in the inferences that he draws from them, he allows himself to be carried away by his admiration of the man, whom he repeatedly proclaims as " the first statesman of the day." With this warning to put them on their guard, our readers may safely adopt the professor as a guide. He will be found an amusing and instructive companion, and the information which he has

it in his power to communicate, is exactly that which we seek for in vain from all preceding writers on Italy.

No part of Italy suffered more from French domination, none has prospered more since its reunion with the Austrian monarchy, than Trieste. In four years of French occupation (from 1808 to 1812) the number of inhabitants dwindled from 40,000 to 20,000 ; at present it exceeds 54,000, and the high price of labour is a satisfactory proof, that though there be an increasing there is certainly no redundant population. In this, however, there is nothing surprising. Trieste, it must be remembered, was not annexed to the dominions of Austria by conquest, but by a spontaneous act of the citizens themselves. In 1382 the little republic placed itself of its own accord under the protection of the more powerful state, and stipulated at the time for certain rights and privileges, which have never been infringed upon by the emperors, except by mutual consent. In 1717, under Charles VI., a most important modification occurred in the municipal government of Trieste ; the city abandoned a part of its privileges, in consideration of its being constituted a free port, and thus became the great maritime emporium for the Austrian monarchy.

The usual consequence of an unshackled trade ensued. In about forty years, the population, which in 1717 had amounted only to 5600, increased to 20,000, and in 1804 was computed at 40,000. Nor was commercial freedom the only privilege which the inhabitants of Trieste enjoyed and still enjoy. They are liable to no taxes but those imposed by themselves, a moderate fixed sum, annually paid into the imperial treasury, constituting the whole extent of their fiscal liability to the state. They are free moreover from the conscription, and exempt from having troops quartered upon them. All these local privileges were suspended during the period of French occupation, and the continental system of Napoleon annihilated the whole commerce of the place. On the expulsion of the French, the privileges of Trieste were to a great extent restored. The annual contribution to the Austrian treasury was indeed augmented from 16,000 florins to 500,000 florins ; but the important immunities of the free port, and the exemption of the inhabitants from state taxation and military liability, were restored in their full force, and the natural consequence has been a rapid and still advancing career of prosperity.

Such has not been the fate of Venice. It is difficult to imagine a more striking contrast than that which the activity of Trieste

presents to the listless apathy of the dis-crowned Queen of the Waters. Mr. von Raumer finds consolation in the belief that the further decay of Venice has been arrested, and that the measures of Austria have at least succeeded in making the population stationary; but in what condition do we find that population? Of 100,000 inhabitants, no less than 52,443 in the regular receipt of eleemosynary relief! More than half the population supported by public charity, and no less than 800 patricians subsisting on a miserable pittance doled out by a foreign master! Professor von Raumer hints a belief, that the immense sums thus expended in public charity may be among the main causes of the wretchedness of Venice.

Our author no sooner quits the Austrian territory than he assumes the censor, an office, however, which he exercises with exemplary moderation. He sees much, indeed, to disapprove of in the administration of the Sardinian dominions, and assuredly the facts that he states would have justified a much severer tone of condemnation. In no part of Italy does the intolerant spirit of popery manifest itself in so odious a form as in Piedmont. The Protestant Waldenses are no longer hunted like wild beasts through their valleys by fanatical zealots, nor forced to wander away by hundreds and thousands to seek an asylum and a resting place in the most remote parts of Europe; but persecution is not the less active against them, though persecution has assumed, in some measure, the milder form of contumely and political disqualification. The Protestants of Piedmont are shut up within their valleys, and are not allowed to add by purchase to their real property. A natural child is to be taken away from the mother, that it may be reared in the Catholic faith; and this, though the father should declare himself willing to marry her; nay, the Catholic priest is authorized by law to withdraw from their parents' care even legitimate children, as soon as these declare their willingness to be converted to the Roman faith; and to make such a declaration, a boy is considered sufficiently old at twelve, and a girl at eleven. "The means employed for the attainment of such a declaration," observes Raumer, "are never disapproved of; on the contrary, the seducers, if successful, are always considered to have performed a meritorious act."

A considerable portion of Raumer's work is taken up by a minute account of the schools and universities of Italy, and we must own we were not prepared to find that so much had been done and was still doing

for public education, as appears to have been effected in Venetian Lombardy. A complete system of national education has been established, with the regular gradation of elementary, commercial, and classical schools, all maintained at the cost of the state; and already, in 1837, there were 4531 elementary schools (including 726 private establishments), and only 66 communes remained unprovided. The expenditure for these elementary schools amounted in 1837 to the sum of 507,000 florins. Of this, 21,000 florins were derived from private endowments, 423,000 florins were contributed by the communes, and 63,000 florins by the state. The efforts of the government have not, however, been everywhere seconded by the people; for two-fifths of the children of Lombardy, it is calculated, are allowed to neglect the advantages thus provided for them by the state, although the instruction at these schools is entirely gratuitous, the only expense to which the parents are subjected, being the purchase of books.

In the Sardinian states the government has done less for education; and the schools that have been established are completely under the control of the popish clergy, who occupy nearly the whole of the school hours in religious exercises.

In the South of Italy, in the Roman and Neapolitan dominions, little or nothing has yet been done for public instruction. During the French occupation, a multitude of brilliant plans were committed to paper, but never assumed a more substantial form.

Few countries in the world are more advantageously situated than Naples and Sicily for the attainment of a high degree of commercial and social prosperity; and should a rational system of government ever find its way into that part of the world, it is difficult to calculate the political importance to which the Neapolitan monarchy might rise. Unfortunately, however, the legislation and state policy of that kingdom are the most perfect model that can well be imagined of what a prudent government ought to shun and condemn. The corn laws of the country, instead of protecting agriculture, appear to have been enacted for the express purpose of discouraging production, and a recent act—we allude to the sulphur monopoly, of which so much has lately been said and written—affords unquestionably the most unique specimen of political imbecility, with which any European government has ventured to astonish the world during the last twenty years. As this is a subject that has of late occupied a very considerable share of public attention, we shall devote to it the greater part of the present article, and this

we shall do the more willingly, as our English readers will soon have abundant opportunities of judging of the general value of Professor von Raumer's work, of which a translation has been announced as on the eve of publication.

"You remember, no doubt," writes our author in one of his letters, "how it was customary in our younger days to put into the hands of schoolboys certain Latin compositions, into which were crowded all imaginable violations of grammar and syntax, by correcting which the student was to learn how Latin ought *not* to be written. The same plan appears to have been acted on in Naples respecting the sulphur trade. The late laws and ordinances on this subject are admirably calculated to show how, according to the dictates of sound policy, matters of this kind ought not to be treated. The compact between the government and the Taix company more particularly is such a *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, that it will be difficult to find its parallel in the modern financial history of Europe."

Professor von Raumer views the question simply as one affecting the interests of Sicily, which have been sold by the king and those about him to a private company for a pecuniary bribe. In England we are bound to consider it chiefly as an attack on the rights and immunities guaranteed to British merchants by the commercial treaty of 1816. Our German laughs at the folly, our business is to protest against the knavery, of the act.

Sulphur constitutes the most important article of exportation from Sicily, since the corn-trade, the ancient source of wealth to the island, has been destroyed by the folly of its rulers. Some years ago, in consequence of over speculation, a reaction took place, that led to a great depression in the price of sulphur. As is usual on such occasions, the producers, instead of considering whether they might not themselves have been in a great measure the cause of such a state of things, began to grumble, and to call on their government to do something to raise prices and increase profits, as if government regulations, and not the balance between supply and demand, could fix the price at which merchandise should be bought and sold.

"Certain interested individuals," continues von Raumer, "took advantage of this popular delusion, and one Monsieur Taix handed in a grand plan for the relief of the said producers. Undismayed by the rejection of this plan, on its being submitted to a Sicilian deputation, Monsieur Aycard came forward with a second, and afterwards with a third, in which it was declared to be exceedingly foolish to allow the proprietors of sulphur mines to exhaust them by excessive working, and that the state must interfere to control private interest, and dissipate 'the idle dream of a free trade.' The monopoly of sulphur, it was added, was one with which Nature herself had endowed the island, but which it was

necessary to maintain and secure against foreigners. It would be better for Sicily to produce *little* sulphur, and to obtain for that little *much* money. By means of a privileged commercial company alone could so desirable an end be attained; and accordingly Messrs. Taix, Aycard and Co., out of pure magnanimity, agreed to take the arduous task upon themselves, undertaking at the same time to make roads, distribute alms, indemnify mine owners, and establish a mineralogical cabinet in Palermo! Arguments of this kind imposed upon many simple-minded individuals; *other means were employed to gain over other persons*; an investigation in full council was carefully avoided; and the conduct of the whole affair was entrusted chiefly to *one* minister."

The learned professor goes on, at considerable length, to show the disastrous consequences which must ensue to Sicily herself from the adoption of this preposterous specimen of petty tyranny, which we believe the king himself most heartily repents of, and which, in the end, will probably turn out to be a losing speculation to all concerned, with the exception only of those who have pocketed the bribes for which they sold themselves and their country to the monopolists.

The first mistake of his Neapolitan majesty was to suppose that nature had really endowed Sicily with the exclusive privilege of supplying the world with sulphur. This mineral is found in the vicinity of almost all great volcanoes, and may be obtained in great abundance from Iceland, Teneriffe, Java, &c. If Sicily has hitherto enjoyed an almost exclusive trade in sulphur, the island stands indebted for the advantage, in a great measure, to commercial habit. When a country once obtains possession of any particular branch of trade, the advantage is rarely lost, except by some great legislative blunder. Sicily might have gone on providing the manufacturers of England and France with sulphur for centuries to come; but should the new policy of shortening the supply be persevered in, new mines will be opened elsewhere to make good the deficiency, and the end will be the entire destruction of almost the only remaining trade of that much mis-governed island. As the real history of this question may be new to the majority of our readers, we will give a short sketch of its biography, and for this purpose we will take our facts chiefly from the letters of the Sicilian ministers themselves, as given in the papers recently laid before both Houses of Parliament by her majesty's command.

It was in the year 1836 the rumour first got abroad in Sicily, that a company was to be established, which should have the sole right of purchasing, at fixed prices, whatever sulphur might be produced within the island. This company, it was added, was to have the

exclusive privilege of exporting that mineral, whether in a raw or refined state; and this patent right was to continue for ten years, on condition that the patentees expended £10,000 a year in the constructing of roads, besides paying £500 a year to a newly established workhouse.

The British merchants were seriously alarmed at this report, and not without good reason. The way in which this trade is generally carried on, is by undertaking to furnish a given quantity of sulphur on a given day at a certain price, and this practice has been recognized as legal by the Neapolitan tribunals, which strictly enforce the performance of such bargains. At the time the rumour first got abroad, that the monopoly was about to be established, the English houses in Sicily and Naples were under contract for the delivery of large quantities of sulphur, at twelve and eighteen months after date. The terms of these contracts always are, that the seller is to put it at his risk and charge on board of the buyer's vessel, and give over to the said buyer the usual custom-house pass for the sulphur. The Italian formula, which is extremely clear on this head, says:—" *Spediti dalli venditori per fuori regno alla vela fino in barca grande, con licenza d'imbarco alle mani, e franchi di qualunque spesa alli compratori.*" It frequently happens, moreover, that parties in England or France forward orders to Sicily to purchase sulphur at a certain price (calculated in pounds sterling or francs) free on board, with instructions not to charter a vessel, as care will be taken to send one out from England or France. It requires only a moment's consideration, to feel that merchants under heavy contracts of this nature could expect nothing less than complete ruin from a sudden augmentation in the price of sulphur, occasioned by the establishment of a privileged company, who would have it in their power to impose what terms they pleased upon those under the necessity of buying.

The second cause of apprehension to the British merchants in Sicily was of a different character. A number of them had become lessees of sulphur mines under very peculiar circumstances. It appears that, somewhere about the year 1835, Mr. W. J. Craig, from Glasgow, visited Sicily, and made a tour through its mining districts, where he convinced himself that some of the large sulphur mines which were under water might be drained by the aid of improved pumps worked by steam, and be again rendered productive and profitable to their owners. For undertakings of such magnitude, how-

ever, the capital was not to be found in Sicily. Mr. Craig, therefore, on his return, laid his views before some Glasgow and Liverpool merchants, and these, in conjunction with two English houses at Palermo, determined to enter on the speculation. Among the large mines that, owing to their being under water, had become quite valueless to their owners, were those of Riesi and Portella di Pietro, belonging to the Duke of Fuentes, who offered to let them on almost any terms. They were taken by the British merchants above alluded to on a nine years' lease, the lessees engaging, by way of rent, to pay one-fourth of the produce to the duke. Steam engines were procured from England, together with engineers, workmen, &c., and it was just when the accuracy of Mr. Craig's anticipations had become evident, and the speculators were looking forward to a large remuneration for their outlay, that the disastrous decree of 1838 appeared. Several other mines had in the mean time been taken on lease in different parts of the island by British capitalists from Prince Trabia, the Duke of Monteleone, and other Sicilian nobles; large sums had been expended on the mines, and in some instances, large pecuniary advances had been made to the proprietors, for which the lessees would no doubt have been amply remunerated, had the trade not suddenly been converted into a monopoly, which left the British capitalists no other choice than to dispose of their leases, together with the costly machinery, to the monopolists, at almost any price which the latter might be willing to give.

The British merchants in Sicily, naturally alarmed at the first rumour of a project likely to prove so ruinous to their interests, made application to Mr. Temple, the British minister at Naples, who immediately inquired of the minister for the affairs of Sicily as to the truth of these rumours. From that gentleman Mr. Temple obtained an assurance, "that he did not approve of the project, as he was averse to all such monopolies; that the construction of roads was a matter in which the government and the landed proprietors ought alone to be concerned; and that he might rest satisfied, that the project would not receive the sanction of his government."

This assurance was deemed satisfactory, and more than a twelvemonth elapsed before anything farther was heard of the matter. In September, 1837, however, the merchants of Palermo learned, to their great surprise, that the project had been formally submitted to the government in Sicily, which had approved of it by a majority of seven to four, and that Monsieur Taix, with whom the plan originated, had left Palermo for Naples, to

obtain the king's sanction to this decision of the Sicilian government. Application was, in consequence, again made to the British minister at Naples, who in his first letter to Lord Palmerston on the subject says:—

"I thought it right, in consequence of this information, to call again upon M. Franco and upon Prince Cassaro, when they both assured me that they disapproved of the project. M. Franco repeated to me his former objections to it, and added as another reason for opposing it, that M. Taix, not possessing any capital, would be unable to give any sufficient guarantee for carrying his part of the contract into effect.

"I represented to Prince Cassaro the great injury which the British, and indeed all other commercial interests, would suffer in Sicily by the proposed measure; and the injustice which would be done to parties who had already made contracts for the delivery of sulphur, and had vested considerable capital in that branch of commerce; and I added, that it appeared to me to be contrary to the stipulations of the treaty between England and Naples, that this government should prohibit British subjects from trading with private individuals in any article of commerce, and should favour other parties, whether foreign nations or private companies, by granting them exclusive privileges, to the injury of British trade.

"M. de Tallenay has received instructions from the French Government to use every endeavour to oppose the establishment of this monopoly, and to act in concert with me for that purpose. He has, therefore, also made representations to this government upon the subject. From the language of M. Franco and Prince Cassaro, I do not think it probable that M. Taix will succeed in his applications; but it is impossible to answer for the effect which private influence or erroneous ideas may produce. I wish therefore to receive the opinion of my government upon the subject, and instructions respecting the course I should pursue in case the matter is further proceeded in."

Lord Palmerston writes in reply, under date of the 27th October, 1837:—

"I have to desire that you will lose no time in apprising Prince Cassaro, that her majesty's government cannot consider the grant of such a monopoly in any other light than as an infraction of the treaty of 1816, the fourth article of which expressly stipulates that British commerce in general, and the British subjects who carry that commerce on, shall be treated throughout the dominions of the king of the two Sicilies upon the same footing as the commerce and subjects of the most favoured nations, not only with respect to the persons and property of such British subjects, but also with regard to every species of article in which they may traffic."

A long and tedious correspondence hereupon ensued between Mr. Temple and Prince Cassaro at Naples, and between Lord Palmerston and Count Ludolf in London, the Neapolitan diplomatists maintaining that the monopoly was no infraction of the treaty. This they were able to do with the better grace, in consequence of Lord Palmerston's mistake, in resting his case on the fourth article of the treaty, whereas it is

the fifth article only, on which any strong claim can really be founded. This treaty ought to have been printed in the papers laid before parliament, for without it the whole correspondence is obscure. It will be found, however, in the *Annual Register* for 1817, and the following are the fourth and fifth articles, upon which the whole question turns:—

"Art. 4. His majesty the king of the two Sicilies promises that British commerce in general, and the British subjects who carry it on, shall be treated throughout his dominions upon the same footing as the most favoured nations, not only with respect to the persons and property of the said British subjects, but also with regard to every species of article in which they may traffic, and the taxes or other charges payable on the said articles, or on the shipping in which the importations shall be made.

"Art. 5. With respect to the personal privileges to be enjoyed by the subjects of his Britannic majesty in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, his Sicilian majesty promises, that they shall have as free and undoubted right to travel and to reside in the territories and dominions of his said majesty, subject to the same precautions of police, which are practised towards the most favoured nations. They shall be entitled to occupy dwellings and warehouses, and to dispose of their personal property of every kind and description by sale, gift, exchange, or will, and in any other way whatever, without the smallest loss or hindrance being given them on that head. They shall not be obliged to pay, under any pretence whatever, other taxes or rates than those which are paid, or hereafter may be paid by the most favoured nations in the dominions of his said Sicilian majesty. They shall be exempt from all military service whether by land or sea; their dwellings, warehouses, and every thing belonging or appertaining thereto for objects of commerce or residence, shall be respected. They shall not be subject to any vexatious search or visits. No arbitrary examination or inspection of their books, papers, or accounts, shall be made under the pretence of the supreme authority of the state, but these shall alone be executed by the legal sentence of the competent tribunals. His Sicilian majesty engages on all these occasions to guarantee to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, who shall reside in his states and dominions, the preservation of their property and personal security, in the same manner as those are guaranteed to his subjects and to all foreigners belonging to the most favoured and most highly privileged nations."

The last sentence, it appears to us, contains the whole gist of the argument, and on that, and not on the fourth article, ought Lord Palmerston to have rested his remonstrance. His Sicilian Majesty guarantees to British subjects the same security of person and property as to his own subjects or to foreigners belonging to the most highly favoured nations. Under what plea, then, can he attempt to grant to a private company, whether composed of foreigners or of Sicilians, commercial privileges by which British subjects are deprived of the power of selling their property except at an enormous loss? Lord Palmerston is wrong in

laying so much stress upon the circumstance that the monopoly is granted to foreigners; had it been granted to Sicilians, or even to an English company, the act would equally have been an infraction of the treaty of 1816.

The correspondence between the British and Neapolitan governments, though it did not prevent the odious decree of 1838 from being issued, led at least to a modification of the first plan. The ingenuity of M. Santangelo, the minister for the interior, and the chief abettor of the scheme, was set to work, to secure all the effects of a monopoly by means of a decree from which the word monopoly should be carefully excluded. By such a wretched device did the Neapolitan government imagine they could impose upon the government and people of England! The royal decree or *rescritto*, constituting the privileged company, was signed at Naples on the 27th of June, and officially announced at Palermo on the 4th of July, 1838. We cannot spare room for the whole of this wordy document, but the following, from one of Mr. Kennedy's letters to Lord Palmerston, affords a fair abstract:

"Article 1 institutes the company of Taix, Ay-card and Co. (of Marseilles.)"

"Article 2 computes the annual quantity of sulphur exported at 900,000 cantars, and fixes the quantity to be henceforth raised at 600,000 cantars, which the company is to purchase, and awards a compensation of 4 carlins per cantar to the proprietors of mines for the 300,000 cantars which they are no longer to raise.

"Articles 3, 4, 5, relate to the manner in which the annual produce of each mine is to be ascertained, on its average produce during the years 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1837, or of the last year in which it was at work, if shut up at present, and according to the determined quantity the proprietor is to receive a fixed price for the two-thirds of the whole which he may extract, and the compensation of 4 carlins per cantar for the third which he must no longer extract.

"Article 6 determines that the deficit of one mine shall increase the produce of the others, unless the government allow the opening of another.

"Articles 7, 8, 9, relate to the obligation imposed upon the company to buy the sulphur at certain fixed prices, viz. from 21 to 25 taris per cantar, according to the quality, taking one-half of the quantity offered immediately for prompt payment, and the other half on payments within fixed periods—and to keep 150,000 cantars always ready for the demands of trade.

"Article 10 allows every body to sell their sulphur to whom they please (vide article 18).

"Article 11 fixes the periods of payment of the 4 carlins indemnity for the sulphur not to extracted.

"Articles 12 and 13 fix the capital, or security found by the company, at 1,200,000 ducats, two-thirds of which are to be paid up by instalments by October, the remaining third to be divided into shares, bearing 6 per cent. interest, and to be offered to proprietors and lessees of mines and Neapolitan subjects, and if the shares be not filled up by December the company is to pay up the deficit.

"The government associates itself to the company, and adds 600,000 ducats to the capital, thus making it 1,800,000 ducats.

"Article 14. The company is to pay from 1839 to the government 400,000 ducats annually for all the advantages they receive, at fixed periods—for the remaining five months of the present year they are to pay 66 2/3 grains per cantar for the sulphur exported, and the salary of the royal commissioners.

"Article 15 appoints three royal commissioners to represent the government, and superintend the execution of the regulations.

"Article 16 obliges the company to pay to the proprietors of mines one-third in advance upon their sulphur, for which good security can be given.

"Article 17 fixes the price at which the company is obliged to sell the sulphur—viz. at from 41 to 45 carlins the cantar, according to its value.

"Article 18 authorizes the company to receive two ducats per cantar for all sulphur exported without being sold to them.

"Article 19 confers the title of royal refinery upon the refinery of sulphur—established by Mons. Taix—at Girgenti, and grants to the proprietor of the same the privilege of exporting annually 20,000 cantars of sublimed sulphur free of duty. The proprietor, on the other hand, engages to supply the royal powder magazines of the departments of war and marine with brimstone gratis.

"Article 20 confirms the existing regulations for the working of sulphur mines.

"Article 21 allows the company to export, but not to sell its sulphur without the agency of royal brokers.

"Article 22. The company engages, within four years from its institution, to establish at its own expense a manufactory of sulphuric acid, of sulphate of soda, and of soda, and to employ and teach Sicilian apprentices.

"Article 23. The privileges of the company are granted for ten years, from the 1st of August, 1838.

"Article 24. On any difficulty arising, the commissioners, on the representations of the company, are to submit to the government the best means of remedying any injury likely to accrue to the company or any individual.

"Article 25. If the company exceed the sale of 600,000 cantars of sulphur, the government is to have one-third of the profits arising therefrom.

"Article 26 fixes the weights and measures."

By the 10th and 18th articles, it will be seen the exportation of sulphur by private individuals is permitted; but on what conditions? on payment of a duty of two ducats a cantar to the monopolists, a duty quite sufficient to make it impossible for any private merchant to compete in foreign markets with the agents of the company.

The motive assigned for limiting the export to 600,000 cantars, is a desire to prevent the too rapid exhaustion of the mines. This apprehension, there is every reason to believe, is a mere gratuitous piece of hypocrisy, since we have seen that by the application of British skill and capital many mines, abandoned by their owners as worthless, were about to be made productive again when this unfortunate measure was adopted. Besides, if any wish really existed to limit the export, the object has been effectually defeated by the 25th article.

The British merchants at Palermo met a few days after the promulgation of the *Rescritto*, and drew up a memorial to be transmitted to the government at home, in which the question is thoroughly discussed.

Some curious extracts may be made from the letters that passed between Lord Palmerston and Count Ludolf on this subject. There is much ingenuity in the way in which the Count and Prince Cassaro defend the conduct of their sovereign, whose policy they are both known to condemn.

"The undersigned," says the count in a letter written a few weeks after the promulgation of the decree, "considers it his duty to reply to this declaration of her Britannic majesty's government, and has the honour to point out to that government, that no interpretation can be given to the articles of the treaty of 1816, and particularly to the 4th and 5th articles, by which the rights of his Sicilian majesty can be invalidated; rights which he is fully at liberty to exercise with regard to his own subjects. In fact, whatever may be the interpretation which may be sought to be given to the treaty, and to the articles above mentioned, it can never be contended that his majesty, in the exercise of his rights, is bound to treat foreigners better than his own subjects. This would be a great paradox in policy; for the purport of every convention ought always, and at the most, to be, that foreigners should be treated and favoured similarly to the subjects of the state. The government of her Britannic majesty has, without doubt, momentarily lost sight of that which the undersigned has the honour to submit to the attentive consideration of his Excellency Viscount Palmerston; namely, that the question at issue relates to a mineral, which Sicily possesses almost exclusively; the production of which had been reduced to such a state of decline, as to oblige the government of his Sicilian majesty to regulate the working of the mines, with a view again to raise their value, and to restore the value of this kind of property of his majesty's Sicilian subjects."—p. 31.

In a subsequent letter, dated the 17th of September, the count puts forward the same argument in a more detailed form, and elicits the following reply from Lord Palmerston:—

"Her majesty's government," replies Lord Palmerston, "do not admit the fundamental position on which Count Ludolf's argument rests; namely, that no sovereign can be expected to grant to foreigners greater privileges or immunities than are enjoyed by his own subjects. For the undersigned must observe, that it is precisely for the purpose of securing in certain cases such greater immunities and exemptions, that treaties of commerce are frequently made. Because, in countries where the government is arbitrary and despotic, and subject to no responsibility or control, it may often happen that caprice, want of political knowledge, prejudice, private interest, or undue influence, may procure the promulgation of unjust and impolitic edicts, inflicting much injury upon the people of such state, interfering with the legitimate industry of individuals, deranging the natural transactions of commerce, and causing great detriment to private interests, and to national prosperity; and foreign gov-

ernments, whose subjects are engaged in commercial intercourse with the people of such state, are therefore often anxious to secure their subjects, by fixed stipulations, and by treaty engagements, from being liable to the injuries and uncertainties, which, from the above-mentioned causes, the people of the state itself are from time to time exposed to.

"Now the treaty of 1816, between Great Britain and Naples, contains a stipulation of this nature; and, according to that treaty, although the Neapolitan government may exercise its sovereign power over its own subjects, and interfere as it pleases with their private and commercial transactions, yet it cannot so interfere with or restrain the private and commercial transactions of British subjects.

"But the monopoly granted by the Neapolitan government to Messrs. Taix and Co., does interfere with and restrain the private and commercial transactions of British subjects in Sicily, by preventing those subjects from selling as they please the sulphur raised from the mines which they have rented, and to increase the productiveness of which they have expended a considerable capital. Therefore, the monopoly of Messrs. Taix and Co., is inconsistent with the treaty engagements of the Sicilian crown towards the crown of Great Britain; and the British government cannot consent that such monopoly shall have any application to the commercial transactions of British merchants in Sicily."—pp. 45, 46.

As far as it is possible to judge from the documents before us, Monsieur Taix entered upon this speculation without being possessed of the necessary capital for making the advances to which he had bound himself, and within a few months after the promulgation of the treaty, had the king of the two Sicilies been so disposed, he might easily have taken advantage of that gentleman's non-fulfilment of his stipulations to put an end to the contract altogether. That he did not do so would be creditable to the king rather than otherwise, were it not notorious that his unwillingness was owing rather to the importunities of the Duchess of Berri, his minister Santangelo, and others of the friends of Taix, who are generally believed to have had a direct pecuniary interest in the monopoly, than to any over-nice scruples of delicacy.

Taix having vitiated his patent, by the non-fulfilment of his engagements, applied in December, 1838, (five months after the decree had been issued,) for a complete modification of his plan. We will not trouble our readers with the details of the new plan, which was not adopted, but they are of some importance, as they led the King of Naples to refer them for consideration to his council of state and by this means the question of the monopoly itself was for the first time brought before that body. Till then the negotiations connected with this affair had passed only through the hands of Santangelo, the minister for the interior. None of the other ministers had even been invited to give their opinions on the subject, while

Prince Cassaro, as minister for foreign affairs, had been subjected all along to the irksome duty of defending a line of policy, which from the first he was known to have disapproved of.

At the first meeting of the council of state, the minister of the interior, Cavaliere Santangelo, moved that the modifications to the contract, proposed by Monsieur Taix, should be taken into consideration. Not one member of the council could be prevailed on to sanction the motion. The Marquis Pietracatella and Prince Cassaro observed that it would first be necessary that they should be made acquainted with the nature and details of the contract itself, which had never been properly discussed. The council, in consequence, broke up without coming to any decision, and the king determined to refer the whole matter to the council of ministers. This was done a few days afterwards, when a very animated discussion took place. Three out of the nine ministers insisted upon it, that as Monsieur Taix had not fulfilled the terms of his contract, (against the principle of which they at the same time entered a protest,) the modifications now proposed could not be taken into consideration; under these circumstances, they declared that Monsieur Taix ought to be called on to perform his original engagements to the letter, and that if he did not do so, the contract should be declared null and void. Five of the members of the cabinet adopted a more moderate policy. They were apparently as much opposed as their colleagues to the principle of the original plan; but apprehensive of giving offence to the king, they simply rejected the proposed modifications, and voted that Monsieur Taix be called on to execute the contract of June, 1838. Santangelo, finding himself entirely unsupported, affected indifference, and signed with the rest. As it was looked upon as certain, that Monsieur Taix had it not in his power to perform his engagements, this decision of the council was deemed a virtual annulment of the patent, and Mr. Kennedy, our Secretary of Legation, writes to Lord Palmerston, under date of the 18th of March, 1839, "As the original contract is generally admitted to be impracticable, I trust that this government has now found an honourable way of getting rid of it."

Had it not been for this impression, under which the British minister at Naples continued for nearly a year longer, it is probable that the negotiation would have been brought, much earlier than it was, to an abrupt termination. Prince Cassaro never concealed his condemnation of the monopoly, but Santangelo and the other patrons of the

company were indefatigable in their exertions to prevent the king from coming to a decision. Their object was delay. The stock of sulphur in France and England, they thought, would gradually become exhausted; if therefore, they could only keep things as they were for a little while longer, the article would rise to an exorbitant price, and all the advantages which the company had originally looked for, would be placed within their reach.

In May, Mr. Kennedy writes :

"Had the rest of the Neapolitan ministers been really as desirous of getting rid of the monopoly of Messrs. Taix and Co., as Prince Cassaro, opportunities would not have been wanting, and I am obliged to admit that I no longer entertain any immediate hopes of the contract being annulled, notwithstanding the wishes of the king."

In August, however, he writes in quite another tone: "I have finally the satisfaction of informing your lordship," he says, "that his majesty the King of Naples has decided that the contract made between his government and Messrs. Taix, Aycard, and Co. for the monopoly of the sulphur trade in Sicily, shall be set aside." A flaw, it seems, had been found in Monsieur Taix's agreement, by taking advantage of which the king might have destroyed the company by a side-wind. Their contract gave them no exclusive right to the exportation of sulphur from Sicily to Naples; and once at Naples, no law existed to make sulphur liable to an export duty, the *Rescritto* of 1838 bearing relation only to the exportation from the island of Sicily to foreign countries.

Thus there was opened a new theme for discussion. The Duke of San Giovanni, a steady opponent to the monopoly from the first, applied to the custom-house authorities at Catania for leave to ship five cantars (about eight hundred weight) of sulphur for Naples, without paying the premium. The custom-house refused the required permission. The duke applied to the Court of Intendency of Catania, one of the local courts appointed to decide all questions arising between the company and the proprietors of sulphur. The court gave sentence in his favour, but liable to appeal, as the other party had not appeared. In the mean time the custom-house referred the case to the head of the customs at Palermo, whence it was referred to the ministers of finance and the interior. The minister of finance instructed the custom-house authorities not to interfere with the course of justice; but Mr. Santangelo issued orders in every direction that all sulphur exported from Sicily, whether to Naples or any where else, should pay two

ducats (seven shillings) per cantar to Taix, Aycard and Co.

It seems to us that it was scarcely consistent with the dignity of the British embassy at Naples, to make itself a party to this and similar attempts to obtain indirect advantages over the company, and we are surprised to see Lord Palmerston in his dispatch of the 6th of September last, approving of such conduct. The only excuse for Mr. Kennedy is to suppose that he really believed what was constantly told him, that the king no longer sympathised with the minister of the interior, but was really desirous of setting the contract aside.

Mr. Kennedy writes to Lord Palmerston on the 29th of August :

"I waited, on the 24th, early upon Prince Cassaro, and found that his excellency had been with the king, and spoken with more than ordinary energy.

"The king assured the prince that the monopoly should be set aside ; that he would support him in taking proper steps to that effect ; and adding, with great feeling, 'I really thought, when I sanctioned the measure, that I was doing a good thing for Sicily ; hardly had I approved of it before I regretted it, but I shall never regret the first motives which induced me to sanction it.'

"Prince Cassaro immediately sent to M. Taix, desiring him to come to him on the following morning, when he communicated to him the determination of the king to get rid of the contract, and insisted upon his at once making his proposals. M. Taix asked leave to refer the question to Paris ; but Prince Cassaro observed, that the Neapolitan government knew but him, with whom they had made the contract. That, if the proposals were reasonable, the king would take them into consideration, if not, other means would be resorted to.

"M. Taix mentioned that the company had made immense purchases of sulphur in Sicily, and that there still remained six months' consumption in France and England (over which, I believe, the company has got control). Prince Cassaro promised that a certain time should be allowed the company to get rid of their stock.

"M. Taix, in the course of the day, sent in a calculation of 4,000,000 of ducats, equal to about 666,000*l.*, as a valuation of present loss, and of the profit they would be deprived of. This calculation is grossly exaggerated.

"There has been little outlay beyond the purchase of 450,000 cantars of sulphur (equal to 393 tons 14 cwt.), and the price of that article has risen sufficiently to indemnify them, even should it fall considerably as soon as it becomes known that the contract will be annulled."

The next stage in this paltry history of tergiversation is presented by the arrival of Mr. Macgregor at Naples. That gentleman was not, like Mr. Kennedy, imposed on by the assurances of Prince Cassaro, that "it was the wish and intention of the king to do away with the monopoly."

On the 13th of November last, Mr. Macgregor writes to Lord Palmerston, that Prince Cassaro had pledged himself, in the king's name, that the monopoly should terminate on or before the 1st of January.

"The king then agreed to my demand, but in order to avoid committing to writing a censure upon his own act, directed Prince Cassaro to pledge himself to the abolition of the sulphur monopoly before the 1st day of January, as named by me. I considered it, however, unsafe not to have the evidence of the representative of a friendly power to this arrangement, and the Austrian ambassador, Count Lebzeltern, who has all along been in perfect accordance with me, was authorised to state also to me, that the Sicilian government stood pledged to that of England to abolish the monopoly before the said 1st day of January. The minister of police went then, as instructed by the king, to M. Taix, and told him that, *coute qui coute*, he must prepare himself for the abolition of the monopoly, and M. Dupont, regisseur of the customs of the two Sicilies, was authorized to communicate this to me."

The despatch from which the above extract is taken, led the British government to suspend measures which had been in contemplation to encourage the importation of sulphur from other parts of the world ; but the 1st of January passed away without any change in the position of affairs ; and on the 21st of that month, Mr. Kennedy writes—"The friends of Monsieur Taix are again full of hopes respecting the stability of their contract, and I cannot learn from Prince Cassaro that this government has come to any serious determination for its abrogation."

Lord Palmerston now assumed, for the first time, a menacing tone, which only had the effect of leading to a renewal of the old system of procrastination. Prince Cassaro urged Mr. Kennedy not to insist on the presentation of Lord Palmerston's note to the king. Mr. Kennedy was with difficulty induced to withhold the note, which he did only on a positive assurance from the prince, that he would that very day make a strong appeal to the king on the subject. In a few days afterwards Mr. Kennedy received the following note from the prince, marked "confidential :"

"Naples, 23d Feb. 1840.

"The sulphur question is settled. Every thing done by his majesty has been done out of deference for England. I hasten to inform you of this, knowing how agreeable it will be to you, and how great is the interest you take in it. The king, however, expects that Mr. Temple will arrive furnished with the necessary powers to sign the commercial treaty, in order that both the important negotiations, which we have at present with Great Britain, may be brought to a happy conclusion ; at the same time we trust the bonds of friendship between the two countries will thus be drawn closer and closer.

"I beg you, however, to keep this secret, until the affair be published ; lest we should get into difficulties with M. Taix.

"(Signed) "Accept, &c.
THE PRINCE CASSARO."

In this note, it will be seen, no period was fixed for the re-opening of the trade, so

that the only point gained was, that a written promise had been given that the monopoly should be put an end to at some indefinite period. Lord Palmerston's forbearance was at length exhausted. He made a formal demand for the immediate abolition of the monopoly, and obtained orders from the admiralty, that if within a week a favourable answer should not be received, Sir Robert Stopford should sail from Malta to make reprisals.

Even this, however, could not induce the Neapolitan government to abandon their system of delay. The king commanded Prince Cassaro to sign a note declaring "that the sulphur monopoly was not a violation of the treaties with England and France, and that therefore it should be maintained." Prince Cassaro, rather than affix his signature to such a note, tendered his resignation, and the Prince di Scilla was appointed his successor. The new minister immediately wrote to Mr. Temple to say that he was entirely unacquainted with the sulphur question, but would "immediately devote his attention to the subject, in order that he might make himself fully conversant with it." The object was renewed delay, by means of renewed negociation; but so gross an attempt at imposition could not of course be tolerated. Somehow or other, nevertheless, the wily Neapolitan kept Mr. Temple in play for a little time longer, and it was only on the 1st of April that Mr. Temple took at length the decisive step of calling on Sir Robert Stopford to execute the instructions he had received from the Admiralty.

Such is a plain narrative of an affair disgraceful to the government of Naples, and not very creditable to that of England, which has allowed itself to be trifled with for nearly two years, and has now suffered itself to be drawn into a new negociation, the term of which it is impossible to foresee.

In the meantime the trade of Sicily is in imminent peril; even should no other mines be worked for the supply of the English market, chemical experiments have been made in England, which are said to have led to the discovery that sulphur may be extracted in a very pure state, and at a small expense, from pyrites, a substance which is found in great abundance in the United Kingdom. Thus, before long, it may be found that for a paltry sum of money, for a mere bribe, in fact, the royal family of Naples have sacrificed the only remaining trade of any importance, of which the unfortunate people of Sicily still continued in possession. Can we wonder that under these circumstances there should ex-

ist in that island, such a detestation of the Neapolitan rule, that, as Von Raumer assures us, on the appearance of the cholera there, an opinion prevailed with many, and those not among the lower orders, that the government had purposely introduced the disease into Sicily, in order to wreak its vengeance on the inhabitants! Others again, the professor assures us, though they acquit the government of any wish to carry their tyranny to so atrocious an extreme, nevertheless firmly maintain, that Sicily is—

"purposely kept in poverty and wretchedness, in order that misery may reduce the population to blind and passive obedience, or that by driving them to despair, a pretext may be afforded for the exercise of the most unbounded tyranny and despotism. Others add, that the government is unconsciously impelled to such a line of conduct by the Carbonari, who still exist in Naples. In former times, it is argued, Sicily afforded a secure asylum to the royal family; a *point d'appui* whence Naples might be reconquered; but should Sicily be completely estranged from its rulers, and urged to irreconcilable hatred and rebellion, the revolutionists of Naples would have their rear free, and would encounter less difficulty in the execution of their designs. These feelings are not unconnected with dreams and hopes of entire independence, revolutions in Europe, aid from England, and some even look forward with longing to the idea of British domination, a state of things perhaps more likely than any other to lead to an amelioration in the condition of the people."

We need hardly add, that we are not among those who ascribe to the Neapolitan government any designs of deliberate oppression for oppression's sake. We quote Von Raumer's account of the opinions that prevail in Sicily, merely as they serve to illustrate the state of public feeling in the island, and the long continued system of misgovernment, which alone could lead a people to impute such motives to its rulers. "The condition of Sicily," exclaims Von Raumer, "is infinitely more hopeless than even that of Ireland!" He has viewed Ireland through the medium of those exaggerated statements to which party declamation has given birth, and his exclamation conveys, therefore, a lively idea of that extreme prostration to which the lovely island of Sicily has been reduced. The general feeling of disaffection to which this has given rise is so notorious, that not only are no troops raised in Sicily, but the Sicilians are even excluded, as much as possible, from the military service, lest a knowledge of military affairs might qualify them to offer effectual resistance to their masters. Such a state of things cannot last. There must be a change of some kind, and it is not impossible that the events to which the discussions on the sulphur question may yet give rise, may lead to the establishment

of a more rational system of government. The loss wantonly inflicted on British merchants, by a disregard of existing treaties, will have to be paid for, and Lord Palmerston, with all his love of ease, will not dare to shrink from the exaction of the uttermost farthing due to our defrauded countrymen, and with somewhat more justice than with respect to the Chinese contrabandist. The king will be taught a moral lesson that may prove of lasting value to him. When he finds how costly an indulgence is the infraction of treaties, or the violation of public and private rights, he may be led to infer, that a different course of policy is likely to lead to different results. He is young and ardent, and should his zeal once be directed into a wholesome channel, he will soon disengage himself from the clique that at present hold him in their trammels. This change must be the first step in the march of improvement; but this step once taken, other and more important ones must follow.

Amid other points which illustrate the excessive meanness of spirit that marks the Neapolitan government, may be enumerated the petty vengeance of the king in insisting on the recall of Mr. Temple by the British government, from no other cause than the honest discharge of his ministerial functions. To Mr. Temple it is a matter of small moment, as his relative, Lord Palmerston, will not be in administration, probably, on his return, nor any of his colleagues.

ART. VII.—1. *Colonization of South Australia*. By R. Torrens, Esq. F. R. S. Chairman of the Colonization Commission for South Australia, 1835.

2. *The New British Province of South Australia*. Second Edition. 1835.

3. *Annual Reports of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia, (presented to and ordered to be printed by the House of Commons,) for 1836-7-8.*

4. *The South Australian Record*. Vol. I. (From November, 1837, to December, 1839.) 1840.

THE colonization of South Australia is, perhaps, one of the most interesting experiments of modern times, and one which can scarcely have failed to have engaged the attention of every student in political and social economy; but hitherto much of what has been written on the subject has been so tinged with partial exaggeration on the one hand, or so charged with prejudice and misrepres-

entation on the other, that the calm investigator has felt it difficult to obtain sufficient well-authenticated facts, to guide him safely to a decision on the question, whether or not this experiment has succeeded; and if so, to what extent its success ought to modify previously conceived notions on colonization?

The colony has now been established three years, and more ample information has reached England of the details of its establishment, than has probably ever before been furnished respecting the planting of any other colony. Upwards of twenty books and pamphlets have been written on the subject, reports have been annually presented to parliament, and, for the last two years, a newspaper, confined to South Australian matters, has been published monthly (now weekly) in London, so great has been the public desire for information, and the corresponding endeavours to meet the demand. Files of newspapers published in the colony have also been received, and furnish to the cautious reader probably a clearer insight into the springs of human action and causes of success or failure, than perhaps any other source of information; to which may be added, numerous private letters to and from persons of all classes, politics, and creeds; one of which, from a relative of the writer, of the latest possible date, may be safely relied on for its statements. As in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, so in a multitude of witnesses there is truth; and, although their varying and opposing testimony may show the *animus* of each, yet, by gathering up points on which all agree—an inadvertent admission from one, an unconscious concession from another—and, after due allowance for prejudice, comparing and amalgamating the conscientious evidence of all, it is presumed that a solution of the foregoing questions may now safely be sought for, and with no great difficulty be found.

The project for colonizing South Australia came before the public with almost startling pretensions, as an experiment which was to commence a new æra in the history of political economy, which, by facilitating the natural diffusion of the means of creating wealth, and developing the hidden resources of wild and untrodden portions of the earth, should renovate the energies of old states and create new ones; transform millions of miserable and starving paupers into communities of happy and thriving yeomen, and accelerate the period, when the economical creation and unrestricted interchange of the surplus produce of all parts of the globe shall place the human family in a more favourable position than it has yet known. The simple plan by which it was proposed

to effect these important results, was that of selling the wild lands of our colonies at a price per acre high enough to pay for carrying out a sufficient number of labourers and mechanics to cultivate and raise upon them all the necessaries and comforts of life. In order fully to appreciate the value of this previous proposition, and the probability of its success, it may perhaps be advisable to glance at the principles, or rather absence of principle, on which colonies had been established up to the time when this new scheme was propounded. It is an actual fact we believe, and proves how Utopian our early notions were, that New Holland was looked forward to by some sanguine members of the government as affording the best means of liquidating the national debt, by a certain charge per acre on all land.

The founding of a colony has been called by Bacon "an heroic work," and is indisputably one of the most important of human enterprizes, but probably on no other national operation had there existed such a deplorable absence of all principle or system. On this subject experience seemed to have furnished no wisdom, the uses of adversity no guide. The last formed English colony at Swan River had failed, from nearly similar causes as the first English colony in Virginia, namely, excessive grants of land and an ignorant non-observance of the necessity of combining land, labour and capital in proper proportions, so that these grants of land might be profitably cultivated. The existence of the apparent anomaly of high profits and high wages in new colonies, was noticed long since by Dr. Adam Smith, who appears, however, to have altogether overlooked the possibility of producing, and almost indefinitely extending, this prosperous state of affairs by artificial arrangement. He says—

"In the different colonies, both the legal and the market rate of interest run from six to eight per cent. High wages of labour and high profits of stock, however, are things perhaps which scarce ever go together, except in the peculiar circumstances of new colonies. A new colony must always for some time be more under-stocked in proportion to the extent of its territory, and more under-peopled in proportion to the extent of its stock, than the greater part of other countries. They have more land than they have stock to cultivate. What they have, therefore, is applied to the cultivation only of what is most fertile and most favourably situated, the land near the sea shore and along the banks of navigable rivers. Such land, too, is frequently purchased at a price below the value even of its natural produce. Stock, employed in the purchase and improvement of such lands, must yield a very large profit, and consequently afford to pay a very large interest. Its rapid accumulation in so profitable employment, enables the planter to increase the number of his hands faster than he can

find them in a new settlement. Those whom he can find, therefore, are very liberally rewarded."

The conditions on which high profits and high wages are here made to depend, are an under-stocked and under-peopled territory. The natural consequence of this disproportion is, however, fully set forth in the passage we have placed in italics. The servant who is liberally rewarded soon becomes a master, and more liberally rewards others, who in turn do the same; till at length there is nobody left to employ, and industry and capital, from being thus minutely subdivided, are frittered away in isolated and comparatively profitless struggles for the means of existence. This state of things has been experienced in most of our colonies, and most disastrously where land has been sold "at a price below the value even of its natural produce." Dr. Smith, however, stopped short of this difficulty, with which indeed few of our political economists seem disposed to grapple. Mr. McCulloch says,* in speaking of the success of our North American colonies,

"On the first foundation of a colony, and for long after, each colonist gets an ample supply of land of the best quality; and having no rent and scarcely any taxes to pay, his industry necessarily becomes exceedingly productive, and he has every means and every motive to amass capital. In consequence he is eager to collect labourers from all quarters, and is both willing and able to reward them with high wages. But these high wages afford the means of accumulation, and joined to the plenty and cheapness of the land, speedily change the more industrious labourers into proprietors, and enable them in their turn to become the employers of fresh labourers; so that every class participates in the general improvement, and capital and population advance with a rapidity hardly conceivable in old, settled, and fully peopled countries."

The cheapness of land and dearth of labour, which are here adduced as being the immediate causes of improvement in all classes, are in fact only productive of such improvement up to a certain point, when they in turn become positive impediments to improvement, the power of obstruction increasing in the same ratio with the extent of these supposed elements of prosperity; and it would not be difficult to prove, that in every colony where prosperity has been found co-existent with cheap land and dear labour, it has grown up in spite of these conditions rather than in consequence of them.

Some colonies have prospered on the labour of slaves, others on that of convicts; some again have had concentration forced upon them by uncleared forests, wild beasts, or hostile aborigines. If an instance were

* Commercial Dictionary, p. 329, 2d edition.

required where cheap land and dear labour has had a fair trial, and utterly failed, it will be found in the melancholy case of Swan River, where the advantages of the finest climate and one of the finest countries on the globe have failed to neutralize the disastrous effects of the vicious combination of cheap land and dear labour. Land was there sold at eighteen pence an acre, and labourers secured any sum they chose to demand. The natural consequence is, that the greater portion of the land originally granted remains a desert, the capitalists are ruined and dispersed, and the bulk of the labourers who had the power have left the colony, not however before several of their number had perished of hunger on the wild and useless land which they had madly purchased with their high wages, and had not capital to till.

It was reserved for the highly talented author of *England and America* to probe this fallacy to the core, to lay bare its baneful and insidious ramifications, and to suggest as its cure, that as our colonies had a superabundance of land as compared with labour, and Great Britain had a superabundance of labour as compared with land, an attempt should be made to produce a prosperous equilibrium between these two elements of wealth, by selling colonial wild land at a sufficiently high price to pay for carrying out labourers to work upon it, the price of the land being, in fact, paid for the certainty of procuring labour. It was wisely assumed, that wherever land can be had for nothing, and plenty of labour for hire, capital would be sure to find its way; the mere purchase of the land being taken as a sufficient indication that the purchaser had the means of working it. As with most new projects of magnitude, this suggestion was at first treated with ridicule, then acrimony, and then adopted. The limits of this article will not permit us to do more than touch upon the curious controversy which succeeded its promulgation, even supposing that the exhumation of, and inquest upon, defunct fallacies were an agreeable process. Suffice it to say, that the project was warmly taken up by a body of intelligent and influential gentlemen, who, in the summer of 1831, formed themselves into a committee, with a view to establish a chartered company for the purpose of trying the experiment. The first question, of course, related to the site of the intended colony. After much inquiry, and taking every measure to obtain the best information that could be gained, the committee determined on selecting that portion of the south coast of Australia which includes Spencer's and St. Vincent's gulfs and the

mouth of the Murray, the finest river in Australia. Even at this early period, so advantageous did the project appear to the public, that during the negotiations between the committee and the government respecting the charter, a very considerable body of emigrants had been collected together, ready to depart with the first colony. All at once, however, the cup of hope was dashed from their lips by the refusal of the government to grant a charter. This unlooked-for opposition, in a quarter where the projectors had hoped to find support in their arduous struggle to demonstrate, with their own resources, the value of a principle which they deemed of such importance to the future happiness of the human race, was, for a time, fatal to the scheme. Some of the would-be-emigrants were disgusted, others were discouraged, and all were dispersed. The men, however, who had the mind to conceive, and the courage to attempt to execute, an enterprise of such boldness, were not of a temper to be cowed by a difficulty of this nature. Their scheme had been fairly launched on the ocean of public opinion. Its elastic buoyancy was fully proved, and it rose in public estimation in an exact proportion to the force which had been applied to sink it.

This mortifying failure, however discouraging at the time, was not altogether untended with good in the result. The plan was more elaborately discussed, more maturely organized, and time was given for a more thorough investigation and adjustment of those minor details, upon which so much of the success of emigration at all times depends, and a minute attention to which was more than usually necessary in the trial of a new experiment. The projectors also took measures for disseminating information on their objects far and wide, extending the circle of their adherents, and "agitating" the mercantile world on every available opportunity.

A most interesting and numerous public meeting at Exeter Hall in June, 1834, was attended by many of the most enlightened men of the day. The leading principles of the scheme were adopted in resolutions, and prospectuses for the establishment of a new association were liberally distributed. As far as the public were concerned the plan met with a most decided support; sanguine hopes were entertained that in an atmosphere so changeable as that of the colonial office, the political barometer would at no very distant period "set fair," difficulties seemed to vanish as they were approached, a new association was formed, and new negotiations were opened with the government, backed

by men of high influence and acknowledged wealth.

Nor was the press idle. An interesting little volume, under the title of "The New British Province of South Australia," explaining the project, and giving all the information respecting South Australia which could be collected, rapidly went through two editions. Colonel Torrens, in his valuable book "The Colonization of South Australia," triumphantly defended the principle, subjected it to a more elaborate investigation than it had previously experienced, and traced the effects of colonization generally on the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture of the United Kingdom. These exertions were not without beneficial results; public opinion began to set in with a strong current in favour of the scheme, and after many squalls and buffetings from unfavourable influences, a bill embodying the new principles, and authorizing the foundation of the colony, was carried through the House of Commons by Mr. Spring Rice, and the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington. It received the royal assent on the last day of the session of 1834. The first act of Lord Glenelg, on succeeding Lord Aberdeen in the colonial office, was that of gazetting the commissioners, who were to carry the act into operation.* An act of parliament was in many respects more advantageous than a charter, and certainly a great improvement upon the project of 1831, in which, instead of applying for a grant of land equal to the extent of Great Britain, which has been secured to them under the act, the projectors proposed to *buy* 500,000 acres of land at 125,000*l.*, or five shillings per acre, the sum which the government had fixed as the price of Australian waste land! Never, perhaps, has there been shown a more singular instance of the value of perseverance.

Still the act was clogged with several restrictions which pressed grievously on the infancy of the colony. The powers of the commissioners were not to commence until they had invested the sum of 20,000*l.* "in the purchase of exchequer bills or other government securities," as a security against any cost which the attempt to establish the colony might entail on the mother country; and also until the sum of 35,000*l.* should have been paid to the commissioners for wild land in the colony, to ensure that the

project had the confidence and sanction of capitalists. Like the last feather on the back of the camel, these hard conditions might have been expected to break the back of the strongest project. The absurdity of supposing that the small sum of 20,000*l.* was any thing like a sufficient indemnity for government assistance, in the event of failure, was no bar to the exaction. It was "in the bond," and must be complied with. To raise this small sum, however, on security of a land fund which had no existence, and to induce persons to form such land fund by paying down twelve shillings per acre hard money for wild land, respecting which all they knew was, that it lay somewhere at the antipodes, were difficulties that might have appalled even stouter hearts than those of the South Australian projectors. After some difficulty, however, the money was raised, but at the high interest of ten per cent. ! The prescribed sale of 60,000 acres of land at twelve shillings per acre was also effected. This being the minimum price at which, under the act, the land could be sold, the maximum being 2*l.* per acre.

The next business of the colonists was to look about them for a governor, the government having liberally given up its patronage in this instance, and, in order to give the colonists a fair chance, consented to sanction the nomination of the commissioners. The governorship was offered to General (then Colonel) Napier; and here another difficulty arose. The colony was to be essentially *self-supporting*; no assistance was to be hoped for from the government; the colonists were to rely on their own enterprise, courage, and resources; and the whole process of colonization in this instance was to resemble the removal of a full grown tree, with every branch, root and fibre entire.* The community to be formed in England was to be perfect in all its parts, and every part, on being transplanted, was to fall into its ordinary position, and perform its ordinary functions; indeed, the experiment was intended to show that not only a mass of human beings might be removed, but that an *organized* mass—that *society* might be removed. Many persons, who honoured the philanthropy of the motive, and the generous confidence in the general love of order and virtue amongst men, which this view of the matter indicated, were yet convinced that to follow out the same fanciful analogy in the tree of society as in the veritable tree, the foliage of civilisation, the flowers of refinement, and the fruits of science and philosophy, must inevitably drop off in the process of

* These were nine in number: Col. Torrens, F. R. S. Chairman, Edward Barnard, Esq., William Hutt, Esq. M. P., William Alexander Mackinnon, Esq., M. P., Samuel Mills, Esq., Jacob Montefiore, Esq., George Palmer, jun., Esq., James Pennington, Esq., and Josiah Roberts, Esq.

removal. That in both cases nourishment must be drawn from *the earth* before healthy progress could be secured; and that indeed all that the projectors could expect to ensure would be a state of unprecedented facility for the formation of a new society out of the well-proportioned materials of the old. The possibility of producing such a state of things, of making a community by the force of moral polarity alone, fall into at least an approximation to organized society, was largely conceded. Colonel Napier, however, had no such confidence in human nature. He refused to accept the appointment unless he had the command of 200 *British soldiers*, and power to *draw upon the English government for money* in case of need, equal to the power given to Sir J. Stirling for Swan River.* Perhaps there is no more curious instance in the whole range of literature of the different views taken of the same matter by the philosopher and the soldier, than the reasons which Colonel Napier shortly afterwards published for these demands, and which may be taken as a *catalogue raisonnée* of all the current fears and fallacies of that day on the question. It is scarcely necessary to state them, and it may be sufficient to say that his military notions completely disqualified Colonel Napier to direct a colony founded on the South Australian principle.

Although it is manifest from Colonel Napier's book that he wished well to the project, and felt most anxious that both settlers and *natives*, should receive justice and protection; it was also evident, from his idea of the necessity of *military* government, that he failed altogether to recognize the spirit of the project, and consequently all expectation of advantage from his appointment as governor at once vanished. The greatest philosopher of his day, Francis Bacon, had recommended *martial law* for the first colony of Virginia (1611), Colonel Napier was therefore not without the precedent of a high name; and his mistake arose from his ideas of colonization being two centuries behind the age,—a mistake by no means surprising, the art itself being two centuries behind.

The office of governor ultimately devolved on Captain Hindmarsh, who in H.M.S. Buffalo, anchored in St. Vincent's Gulf on December 28, 1836; the ships Duke of York and John Pirie having been previously sent out by the South Australian Company, which now existed as a body of

traders, without any connection with the commissioners. This company, having purchased a large portion of the preliminary sales of land at 12s. per acre, had thus formed the first settlement on Kangaroo Island. Colonel Light, an officer of distinguished reputation, (the friend of Captain Hindmarsh, and at his request appointed surveyor-general), had also arrived in the previous August with the surveying staff, and had decided on the site of the first town. The first matter which pressed itself on the public attention, after proclaiming the province, was a difference of opinion between the governor and the surveyor-general, the former refusing to sanction the site chosen by the latter. As this contention caused much unpleasantness in the colony, it may perhaps be advisable to give a description of the site itself, and the general nature of the country on the east coast of Gulf St. Vincent. The best general description we have met with is by Mr. J. Morphet, in a letter quoted from the Second Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners. It ought first, perhaps, to be mentioned, that the instructions given by the commissioners to Colonel Light were, that he should select a site combining as many as possible of the following advantages, namely, 1, a commodious harbour, safe and accessible at all seasons of the year; 2, an abundant supply of fresh water; 3, a considerable tract of fertile land immediately adjoining; 4, facilities for internal communication; 5, facilities for external communication; 6, the neighbourhood of extensive sheepwalks.

The principal guiding reasons for selecting this particular site are stated by Mr. Morphet to be the following :

"It was central, and distant from every penal settlement.

"It commanded the waters of the two gulfs, which from their character were well adapted to internal water communication.

"It promised facilities for constant and safe intercourse with Kangaroo Island, which was regarded by the commissioners, from the testimony of Flinders and Sutherland, as a valuable portion of the province.

"From the contiguity to the Southern Ocean, and the prevalence of the south-west winds, it authorized the expectation that it would be visited with an abundance of rain. This was stated very clearly and forcibly by the talented chairman of the South Australian Commissioners, in a speech made by him in London, in September, 1836, on the occasion of a dinner given to his excellency the governor.

"It offered a considerable extent of fine land, Captain Sturt having stated that between the eastern coast and Lake Alexandrina, from Cape Jervis to the head of the Gulf, there were 7,000,000 of acres of highly fertile and beautiful land.

"It was likely to afford the easiest and best line of communication with the Murray; and there was

* Colonization : particularly in Southern Australia, with some Remarks on Small Farms and Over-Population. By Colonel Charles James Napier, C.B.

testimony of the existence of a good port towards the head of the gulf, with a supply of fresh water."

Mr. Gouger, now colonial secretary to South Australia, who appears to be a most candid writer, and who was amongst the very earliest persons who saw the value of, and laboured for, the project, thus speaks respecting the site.*

"The town of Adelaide is situated about six miles inland from the sea to the eastward, and about four miles from the range of hills above mentioned; it is in the midst of a very fertile plain, through which run, from the mountains towards the sea, several small streams of fresh water. In determining where to fix the chief town, Colonel Light had to consider *whether it was more desirable to place it away from the harbour, but on a stream of fresh water, or at the harbour, but where all the fresh water the inhabitants required would have to be brought from a distance.* He decided in favour of the first of these, and for many reasons he will be thanked for it by posterity. The only objection urged against the chief town being at a distance from the harbour is the expense of conveying imports from the harbour to the town; but the distance is not great, and the country between them being nearly a dead level, nothing could be easier than to dig a canal, or put down a railroad, when the amount of trade should render either worth the expense. A town will, however, eventually arise at the harbour; and such of the purchasers of the preliminary sections as desired it, were allowed by the colonial commissioners to select land there in lieu of town acres in Adelaide. By this arrangement twenty-nine acres were taken there, and by it the chief town will be relieved from the presence of those low publicans and other loose people who are always found at ports lying in wait for sailors. The town at the port will in fact be to Adelaide what Wapping is to St. James's."

Considering that for a considerable period the wealth of the South Australians must be drawn from the land rather than the sea, the wisdom of the selection must, we think, be apparent to all; and the expressed determination of Captain Hindmarsh to remove the principal town to Encounter Bay, which subsequent inquiries have shown to be a very dangerous coast, must be attributed to a professional predilection for naval rather than pastoral pursuits. At all events, the fact of the town acres which remained after the preliminary purchasers had selected theirs being publicly sold by auction at 6*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* per acre, fully proved that the body of colonists gave a hearty sanction to the selection.

It is not our intention to enter into the causes of the manifold squabbling in the colony which led to the resignation or suspension of many of the officials, the recall of Captain Hindmarsh, the appointment of Colonel Gawler, and the resignation of Colonel Light. There are so many diffi-

culties in the establishment of a colony, and men who have embarked their lives and fortunes in the enterprise feel so strongly and speak so freely, that some disagreement must always be anticipated. Wherever these disputes right themselves by public discussion, without the authorities proceeding to harsh and offensive extremities against the freedom of opinion, there is evidently nothing very deep-seated in the grievances, and not much to complain of in the authorities. No colony has ever yet been settled, even under martial law, without such dissensions, but they have seldom been heard of in England. South Australia has had the advantage of a powerfully written press, in which the conduct of persons in authority has been most unsparingly canvassed. Public meetings have been held almost from the commencement; and although not free from asperity and ill-nature, yet the free expression of opinion seems to have operated like a safety-valve, and the controversialists, like the combatants in the clachan of Aberfoil, produced more noise and clatter than serious mischief. It is no small compliment to the character of English colonists, that these matters have righted themselves so readily; they would scarcely, perhaps, have done so with a colony of any other race.

Our inquiry has been thus far nearly confined to such matters in the establishment of South Australia as may become questions of interest in the settlement of any other colony; and having now traced the project into full operation, our limits will only admit of a few statistical particulars respecting its progress down to the present period, and a speculation or two in reference to its future prospects.

In perusing the history of a colony, few things are apt to strike the mind of the reader more forcibly than a chronological table of events; but the progress of any other colony bears so very little resemblance to that of South Australia as almost to excite our special wonderment. Let us compare it in passing with that of New South Wales, which it will be recollected was founded in 1788. On consulting Mr. Montgomery Martin's book,* we find that in the *third* year of the colony the first brick house was finished; that in the *sixth* year the first church was built; that in the *fifteenth* year the first newspaper was printed; in the *twenty-second* year there were the first police, naming of the streets, market, race, and race-ball; the *twenty-ninth* year saw the

* Six Months in South Australia.

* History of Australasia.

supreme court and first bank established; in the *thirty-third* year was built the first Wesleyan chapel; in the *thirty-fourth* year the freedom of the press was granted, and first agricultural and reading societies formed; in the *thirty-sixth* year the first court of quarter sessions was held; in the next year the first criminal jury was impaneled, and the year after the first coroner appointed, and first constitutional country meeting held; and the first civil jury was impaneled, and first college founded, in the *forty-second* year of the colony.

Four years ago, the wild silence of the shores of South Australia was only broken by the occasional scream of the gaudy plumaged parrots in the woods, the flocks of wild fowl in the creeks, or the gentle ripple in the brook. The very few natives,—who had picked up a scanty and miserable subsistence on the gleanings of that beautiful country,—whose simple minds were scarcely more intelligent than the kangaroos which their forefathers had taught them to chase, or the half-savage dogs with which they hunted,—exulting and luxuriating in the enjoyment of mere animal existence,—had scarcely seen the face of a white man, or deemed that such existed, much less that white men could ever be expected to come amongst them. At the moment at which we write, at least 15,000 white people have taken possession of their country. The banks of the Torrens have been transformed from a valueless wilderness into a bustling and thriving town of seven hundred houses, the site of which is worth from 100*l.* to 1500*l.* per acre, and are joined by a bridge lit with lamps. Scarcely a ship had been then seen to cleave the waters of the South Australian gulf. Ninety-seven ships of 21,232 tons burden entered the colony in 1838; and even a greater number, ninety-nine ships of 21,109 tonnage, were counted at Port Adelaide within the *first six months* of 1839. The powerful agencies that British enterprise is capable of putting in operation, are visible in the 68,000 sheep which are now extracting wealth from the pastures; the 6,250 cows and oxen and 520 horses which are now supplying food and labour to the enterprising settlers, who are exploring every crevice and cranny of the country. Nearly all the circumstances before quoted from the chronology of New South Wales have long since taken place in South Australia. A church, a Wesleyan and other chapels, three newspapers (two, at least, conducted with considerable talent), a well-organised police force, a mechanics' institution and reading-room, courts of quarter sessions, petty sessions of the magistracy, courts for the recovery of debts un-

der 20*l.*, a supreme court for civil and criminal trials by grand and petit juries, a coroner, a market, races, public balls, and public meetings,—are advantages which the South Australians have been fortunate enough to enjoy already; and it speaks much for their liberality and intelligence, that within four days no less a sum than 4000*l.* was raised by subscription for the foundation of a college which should provide first-rate education, and thus supersede the necessity of sending children from India to Great Britain for that purpose.

It is a matter of interest to inquire how far capitalists have been induced to invest their money in land under the new project. The following is a statement of the amount of money received by the commissioners in this country for land within the last three years. The two first columns are from the official report.

	1837.	1838.	1839.
Money invested in land	3,300 <i>l.</i>	37,800 <i>l.</i>	48,336 <i>l.</i>
Emigrants sent out free	1,227	3,154	5,300

And we are certainly led to the conclusion of the success of this colony, in addition to minor auspices, by the steady progressive increase in the investment of capital on the faith of the new principle, after the effervescence of novelty had subsided, extending over a period of three years. This is a gratifying and conclusive proof that the plan has been held in high estimation by capitalists in this country. But even this view by no means conveys a just idea of the tendency of capital to flow into colonies founded on the new principle. A man who desires to take out certain industrious labourers and their families, who are willing to follow his fortunes, has only to go to the Adelphi Terrace and to purchase an eighty-acre section of land for every two labourers and their wives whom he may wish to take out with him. All persons, however, who know of no such labourers, and are unwilling to take the trouble to look after them (the commissioners pay no fee to the agents who may have selected applicants, afterwards chosen by land-purchasers), do not visit the Adelphi Terrace, but prefer taking their money out in their pockets to taking out land orders. This remark applies equally to those who have full confidence that their money, should they buy land in the colony, will be fairly and wholly applied to the carrying out of labourers. It cannot be doubted that these classes of persons form a very large proportion of those who ultimately buy land in South Australia; to whom must also be added all who are ignorant of the high character of the commissioners, and the nature of the country,

and who prefer seeing what they are about to buy, before they part from their cash. All these persons take their money to the colony. In every new colony, too, there are sure to be found some shrewd, scheming, old colonists from the neighbouring settlements, who, having a thorough knowledge of the comparative value of colonial land, are always ready to pounce upon any district which promises to turn out profitable, and have large capitals at their command. We know that many such persons have left the other Australian colonies for South Australia; and that they have there made large purchases in several of the finest districts. Much fierce controversy took place on the promulgation of the new principle respecting the value of concentration; one party contending that it was indispensable to success, and another that it would insure failure by forcing inferior land into cultivation, whilst rich land lay useless. The golden mean seems to lie in concentration on the best land; and this object has been admirably effected by the plan of "special surveys," which gives an elasticity to the system, to which much of its success must be attributed. Under the regulations of the commissioners, any person depositing the sum of 4000*l.* for 4000 acres of land is entitled to have 15,000 acres surveyed of any district he may point out, and to select his 4000 acres in one block, from any portion thereof. The value of such a plan in promoting the formation of secondary towns, and the earliest possible development of all the most available resources of the country, must be obvious. The inducement it has offered to invest capital is truly astonishing. Within the short period ranging from the 14th of January to 20th of July, 1839, no less than twenty-eight special surveys, of 4000 acres each, were taken in the colony.

If practical colonial agriculturists invest their money thus freely, where money bears ten per cent. interest, the unemployed capital in this country will soon find its way there. The English capitalist, however, who has an eye to this profitable investment, should keep steadily in view the necessity of a supply of labour. By purchasing his land in this country, he will be able to take out two labourers and their wives (on whom he can depend for their labour for at least the first year) for every eighty acres of land. He will see, by comparing the quantity of land sold with the number of adult labourers who have been taken out, that this is a much higher proportion of labour to land than he can expect to meet with in the colony. If he take his money out with him, and purchase land there, he must be content

to scramble for labourers with those who have adopted the same course before him; and the derangement in the balance between labour and land which he has caused, cannot possibly be restored until his money shall have been sent to England and labour sent out with it—processes which will occupy at least a year. There is another matter worthy the attention of capitalists, and which will tend to the great advantage of early purchasers. The increase in the sale of land continues to advance in a much more rapid ratio than the increase in the exportation of labour. The commissioners have already once raised the price of land from twelve shillings to twenty shillings per acre, and at no very distant period it may fairly be presumed they will be compelled to raise it again—to restore that equilibrium in the elements of wealth, which is now becoming more and more deranged the farther they proceed. True, population continues to increase rapidly in the colony, and the lists of marriages and births in the South Australian papers are very satisfactory in a philosophical point of view; still, even supposing the population to double itself every twenty-five years,* the shortest period in which we believe it has ever been known to do so, it is questionable whether such increase will come nearly up to the demand. The mere raising the price of land will not be sufficient of itself to avert this impending evil. The colonization of Swan River, Port Philip, Port Essington, New Zealand, and Falkland Islands, on "the Wakefield principle," is creating and will create a vastly increased demand for emigrant labourers—the supply of whom, although not likely to be quickly exhausted in the present state of Great Britain, will yet be seriously subdivided by these new competing colonies. Even up to the present period this competition has been felt, and the difficulty in procuring eligible labouring emigrants is increasing daily. In addition, then, to raising the price of land, it will be necessary to adopt some comprehensive plan for the dissemination of authentic information respecting the colony, in order to increase the field of selection. The rural labourers are lamentably ignorant even of their own country, and are obliged to rely almost wholly on the advice of other persons, and are at present the prey and sport of nu-

* Twenty-five years is far too short a period to allow of the doubling of any population. In thirty years even the population of Ireland had not increased sixty-one per cent; and the English did not exceed fifty-five per cent. As for population doubling itself every fourteen years, the careless assertion commonly inculcated in elementary books, it is too absurd to need refutation.

merous "bounty" adventurers, each outbidding the other in flattering misrepresentations concerning the colonies in which these man-sharks are respectively interested. The illiterate rustic, confused and bewildered amidst the conflicting statements by which he is sought to be influenced, either recklessly consigns himself to the first that offers, or suspects the integrity of all, and remains at home, a burden on his parish, and a misery to himself. If proper means were taken to promulgate statistical and official information amongst our half-starving labourers—if a thorough revision were to take place of the list of selecting agents—if responsible persons were appointed to give information and receive applications periodically in given districts—the number of labourers who would seek information, and afterwards wish to emigrate, would, we believe, be found exceedingly great. The inspectors must, however, be persons officially accredited, or, as the labourers term it, "under government," on whose statements the labourers could implicitly rely; for they have neither time nor opportunity to inquire and judge for themselves. These inspectors should invite the parochial clergy to attend their meetings, and be ready to answer all questions and solve all difficulties which ignorance or prejudice might suggest. The field for selection which this plan would open up would be almost unlimited. Emigration would no longer be looked at as something allied to transportation, to which the sulky pauper had to be bribed; but the man who was selected would pride himself on the privilege, and strive to maintain the character which had earned it. He would go forth into the world cheered and invigorated, and in better heart to wrestle with the difficulties which he might encounter in his adopted land.

But the necessary limits of this paper warn us to recur to the inquiry, how far the experiment in South Australia may be said to have succeeded? and to what extent its success ought to modify preconceived notions respecting colonization?

Viewing the experiment as an attempt to "bridge over the ocean," and render the fertile regions of other climates approachable with facility to our superabundant labour and capital, as an essay at constructing a system by which the elements of wealth may be drawn together in the most favourable proportions for production—a system so elastic as to be susceptible of adjustment at will to the most various and comprehensive human circumstances,—its success has been as brilliant as that of any experiment on record. As if by the wand of a magician, a new town has been made to spring out of the earth;—the waters of the

Australian gulfs have been covered with ships, which have poured out their myriads of animals, human and inferior, to luxuriate, thrive, and fatten on the exuberant produce of previously unsubjugated wilds;—the "busy hum" of civilisation is borne upon the moist sea-breezes which prevail throughout the year, and startles the astonished savage in the very fastnesses of his woods; the great hand of human intellect has seized the country in its grasp; and every acre of the land, and every creek and river of the waters, acknowledges in its land-mark or its buoy the irresistible supremacy of mind. Who will despair over the destinies of our race, when the exertions of a few individuals can have set such mighty elements of human happiness in motion? The man who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before has been eulogised as a benefactor to his species. What should be said of the men who have planted the germ of a new nation?

The details of the experiments have also evinced much wisdom, forethought, and vigilance. Of the numerous vessels burdened with precious human freight that have left our crowded shores, not one has met with any serious accident, and the average mortality of the emigrants has not exceeded that of the population on shore. Although, we believe, scarcely a loaf of bread has been grown in the provinces, bread has, during the late drought, been cheaper at Adelaide than at Sydney; and the inconvenience resulting from the first rush of capitalists having been surmounted, the surveys of land are now in advance of the purchasers. These results are indeed not less gratifying to the philanthropist than honourable to their promoters.

A theory involving interests and consequences of such great magnitude, can still scarcely be matured in three years and a half; and it reflects no discredit on those who have done so much when we assert that much remains to be accomplished. Every project has two classes of enemies—those who expect too little from it, and those who expect too much. In this project the first class has in a great measure been defeated, and the only danger now exists from the enthusiastic zeal of the latter class. The soundest friends of the new principle are those who contend that sufficient experience of its working has not been yet obtained, whereby can be laid down a positive and absolute scale of the proportions in which the elements of wealth can be most profitably combined. This consummation must be essentially a work of time; every step, however, has hitherto been part of a triumph—

ant progress towards it: but until this goal has been reached, the experiment must be considered incomplete. In the meantime the elasticity of the project, which has borne it over so many difficulties, may safely be relied on for carrying it through.

To what extent ought the success of this important experiment, as far as it has gone, to modify our previous views on colonization? Mr. Maculloch thus describes the old process of selecting the site of a colony.*

"The captain of a ship, without any knowledge whatever of the nature of soils, or the capacities of a country in an agricultural point of view, falls in, after a long cruise, with a river or bay, abounding with fish and fresh water, and surrounded with land which *looks* fertile, and is covered with herbage. He forthwith reports all these circumstances, duly embellished, to the Admiralty, strongly recommending the situation as an admirable one at which to found a colony; and in nine cases out of ten *this* is all the information that is required in taking a step of such infinite importance! No wonder, therefore, that many fine schemes of colonization should have ended only in loss and disappointment; and that situations which the colonists were taught to look upon as a species of paradise, have proved to be any thing *but what they were represented.*"

The establishment of the South Australian colony has been on a plan so very different from the above described, that in matters of detail it may be said to have created in colonization a complete revolution. Let us, however, consider the question in its most important points of view. It has been proved to demonstration that capital *will* flow into colonies where free labour is procurable for hire; that at one and the same time capitalists can gain high profits, and labourers gain high wages; that the value of colonial waste lands may be safely estimated by profit rather than by price; that savage natives may be tamed without indiscriminate slaughter; that a "model colony" can be established without the costly train of soldiers and *attachés* that had previously been thought indispensable; that a safety valve has been opened, which is equal to the relief, for many generations, of whatever pressure of redundant population may exist, or may be created by the brilliant emanations of human invention,—in which our age is so prolific,—that the outlines of a system have been traced, which, at some future time, aided, perhaps, by steam or galvanic navigation, may open up new sources of commercial enterprise, enlarged intelligence, and human enjoyment, and accelerate the approach of a millennium of benevolent, peaceful, and social intercourse

amongst the denizens of the most distant parts of the earth.

The latest accounts do not vary relative to the prosperity of the colony. We subjoin extracts from a letter of the most recent date received, December 20th, Adelaide. The writer, Mr. F. Worthington, is a gentleman of unquestionable respectability, and it is addressed to his family in this country. We think it right, on a subject to which the eyes of thousands in England are directed with the deepest interest, to subjoin unquestionable authority for our statements, and simply to trust to such persons as from their respectability and positive experience may not mislead. After a detail of the voyage, the writer's own expressions are verbatim:—"The town of Adelaide presents to your sight a number of shops, nearly as good as the middling London ones, and scattered on each side the road or street, in which you can obtain every necessary article or utensil." He then proceeds to state, and we here caution the small capitalist who is greatly deluded upon this point, "that sheep farming requires full £2000 to be invested in it, that the price of each sheep is £2, and that 500 would not offer in wool a remunerative produce for the expense of a shepherd to attend them in pasturage, pens, &c." Port Lincoln is next mentioned incidentally, and it appears to possess one of the finest harbours in the world, capable of containing 2000 sail of shipping in perfect safety, and will no doubt become the greatest maritime colony in South Australia. The land is rising immensely in value, and no doubt will ere long reach the price per acre of the one in Adelaide on which the writer resides, which was sold for £1 and now lets at £1600. We extract again the description of the country around Adelaide in the same writer's words.

"To look around you from my house, you might even imagine yourself in Greenwich park, so beautifully wooded is the country, with a sloping bank running down to the river Torrens in the foreground, a lofty chain of mountains in the background wooded to the summits. The trees are lined with parrots and small birds, and cows, sheep, and goats grazing in the plain. The whole, I assure you, forms a most beautiful landscape, such as any eye would delight to gaze on. This would be the country for you who like warmth, and here the glass stands in the shade at 94°, at the time I am writing. I should, were you and my dear mother only here, be the happiest man in the world, as I thank God I never felt better than I do, and health is certainly the prime desideratum."

In another part he continues as follows:—

"The country is certainly not exaggerated, and will feed sheep, cattle, pigs, poultry, horses, &c.

* Commercial Dictionary, 2d edit. p. 359.

beautifully, and would, with attention, grow every European and many of the Oriental fruits, flowers and vegetables. But the present resources of the country are certainly exaggerated, and the difficulty of obtaining good ground is great, and the capital required about eight times that represented as adequate. In fact, the whole prospects and actual situation of the colony are misrepresented in England, and were not the colony itself good, her too zealous and injudicious friends would actually ruin her by their false and over-coloured statements; for when I look around me, and compare the actual facts as they meet my view here, I actually doubt whether I am in South Australia, and its capital, Adelaide, so different is it from what it is described; and yet her friends in England have actually not stated all that might be said in her favour, but have exaggerated and told lies that could answer no purpose; whereas the truth would have been more favourable, and, if told, no dissatisfaction would have been felt by those persons who were misled by the lies told of the colony in England by her injudicious friends. Give my kindest love to all our friends, and tell them I do not regret coming out here, for it is certainly better than old England."

The above statements may be fully depended on; and, in addition, we think it right also to mention, that the English church will shortly assume an aspect in the colonies very different from what it has hitherto done; since episcopacy will exist in future at the commencement of the establishment of the church in these distant settlements instead of the terminus, as at present. The prelates of the English church have determined to place the establishment in all her ramifications throughout these widely extending regions; and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, has, on the very day on which these observations are penned, at the earnest instance of the indefatigable Bishop of London, voted 10,000*l.* for colonial bishops; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also comes forward; the Church Missionary, still further, to aid the setting forth of our church in all its orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. And all these efforts at home we question not will be amply seconded in Southern Australia, for one of our colonies; since the governor, Colonel Gawler, is a most excellent and pious officer, and deeply attentive to both the temporal and spiritual interests of the colonists. There will now not only be chaplains, but bishops in the foreign settlements; not an isolated individual member of the church, possibly of feeble mind and inadequate powers, but the church in a catholic sense, with all its members.

South Australia, which has already shot forth into the very van of civilisation, an armed Minerva springing fully equipped from the brain of her parent, will be divested of all noxious power, and exercise her functions in meekness of wisdom. It was six years

before a church sprung up in New South Wales; but one is already built in South Australia, and a bishop will, we have no doubt, be chosen for this especial country, equal to England in extent, and now containing in emigrants alone, not including a single capitalist, full 15,000, with a yearly increase, if we take 1839 for example, of 5800. To prevent the hideous demoralisation of Sidney, so easily to be accounted for from a want of efficient pastoral superintendence,—to check the fatal truth of what is sadly realised in one nation, which is "*pouri avant d'être mur,*" must be our effort. Nor are the helpless aborigines to be lost sight of; for if we have taken their country, the least we can do is to better their condition at the same time that we are bettering our own at their expense, and if we take from them their kingdom on earth, to enrich them with a far nobler in heaven.

This age is full of the seeds of things, and we trust that it will not sow sparingly from them, either at home or abroad; and that we shall see Australian wilds giving forth, not simply gain in the shape of wealth, but a visible intellectual advance, a growth of mind as well as matter, a cosmopolitan enlargement; and that the southern cross shall match in brilliancy in its own hemisphere the northern constellations, and the present unequally balanced condition of the world gain that just preponderance by which the increase of the south may be as the north, and not remain, like its pole, chilled in the ice of centuries in deadly torpor to all wholesome animation.

ART. VIII.—*The Last Days of a Condemned. From the French of M. Victor Hugo. With Observations on Capital Punishment.* By Sir P. Hesketh Fleetwood, Bart. M.P. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1840.

THE punishment of crime is a subject that demands the gravest attention on the part of mankind. It is a matter of extreme difficulty, we freely admit, to appoint such punishment as may ensure the protection of society, and also arrest the progress of vice. There are many crimes that men commit, for which they may atone in after-life, even to the person whom they have injured. But no compensation can afterwards be rendered back for the loss of life,—for plunging our fellow-creature into futurity unprepared, for taking away that which we cannot restore. Sir Hesketh Fleetwood in the above

little volume has declared himself in favour of the opinion, that capital punishment, even in cases of murder, should entirely be done away with; and we certainly approve the merciful tendency of his observations, and the benevolent feelings, however mistaken in some points, which have induced him to lay his ideas upon this important subject before the public.

As to the propriety of the unreserved abolition of capital punishment which Sir Hesketh advocates, we are inclined to think that his amiable feelings have led him to place the subject before his readers in a false point of view. His argument against that "*dictum probans*" "*Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,*" however benevolent, is yet weak. The literal force cannot be eluded. Moses expressly marks the *wilful* shedder of blood, distinguishing between manslaughter and murder. *Numbers*, xxxv, 18, "The murderer shall surely be put to death." *Ibid.* 32, "*Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of any murderer which is guilty of death, but he shall surely be put to death.*" But Sir Hesketh will argue, Christ repealed portions of the Mosaic law, therefore that law is imperfect. Christ did not repeal this. Nothing can be more positive than the passage. The murderer's aim is at life—his quest the death of this life. God demands from the reeking hand the life-blood there—his own life-blood for that life-blood, "the blood is the life." And surely Sir H. Fleetwood cannot but recall those numerous instances of capital punishment, as Samuel hewing Agag in pieces, in corroboration of this view.

Sir Hesketh proceeds—"If we search the New Testament we shall find no passage under the new dispensation, that can be construed to call for the infliction of death for murder." We shall not press the opinion of the penitent thief—"Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation; and we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds"—confirmed as that testimony is, by the unique confession of all malefactors, that the murderer deserves his doom. Still here was one for a *minor* offence owning his condemnation just, with little of the life in this world remaining, with the judgment cleared up in a most wonderful manner so as to enable him to pierce through the veil of suffering, and trace in the criminal of earth, the Crucified beside him, the Lord of Glory. But we will not press this strong position, but pass to another "*dictum probans*;" *Rev.* xiii. 10, "He that *kilieth with the sword* must be *killed by the sword.*"

Again, *Romans* xiii. 4, "If thou do that which is evil be afraid, for he (the ruler) beareth not the *sword in vain*, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Here the word *sword* clearly intimates capital punishment. As for example in the celebrated decree against Cyprian—"Thascium Cyprianum *gladio* animadverti placet;" "It is our decree that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded by the sword." Neither does the argument in question draw any force from the Redeemer, the Giver of Life, condemning no man. "He came not into the world to condemn the world, but to save the world." As its ultimate Judge in eternity, He did not exercise judgment over it in time. But He did not contradict the great moral law of Moses under this head, but added to it stronger sanction. Moses held over the heads of his people the dread of temporal punishment, but the Christ with this added the deeper terrors of eternal pain. *Matthew*, v. 21, 22, "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, *Thou shalt not kill*; and whosoever shall kill *shall be in danger of the judgment*. But I say unto you, that whosoever shall be angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother '*Raca,*' shall be in danger of the council; but whoever shall say '*Thou fool,*' shall be in *danger of hell fire.*" Christ then grounded his appeal to holiness on mightier than temporal issues. The argument as to the irreparable loss of life amounts to but little, since the Apostle Peter punished capitally in the instance of Ananias and Sapphira; a still further argument for capital punishment, since they were *death stricken* for a simple evasion of a question. The argument also on the cases of Cain and David is of very slight importance. Cain was not sentenced to death for the act of murder, nor David for the meditation of it; God not man being the judge in each instance. Cain we think an unfair instance for quotation. He had never seen death, he had heard no penalties denounced against its commission, he had not sinned against a written law, though an offender against what God has engraved on the tablets of the heart. It was probably also requisite that the first murderer should be *branded* for the benefit of all posterity, that the instance should be *marked*, and that the one among the living three who was a murderer should be punished by God exiling him from any visible communion with himself—a token here of a to-come hereafter. And surely *death*, compared to this lodement of futurity and the murderer's mark in life, had been a weaker punishment; all shun-

ning the primal homicide, the foul fratricide, the God-blasted Cain sealed with the signet of the wrath of heaven. This instance, where *God is Judge*, cannot be argued on at all, since man is not God, nor his ways God's ways. Death, it is expressly stated, was the penalty in the case of David; but a prophet of God announced to him that he should *not die*. But the signs of it were on all around him, to sadden his soul and grieve his heart; death was denounced on the child of adultery; death followed on Absalom, when the aged king exclaimed—"Would God, I HAD DIED with thee, Absalom, my son, my son!" The sword never left his house, and the temple of God was not reared by the man of blood. Here, again, God was the Judge, the agency especial and peculiar, the general law not holding, but the individual exception. Neither of these instances therefore in any form negatives capital punishment. So clear has the general authority on this matter always appeared, that the Committee on the criminal laws pointedly stated, in the very front of their Report, their fixed opinion on this subject. "They wish expressly to disclaim all doubt of the right of the legislature to inflict the punishment of death wherever that punishment, and that alone, seems capable of protecting the community from enormous and atrocious crimes." Mighty have been the names for a merciful amelioration of the penal statute; and we rejoice in the punishment of death being repealed in numerous instances. More, Erasmus, Bacon, and Coke all advocated milder laws, but did not advise the total cessation of capital punishment. They felt that laws made stronger than the enforcement of them—laws suspended over large classes of offenders, and only affecting a few individuals out of a great mass, are bad and inefficacious in the suppression of crime. But beyond the line drawn out by the Commissioners on the Criminal Laws we are not disposed to venture. They particularize eight species of crime, to each of which they adjudge the penalty of death:—

1. High treason.
2. Murder.
3. Attempt to murder with actual injury to the person, to be particularly defined.
4. Burning of buildings or ships.
5. Piracy.
6. Burglary, with cruelty.
7. Robbery, with ill-usage.
8. Rape.

We are prepared to go to this extent in suppression of the punishment of death, and no further. We know that it is idle to look for the suppression of crime; for even Thucydides tells us in the celebrated oration of Diodotus—

"They have it by nature, both men and cities,

to commit offences, nor is there any law that can prevent it. For men have gone over all degrees of punishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be less annoyed by malefactors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old even upon the most heinous crimes, but that in tract of time men continuing to transgress, they were extended afterwards to the taking away of life, and yet they still transgress. And therefore either some *greater terror than death* must be devised, or death will not be enough for coercion."

No doubt of it. Even death, which men fear most, will not suppress crime, but it will prove the strongest check. Physicians cannot stay all maladies, but they arrest the progress of some. Should we then argue that they are useless in the treatment of disease? Tuscany gave up capital punishments, *but is resorting to them again*. Catherine of Russia did the same, but still administered the "knout without reserve." The *carcere duro* and the *carcere durissimo*, (if we attended to Andryane,) the tender mercies of Spielberg, are many deaths, and are obviously borrowed from Beccaria, or some analogous system.

"Non è l'intenzione della pena che fa il maggior effetto sull' animo umano, ma l'estenzione di essa; —non è il terribile ma passeggero spettacolo della morte di uno scelerato, ma il lungo e stentato esempio di un' uomo privo di libertà che divenuto bestia di servizio ricompensa colle sue fatiche quella società che ha offeso, che è il freno più forte contro i delitti."

Compared to this who would not die; and experience shows solitary confinement produces madness, and the choice of even death in preference. Mr. Miller, the distinguished author of the "Inquiry into the Criminal Law," mentions that he himself saw a man led to execution in Austria on his own confession of guilt, which was requisite to convict him of murder, after he had tasted two years of Austrian solitary imprisonment. And to such an extent has conscience urged the hidden lash in several instances, that men have surrendered themselves to capital punishment rather than bear the "peine dure et forte" of inward meditation on guilt, of solitary confinement of thought in their own bosom; and it comes to that, though the body be at liberty.

Sir Hesketh gives us an extract from the Morning Herald on the Returns connected with the subject of capital punishment, made before the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Ewart. These are divided into two classes.

"First class—a return of the number of persons sentenced to death for *murder* in the year 1834, whose punishment was *commuted*, specifying the counties in which these crimes occurred, and stating

the number of *commitments* for murder in the same counties during the same year and the following year, together with the *increase or diminution of commitments* for murder in the same counties in the year following the commutation of the sentences; similar returns for 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838.

"Second class—A return of the number of *executions* which took place in England and Wales during the three years ending the 31st day of December, 1836, and also during the three years ending the 31st of December, 1839, together with the number of *commitments* in each of those periods respectively for offences *capital*, on the 2d day of January, 1834. Also the total number of *convictions* for the same offences, together with the *centesimal proportions of convictions to commitments* in each of those periods respectively."

The result of these facts obtained from the several counties are as follows:—

"Looking to the tables of *executions*, we find that in the *three years* ending the 31st of December, 1836, the number *executed* was 85; while during the *three years* ending the 31st of December, 1839, the number was only 25. The *commitments* in the former period were 3104, in the latter 2989; showing a decrease, though a small one, in the number of *commitments*, while there is exhibited an *increase* in the number of *convictions*—viz. from 1536 to 1788, showing the *centesimal proportions of convictions to commitments* in the two periods to be represented by the figures 49·48 and 59·48, respectively."

But these returns extend over far too small a space of time to constitute a just criterion; and many other local and general influences, such as the increased education of the rising generation, are to be taken into calculation in the consideration of this question.

"Once grant an exception," says the author, "to execution, once admit the doctrine of reprieve, and the authority as a command in the Bible ceases altogether." We do not exactly see the truth of this assertion. A reprieve is generally the result of a more mature deliberation on the case of the criminal, where the circumstances are probably ambiguous. Most anxious should we be to seize any opportunity to relieve ourselves from the awful responsibility of condemning a fellow man to death. This does not give an "exception" to execution, for where the facts are clearly proved, the just penalty of the law is executed.

The narrow limits, however, to which we are obliged to confine ourselves, will not allow us to enter deeply into this important question on the present occasion, and we therefore turn the more willingly from the lucubrations of the worthy baronet, to the more pleasing task of accompanying him through the interesting narrative which he has given to the English public, in a manner equally creditable to his talents and his heart. Although this, as well as other productions

of Victor Hugo, cannot be unknown to the majority of our readers, still as "The Last Days of a Condemned" bid fair henceforth to assume a place in English literature, we shall not hesitate, even at the risk of telling a twice told tale, to give to our readers a short analysis of the work, previous to the introduction of the passages we shall select as specimens of the spirited manner in which Sir Hesketh Fleetwood has executed his self-imposed task of clothing this singular production in an English dress.

The work consists of a series of papers, supposed to be the daily writings during six weeks of a condemned criminal, confined for that period in the Bicêtre previous to his execution. These present to us a powerful picture of the hopeless despair of one who is condemned to expiate his sins upon the scaffold. The words "condemned to death" haunt the wretched man as spectral apparitions. The joyous beams of the sun darting through his prison window, the merry laughter from the flower market beneath, awaken only bitter and overwhelming reflections of the irrevocable past. This mental punishment is increased by continually reading on the walls of his dungeon the various names of criminals who had expiated their sins before him. He involuntarily recollects the appalling crimes they have committed. To his diseased imagination their names appear written in flames of fire upon the wall, their spectre forms crowd around him, all raising their right hand, as if in denunciation against him, excepting one who was a *parricide*.* He is nearly fainting with horror, and is recalled to animation by something cold crawling over his naked foot. It was a bloated spider! We give in the words of the translator the powerful scene of the galley slaves departing for Toulon:—

"At twelve o'clock a large gateway in the court was opened. A cart, escorted by soldiers, rolled heavily into the court, with a rattling of irons—it was the convict-guard with the chains. At the same instant, as if this sound awakened all the noise of the prison, the spectators of the windows, who had hitherto been silent and motionless, burst forth into cries of joy, songs, menaces, and imprecations mixed with hoarse laughter. It was like witnessing a masque of demons, each visage bore a grimace, every hand was thrust through the bars, their voices yelled, their eyes flashed, and I was startled to see so many gleams amidst these ashes. Meanwhile the galley sergeants quietly began their work—one mounted on the cart and threw to his comrades the fetters, the iron collars, and the linen clothing, while others stretched long chains to the end of the court, and the captain tried each link by striking it on the pavement, all of which took place under the mocking railery of the prisoners, and the loud laughter of the convicts

* In France a parricide has his right hand taken off previous to his execution.

for whom they were being prepared. When all was ready, two or three low doors poured forth into the court a collection of hideous yelling ragged men; these were the galley slaves. Their entry causing increased pleasure at the windows—some of them, being ‘*great names*’ among their comrades, were saluted with applause and acclamation, which they received with a sort of proud modesty. Several wore a kind of hat of prison straw, plaited by themselves, and formed into some fantastic shape; these men were always the most applauded. * * * * * While they were exchanging their worn out prison garments for the thin and coarse clothing of the galleys, the weather which had been hitherto uncertain, became suddenly cold and cloudy, and a heavy shower chilled their thin forms and saturated their vesture. A dull silence succeeded to their noisy bravadoes; they shivered, their teeth chattered, and their limbs shook in the wet clothes. One convict only, an old man, retained a sort of gaiety; he exclaimed, laughing, while wiping away the rain, and shaking his fist at the skies, ‘*this was not in the play bill!*’ When they had put on their miserable vestments, they were taken in bands of twenty or thirty to the corner of the court where the long chains were extended. At every interval of two feet in these long chains were fastened short transverse chains, and at the extremity of each of the latter was attached a square collar, which opened by means of a hinge in the centre, and closed by an iron bolt which is rivetted for the whole journey on the convict’s neck. The convicts were ordered to sit down in the mud on the inundated pavement; and the iron collars were fitted on them, and two prison blacksmiths, with portable anvils, rivetted the hard unheated metal with heavy iron hammers. This was a frightful operation, and even the most hardy turned pale! Each stroke of the hammer aimed on the anvil resting on their backs makes the whole form yield;—the failure of its aim, or the least movement of the head might launch them into eternity. When this operation was finished the convicts rose simultaneously. The five gangs joined hands, so as to form an immense circle, and thus ran round and round in the court, with a rapidity that the eye could hardly follow. They sang some couplets in their own idiom to a melody which was sometimes plaintive, sometimes furious, often interrupted by hoarse cries and broken laughter, like delirious raving; while the chains clanking together in cadence formed an accompaniment to a song more harsh than their own noise. A large trough was now brought in; the guards striking the convicts to make them discontinue their dance, took them to the trough, in which was swimming I know not what sort of herbs in some smoking and dirty-looking liquid. Having partaken of it they threw the remainder on the pavement, with their black bread, and began again to dance and sing. This is a liberty which is allowed them on the day they are fettered and the succeeding night. I gazed on this strange spectacle with such eager and breathless attention that I totally forgot my own misery. The deepest pity filled my heart, and their laughter made me weep. Suddenly, in the midst of a profound revery into which I had fallen, I observed the yelling circle had stopped and was silent—then every eye was turned to the window which I occupied, ‘*the condemned! the condemned!*’ shouted they, pointing their finger at me, and their bursts of laughter were redoubled.” * * * * * “The window looked into the large court of the Bicêtre, which was full of people. Two lines of veterans had difficulty in keeping the crowd away from a narrow passage across the court. Between this double rank of soldiers, five long wagons loaded with men were driven slowly, jolting at each stone; it was the departure of the convicts. These wagons were open, and each gang occupied one. The convicts, in con-

sequence of these iron collars being attached to the centre chain, are obliged to sit back to back, their feet hanging over the sides of the wagon: the centre chain stretched the whole length of the cart, and on its unfastened end, the serjeant stood with his loaded musket. There was a continual clanking of the prisoners’ chains, and at each plunge of the wagon their heads and pendant limbs were jolted violently. A quick penetrating rain chilled the air, and made their wet slight vesture cling to their shivering forms. Their long beards and short hair streamed with wet; their complexions were saturnine, they were shivering and grinding their teeth with mingled rage and cold! But they had no power of moving—once rivetted to that chain, each becomes a mere fraction of that hideous whole which is called the Gang. Intellect must abdicate, the fetters condemn it to death, and the mere animal must not even hunger but at certain hours. Thus fixed, the greater part half clad, with bare heads, and no rest for their feet, they begin their journey of twenty-five days; the same sort of wagons, the same portion of dress being used in scorching July as in the cold rains of November. One would almost think that man wishes heaven to take a part in his office of executioner. Between the crowd and the convicts a horrible dialogue was maintained; abuse on one side, bravados on the other, imprecations from both; but at a sign from the captain, I saw the sticks of the guard raining indiscriminate blows into the wagon on heads and shoulders, and all returned to that kind of external calm which is called ‘*order.*’ But their eyes were full of vengeance, and their powerless hands were clenched on their knees. The five wagons, escorted by mounted gendarmes and guards on foot, passed slowly under the high arched door of the Bicêtre. The crowd followed them; all vanished like a phantasmagoria, and by degrees the sounds diminished of the heavy wheels, clanking fetters, and the yells of the multitude uttering maledictions on the journey of the convicts; and such was their happy beginning.”

His reflections on the blighting influence of a prison upon the young and hitherto slightly tainted mind are very beautiful. He is removed to another prison and is there confined with a noted criminal, who gives him a striking history of his life. He has an interview with the priest of the prison, inured to the contemplation of the varied influences of crime over the human breast, his ministrations give him but little consolation from the cold and methodical manner in which he performs his spiritual duties. He sighs for one whose ministry has given consolation to the sick and weary hearted, to the calm and peaceful deathbed, for one whose spiritual energies would be aroused by the appalling situation of a man condemned to suffer a violent death, whose energetic and heartfelt prayers to the Creator would secure the peace and redemption of his soul. Towards the last day the chimes of the distant belfry fall upon his shuddering ear. He looks back upon his crime with redoubled horror. He must die in a few short hours, and he remembers that a year ago he was innocent and at liberty, wandering through the fresh fields and waving grass. His last interview with his little child,

who adds to his grief by not remembering him, is exquisitely described, nor has it lost any portion of its touching beauty in the hand of the translator.

"My child looked rosy and happy, and her large eyes were bright—oh! she is so pretty! I drew her towards me, I raised her in my arms, and placing her on my knees, kissed her dear hair. I asked, 'why is her mother not with her?' and I learnt that she was very ill, and my poor old mother also. Mary looked at me with astonishment. Caressed, embraced, devoured with kisses, she submitted quietly; but, from time to time, cast an uneasy look towards her nurse, who was crying in the corner. At length I was able to speak. 'Mary,' I exclaimed, 'my own little Mary!' and I pressed her violently against my breast, which was heaving with sobs. She uttered a little cry and then said, 'oh! you hurt me, sir.' 'Sir!' it is nearly a year since she has seen me, poor child! She has forgotten me,—face, words, voice; and then who could know me with this beard, this dress, and this pallor? What! already effaced from that memory, the only one where I wished to survive! What! already no longer a father, am I condemned to hear no more that word, so soft in the language of children that it cannot remain in the language of men, 'papa.' And yet to have heard it from that sweet mouth once more, only once more, that is all I would have asked in payment for the forty years of life they will take from me. 'Listen, Mary,' said I to her, joining her two little hands in mine. 'Do you not know me?' She looked at me with her bright beautiful eyes, and answered, 'oh! no, indeed.' 'Look at me well,' I repeated, 'what! dost thou not know who I am?' 'Yes, sir,' she answered, 'you are a gentleman.' Alas! while loving one being on earth, loving with all your deep affections, having that being before you, who sees and looks at you, speaks and answers you, and yet knows you not; you wish for consolation but from this one being, who is the only one that does not know that you require it because you are going to die! 'Mary,' I continued, 'hast thou a papa?' 'Yes, sir,' said the child. 'Well then, dearest, where is he?' She raised her large eyes in astonishment; 'ah, you don't know, sir, papa is dead;' here she began to cry; I nearly let the little angel fall. 'Dead!' I exclaimed, 'Mary, knowest thou what it is to be dead?' 'Yes, sir,' she answered, 'he is in earth and in heaven.' And she continued of her own accord, 'I pray to God for him morning and evening at mamma's knees.' I kissed her on the forehead—'Mary, say to me thy prayers.' 'I could not, sir; a prayer you do not say in the middle of the day. Come to-night to my house and you shall hear me say it.' This was enough, I interrupted her. 'Darling Mary, it is I who am thy papa.' 'You!' returned she. I added, 'wouldst thou like me for thy papa?' The child turned away; 'No, sir, my papa was much prettier.' I covered her with kisses and tears. She tried to escape from my arms, crying—'sir, you hurt me with your beard.' Then I replaced her on my knees, devouring her with my eyes, and continued, 'Mary, canst thou read?' 'Yes,' she answered, 'I can read very well. Mamma makes me read my letters.' 'Well then read a little to me,' said I, pointing to a printed paper which she held crumpled in one of her dimpled hands. She shook her pretty head, saying, 'oh! dear me I can only read fables.' 'But, try, my darling; come open your paper.' She unfolded the paper, and began to spell with her fingers, 'SEN—sen—TENCE—tence—Sentence.' I snatched it from her hands. It was my own sentence of death she was reading to me. Her nurse had bought the paper for a penny. To me it had cost more. No words can convey

what I felt; my violence had alarmed the child, who was ready to cry—suddenly she said to me, 'do give me back my paper, I want to play with it.' I restored her to her nurse. 'Take her hence.' And I fell back in my chair, gloomy, desolate, in despair. Now they may come, I care for nothing more, the last fibre of my heart is broken."

The hour at last arrives, the appalling ceremony commences, the toilet of the condemned begins, they remove his coat and waistcoat for the purpose of cutting off his hair, so that the axe may not be impeded in its duty. The cold steel touches his neck, and a thrill of horror runs through his frame, a sea of heads appears to his bewildered eyes, a thousand voices greet him, he is on the scaffold, he has a confused idea that his pardon may arrive, he prays but for five minutes' mercy, only five minutes more! the last words are "hark! I hear some one coming up stairs." * * * "4 o'clock."

We must so far depart from our resolution of confining ourselves wholly to the merits of this work in merely a literary point of view, as to cite some of Sir Hesketh Fleetwood's remarks on the influence of poverty in producing crime.

"In the phrase 'my poverty but not my will consented,' let me not be understood to speak of poverty merely in the light of want of money; that is a very narrow view, and very confined as to what forms the real pains of poverty. Poverty is the want of means, intellectual and moral, as well as pecuniary, to feed the being who is placed on the area of the world; with mind active as well as body, sustenance is necessary to its existence; if the poor man cannot obtain bread, he takes gin to assuage cravings of the stomach; no less, if the mind cannot obtain light, to guide it on the onward path, the visual organs become habituated to the dark and murky gloom of almost darkness, and through their confused gleamings, no wonder if the being fall into the pits and whirlpools which beset with danger the pathway of man, even when blessed with the clear light of day; how much more, therefore, when he has not light to discern good from evil, nor an intellectual poor-law to supply him with food when a beggar by the way side of knowledge! How strange it is that we can incarcerate the *bodies* of the poor because they are poor, objecting to let them be dependent on casual charity for bodily sustenance, and yet cannot be equally strict in legislating for the mind. * * * * The poverty of the mind, if relieved, will probably be a permanent good; whereas bodily relief is at best but temporary. How vast, too, is the effect of knowledge on the creation of food; knowledge teaches industry; knowledge and industry multiply an hundred fold the product of labour; comfort and security are thus increased; idleness, and consequently crime, is diminished, for a man of information is seldom idle; and one surrounded with comforts, is rarely inclined to commit crimes against society."

There can be no question that it is one of the most important duties of the legislature, to provide for the intellectual improvement of the lower classes, as the most efficient means of diminishing crime. That, notwithstanding the many efforts to produce this de-

sirable object, but little, comparatively speaking, has yet been effected, is a melancholy truth unfortunately but too self-evident—at the same time we may be allowed to observe en passant, that Sir Hesketh a little wanders in the subsequent part from the proposition which he lays down at the commencement of the passage just quoted. He invalidates the true and forcible statement he first gives of the strong temptation to crime produced by physical destitution, and his just inference therefrom, that the criminal is in consequence more an object for pity than condemnation, by proceeding to represent mental ignorance as constituting what he calls “the real pains of poverty.” We are far from wishing to be understood as not appreciating, as deeply as any advocate for public instruction could wish, the immense importance of education to the lower classes, without which we are convinced that no government can hope to realize real or permanent benefits to the population. We merely wish to point out to the author the inconsistency of his reasoning, and we have no doubt that he will be more careful in the arrangement of his matter upon another occasion of appearing before the public. We quite agree in the concluding observations of Sir Hesketh, that

“Punishment when strained beyond what is necessary, becomes revenge; punishment also should never exceed, but rather be milder than public opinion. In the awful decision of death more especially we should be careful not to inflict a penalty which we cannot repay back to the sufferer, if the condemnation should afterwards prove to have been erroneous. There can be no recall from the grave; in the beautiful words of our author ‘the door of the tomb opens not inwards.’”

All must wish that the punishment of death could be abolished, but of this we see no probability, since, if it were, we should soon rue that concession to the false reasoning of a Bulwer and a Victor Hugo, and retrace our steps like Tuscany. Victor Hugo brings forward many energetic arguments, but even under modern circumstances we cannot agree with his views. Certainly in former times there were many and dreadful abuses in public executions, but more so in France than in England.

We can also conceive a considerable portion of horror being experienced by Victor Hugo and sensitive minded men from the terrible manner in which capital punishment has often been inflicted. Victor Hugo gives some dreadful examples. But he omits the most dreadful instance in our recollection in France. A man and his wife were to be guillotined for murder. The man suffered the sentence first, and while his head was in the basin his wife was next placed beneath

the instrument, to suffer the same awful penalty. At the sight of her husband’s severed head, which she instantly recognized beneath her, the woman gave one of those deep and agonizing shrieks, that it is fortunate we hear but rarely, for their sound is almost like the blast of death. Her sensation was but momentary, but

“Gathered in that drop of time
A life of pain, an age of crime.”

To have forced any living being to endure that more than mortal agony we own was infamous. The sensation, that with that dis-severed head an instant would suffice to place her own; the awful questioning between death and life, to which her midway position led; the ghastly combination of death and life to which she was fast approaching, we freely own that such needless suffering ought not to be inflicted on mortality, and totally differ from the system of punishment laid down by Beccaria. This may have tended to have influenced the energetic mind of Victor Hugo: his ideas show great benevolence and philanthropy. But let us hope that religion and civilisation are gaining ground in all countries. We would gladly echo the words of Victor Hugo, “Tyranny has departed.” The precepts of Christianity in their original purity will, we trust, be eventually acted upon, to the promotion of universal justice. Education will advance and will improve the moral and physical condition of the lower classes, and truly happy will distant nations feel, should the time ever come when they will be no longer called on to execute the solemn judgment, “he who sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.”

ART. IX.—*Histoire de l’Art moderne en Allemagne.* Par le Comte A. Raczynski. Tom. II. 4to. pp. 677. Paris. 1839.

WE have already given an account of this interesting work relating principally to the schools of Berlin and Dusseldorf, and generally to the recent revival of art in Germany, an event which has excited but little attention in this country, and indeed may be said to be hardly known in its causes and consequences. The present volume treats of the same general subject, and also particularly of the schools of Munich, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Carlsruhe, Prague and Vienna. It comprises a complete account of the recent progress and present state of architecture, sculpture, and painting in these different capitals.

It is preceded by an introduction containing the literary history of the Nibelungenlied and the other romantic poetry of Germany's heroic age, from which have been taken some of the principal subjects of the artistic creations formed under the patronage of the present king of Bavaria. The reign of the Hohenstaufen emperors—1138—1268—is the most glorious epoch of the middle age in Germany. In the midst of their deadly feuds with the Guelphs, this noble race of heroes patronised and cultivated the arts and sciences which had sprung into new life from the ruins of ancient civilisation. The brilliant and stirring epoch of the Crusades brought the East and the West into contact, and the fruits of this intercourse are attested in numerous monuments of architecture, sculpture, and painting, scattered over Germany, transporting us back to the camps, the courts, and the religious festivals in which the Hohenstaufen appear as the prominent figures on this splendid scene.

The poetical productions of this epoch may be divided into three distinct parts: those which have a common character with the Eddaic lays of Scandinavia; those which have borrowed their substance and form from the Romanz poetry; and those which are purely Teutonic in their origin, spirit, and character. The first possess an eminently epic character: they have also a national character, but of that remote nationality which confounds the German race with the other branch of the great Gothic family—the Scandinavians—and which belongs to the bloody period of the Northern mythology. Among these may be reckoned the Nibelungenlied and the other lays of which Theodoric King of the Goths is the hero. The second are of a complex nature, being however mainly derived from the Romanz or Provençal poetry, among which may be reckoned *Parcival*, *Tristan*, and the chivalric songs of Wolfram von Eschenbach. The third are purely national, and exclusively appropriated to the age of the Hohenstaufen. Such are the lyric and patriotic songs of Walter von der Vogelweide. These last have no relation to the Romanz poetry, except what concerns their external form.

The poetical literature of this glorious period sprung from the traditions relating to the times of the Nibelungen and Attila, from the lays of the Edda and the other productions of the Skaldic muse. So also the inspirations of modern art at Munich have been mainly derived from the recollections of ancient national glory, of the age of chivalry, and of warm religious faith. The

German Nibenlungenlied, in its present form at least, is much less ancient than the Scandinavian. It is also much less rude and energetic. It is refined by Christianity and chivalry, both of which were unknown to the ancient Skalds. Its external form has been borrowed from the Romanz poetry, and it may be considered as the commencement of German poetry which has since attained such perfection. The reaction in favour of the romantic school in Germany must be attributed to this source. The lays of the Nibelungs are for the modern Germans what the Homeric poems were for the ancient Greeks. They embody the oldest traditions of the heroic age. To Schnorr was reserved the glory of publishing the Nibelungenlied in a language—that of painting—common to all nations, in a series of frescoes which decorate the walls of the royal palace at Munich. Previous to commencing this great work, he had painted in oil a smaller picture, which is now in the collection of Count Raczynski at Berlin. It represents the bard of the Nibelungen seated between two allegorical figures, Poetry and History (*die Mahre und die Saga*), and forms also the subject of the first of the series of frescos taken from this poem. This series, like the poem itself, is divided into three principal parts:—the life and adventures of Sigfried, his death, and the revenge of Chriemhild. The execution of this grand conception has not escaped the cavils of criticism, embittered by party spirit and envy; the details of the composition and the figures may not always respond to the preconceptions the spectator may have formed of the scene and characters intended to be portrayed: but the general effect of the whole is worthy of the noble epic from which it is derived.

Another series of paintings in fresco, by Gassen, adorns the walls of the queen's ante-chamber at Munich, the subjects of which are taken from the life and works of Walter von Vogelweide. This poet, one of the earliest and most famous of the Minnesänger, flourished during the reign of the Emperor Frederick II. of the Hohenstaufen line. The most remarkable picture in this room is that painted on the ceiling, representing Walter at the famous poetical tournament or trial of skill at the Wantburg, in the year 1286. This celebrated scene is described in an illuminated painting in the magnificent MS. collection of the German Minnesänger in the royal library at Paris. This ancient picture has been copied in a wood engraving by Unzelmann, prefixed to the second volume of Professor von der Hagen's edition of the *Minnesänger*. Gassen has not servilely followed this ancient com-

position, although he appears to have borrowed some of its details, as characteristic of the times. Walter is represented in the attitude of a conqueror crowned with laurel before the princely pair, whilst Osterdingen, his vanquished rival, seeks the protection of the enchanter Klincksor against that ignominious death which was to be the penalty of defeat in this mortal strife. On the right sit the judges of the field; on the left stands the executioner, holding in his hand the fatal cord; and in the back ground is grouped the crowd of courtly spectators. The minstrel is also represented in various other scenes of his adventurous and courtly life, with that grace and softness which mark the works of this artist. The last of this series represents the tomb of Walter, as it formerly existed at Wursburg. The choristers of the church scatter seeds on the monumental statue of the poet lying in a recumbent posture, which are gathered by the birds invited to this feast, according to the legend, referring to his testamentary disposition, which ordained that they should be fed in this manner at his tomb. This beautiful idea is expressed with admirable simplicity and grace in the fresco of Gassen.

The present King of Bavaria, when prince royal, had conceived the idea of erecting a sort of pantheon or temple consecrated to German genius and patriotism. On his way to join the army of Napoleon in Poland, in 1807, he had a conference at Berlin with Johannes von Muller on this project, the execution of which was actually commenced by an order to the sculptor Schadow for several busts of German heroes and authors. On the liberation of Germany from the French yoke, in 1814, the design was resumed, and the plan of the architect Klenze was adopted for the construction of the Walhalla, the building of which was commenced in 1820. During the interval between these two epochs, orders were given to Wagner, at Rome, for the bas-reliefs to ornament the frieze, intended to represent the primitive history of the German nation; to Rauch, at Berlin, for six winged victories; and to Schwanthaler, at Munich, for other sculptures, which have been since executed. This monumental edifice is erected about a league from Ratisbon, on the brow of a steep hill, the base of which is washed by the Danube. It is in the form of a parallelogram, 300 feet long at its base, 100 feet wide, and 75 feet in height. It is built of white marble of Salzburg, the lateral walls of the interior being adorned with 150 busts of illustrious Germans of various epochs.

Among the architectural constructions of

King Louis at Munich, the Glyptothek is destined to receive the collection of works of ancient sculpture, which is arranged in chronological order in a suite of magnificent apartments, separated in the centre by two square rooms, which are adorned with frescoes by Cornelius. This rich collection was formed by purchases made at Rome, of objects remaining in the palaces of the former electors of Bavaria, and of others excavated at the King's expense in Greece, Italy, and Germany. The frescoes of Cornelius are the most successful attempt to revive this branch of art which has recently been made. The Pinacothek contains the immense collection of pictures belonging to the king, the productions of each school being arranged in separate rooms. Opposite to the cabinets containing the smaller pictures, a gallery runs along the whole length of that part of the building, divided into twenty-five *loggi*, each of which is painted in fresco on the ceiling and sides with a history of the arts, from designs drawn by Cornelius. The greater part of the cartoons and some of the paintings were executed by Zimmermann, or by other artists under his direction. There is but one voice as to the beauty of this edifice, both as to its external aspect and internal distribution. The statues of eminent artists by Schwanthaler, to be placed on the roof, will form one of its principal ornaments. The other buildings erected by the king are the new wing of the palace on the south side, ornamented with the frescoes already mentioned, of subjects taken from ancient German history and poetry; the new wing on the north side, consecrated to the history of the middle age in Germany, and adorned with paintings arranged in three different halls, the first of which is intended to commemorate the life and actions of Charlemagne; the second of Frederic Barbarossa; and the third of Rodolph of Hapsburg; the chapel of All Saints, built in imitation of the Byzantine architecture, and ornamented with frescoes of religious subjects by Hess; the Basilic, commenced in 1836, and to be finished in 1842, which is also to be decorated with frescoes by the same great master; the church of St. Louis; the Gothic church in the suburb of Au, the most successful attempt to revive the architecture of the middle age we are acquainted with; the Odeon or concert hall; the library and the university. The architects employed in planning and constructing these buildings were Klenze and Gärtner, whose genius has found an immense scope in the execution of such a number and variety of works.

Rauch, of Berlin, was the first German

sculptor, who, after a lapse of 250 years, attempted to revive the taste of the middle age as manifested in the works of Albert Durer. Following neither the models of antique sculpture, nor Canova, nor Thorwaldsen, he succeeded in reviving the true old German style of Fischer, and at the same time adapting it to the present state of intellectual progress and of society, thus producing works which have completely satisfied the public taste and the peculiar wants of the age. Schwanthaler has trodden in the footsteps of the great Prussian sculptor, availing himself of the fine field opened by the orders given by the King of Bavaria for the statues of the most eminent masters of painting, intended to ornament the Pinacothek, and for the bas-reliefs on the façade of the Walhalla, representing the combat of Herman against the Romans under Varus. Among the former, the models of Raphael and Michael Angelo are the most beautiful in the judgment of amateurs and of the artist himself, among the great variety of compositions he has produced. His taste in sculpture has evidently been more or less influenced by Thorwaldsen and the study of the antique, but not through a slavish imitation of this master, which would have been unworthy of a genius so original and fertile as that of Schwanthaler.

The school of Munich and the school of Cornelius are synonymous terms. Not that all the artists of this capital are his pupils. Many of them are his contemporaries, and would doubtless have risen to great eminence independent of his guidance and the influence of his example. Still it cannot be denied that his labours have mainly contributed to give a character of originality and grandeur to the school of historical painting which has recently been formed in Bavaria. The powerful genius of Cornelius assumes in his different works the antique or the romantic character, according to the respective nature of the different subjects he treats; it is inspired by poetry; the epic is his appropriate field of action. But his style is ever severe, grave, and elevated.

Schnorr is eminently German. The romantic poetry of the heroic and chivalric times has given a fixed direction to his genius. The proofs of this fact abound in his works, which transport us back to the age when poetry, war, love, and religion, were the four elements of human life. His frescoes are admirable for composition, grace, and delicate sentiment. He has occasionally painted in oil colours, but the greater part of his life as an artist has been devoted to the composition of drawings for fresco paintings. He was one of three German artists em-

ployed to adorn the villa Massimi near Rome with frescoes taken from subjects of the three great Italian poets. Those from Ariosto were drawn and painted by Schnorr, from Dante, by Cornelius, and from Tasso, by Ouerbeck. Schnorr was five years engaged in executing his part of this work, which marks the revival of fresco painting on its native soil of Italy by transalpine artists.

Henry Hess, by his natural disposition, is destined to be the painter of the Gospel history and other sacred subjects. The religious sentiment is the predominant feature in the character of his genius, which delights in the tender emotions produced by the practice of the Christian virtues. His most important compositions are the frescoes for the chapel of All Saints, representing a series of subjects taken from the Old and New Testament history. Although he was assisted in these paintings by several other artists, and though several of the series were composed and executed by others, the fame of these admirable works of art belong appropriately to him to whom the plan and the direction was exclusively confided by the king, and who executed the greater part of the cartoons, and more or less of all the paintings. They bear strong marks of analogy with the style of Giotto and the older masters preceding the age of Raphael, and even with the Greek paintings and mosaics of the Lower Empire. This manner of treating the subjects is closely connected with the Byzantine style of architecture employed in the chapel, and contributes to the harmonious effect of the whole edifice. Religion here appears in its primitive simplicity. Its solemnity is divested of all vulgar grace and alloy of human passions. We here discover the eternal type and original character of Christianity, in like manner as the peculiar genius of paganism is indelibly imprinted on the sculptures of Ægina. To have thus revived the spirit of the Gospel history, and embodied it in the language of painting, is indeed a glorious achievement in art.

The school of Munich has unquestionably been formed by an imitation of the older German and Italian masters. How far this imitation has detracted from the merit of originality claimed for it, and how far it has contributed to develop the peculiar genius of the Bavarian artists, are questions which may suggest some doubts in the minds of those who think that all imitation is injurious to genius, by turning its attention from the original forms of natural beauty to the imperfect transcripts of art. Professor Olivier, the Director of the Munich Academy,

has expressed the opinion that the arts, with some occasional exceptions, have been in a constant state of progress and improvement; that the chain of tradition, by which they have been handed down from age to age, has never been entirely broken; and that the period of greatest degeneracy is frequently marked by some redeeming traits, and is connected by some point of excellence with the most glorious epochs in the history of art.

This opinion is contested by Count Raczynski as unfounded in truth and reason.

"I do not see," says he, "for example, what connection can exist, what resemblance can be found between the paintings of Boucher and the Apollo Belvedere, except that both are works of art, which would be only equivalent to saying, that ever since art has existed, there have been artists, which is too self-evident even to require to be stated, much less to be proved. Doubtless there have been interruptions in the progress of art. The paintings of the Byzantines, as made known to us by Italy, resemble more suspense than progress in art; these paintings were not the production of imagination and taste; they had as little analogy with ancient art as the sculptures of the Mexicans had with Grecian statuary. Strictly speaking the Byzantines were artizans rather than artists. The most glorious periods have not been those which have imitated other periods not less glorious, but have been marked by a return to the original and eternal standards of nature. Cornelius would certainly have been great, without studying the antique. I even esteem him greatest where there are the fewest traces of this study, as for example in his Faust. To be a painter, one must know how to draw, and it is better to draw from good models than from bad. In this respect copying from antiques is doubtless useful to students; but to imbibe the spirit of antiquity merely in order to do what its great masters have done, is, I believe, an erroneous course. Still there are examples of genius arriving at great results in following this direction. Thorwaldsen, Cornelius, Schwanthaler may be mentioned among others. But this principle, carried too far, may rather injure than benefit a school. It cannot be too often repeated, that style is not the imitation of the antique, or of Fra-Bartholomeo: in historical painting it is the grandiose joined to calm simplicity, directed by pure sentiment, and restrained within the bounds of moderation and good taste, whatever may be in other respects the species of inspiration which has guided the composition.

"The professors, the greater part of the pupils of the academy, and in general the painters at Munich, are pre-occupied with the idea that style should be the predominant quality in works of art. I am not of the opinion that this should be the object towards which the efforts of the artist ought to be exclusively directed. If the artist be grandiose, if his conception be noble, his works will be stamped with this noble character; but style can no more be attained by effort, than grand and generous inspirations can be found where they are not the natural gift of genius. To those who have not sufficient energy to follow the lofty flight of Cornelius, style becomes affectation. I know no more than one artist, whom the pretension to style has ruined. Doubtless beauty of style is inseparable from superiority in historical painting, but it is not necessary

to be an historical painter. There are other departments of art in which equal excellence may be attained. To give this direction to talent, not adapted to excel in it, would be as unwise as to require Lafontaine to express himself in the language of Homer, by which epic poetry would gain nothing, and fable would lose much. I have too often seen at Munich, style straining after effect, and aiming at something more than ideal and sublime nature: it then falls into the theatrical and statue-like exaggerations of the school of David. The Germans have an appropriate word by which they aptly express this defect, *stylisiren*, the affectation of style. It is this affectation which I regard as the rock upon which artists of merit are in danger of making shipwreck.

"The particular direction painting has received at Munich renders the study of subjects indispensably necessary. The life of a hero, or the manners of a nation in remote times, or the conceptions of a great poet, cannot be transferred to the canvass without a profound knowledge of the subjects. But this study and this tendency of the arts have also their perils. The German is naturally prone to abstraction. It is difficult for a painter to satiate his desire to analyze and dissect. It is said to be necessary for the spectator to comprehend quickly and easily the subject of a picture. This assertion appears logically true, but volumes have been written to determine its application. For my own part I do not feel this necessity at the first sight of a work of art. With those who are gifted with a sense of beauty and a love of the arts, emotion always precedes reasoning. Thus when a spectator at the first sight of a picture begins to analyze its subject, be assured either that he is not endowed with that deep, instinctive feeling, which enables us to comprehend art, or that the work he contemplates expresses nothing. After this feeling has been gratified, it is natural to wish to ascertain whether the subject is well treated; but with a man of taste this criticism will not be considered the most important point; and still less will his attention be first directed to it. I was present when Cornelius, on his return from Italy in 1835, saw for the first time the cartoon of Kaulbach's great composition of the *Huns*. He contemplated this picture in silence, and fully recognized its beauties previous to understanding the thought which predominates in its composition. After having paid his tribute of admiration to its design and execution, he then questioned his pupil as to the subject. Yet the conception of the artist is rendered in this picture with remarkable distinctness."

Cornelius was born at Dusseldorf. His father was inspector of the Electoral Gallery, was not rich, and had a numerous family. His earlier years gave promise of talent in the art of drawing, which induced his parents to place him as a pupil in the academy.

"I was in the sixteenth year of my age," says he, "when I lost my father; my elder brother and myself were obliged to provide for a numerous family. It was at this period that my mother was counselled to bind me apprentice to a goldsmith, rather than make me a painter, on account of the great length of time required to attain eminence in the art of painting, and the multitude of competitors for public favour. My good mother rejected this advice, and I was buoyed up by the enthusiasm of youth which her confidence confirmed, and which was stimulated by the dread of being torn from my

favourite art. I thus made rapid progress, and gave early promise of greater excellence than I have ever been able to attain."

He studied the works of the old masters, not with a view to servile imitation, but in order to imbibe the spirit of their style. The paintings on the walls of the church at Weiss, near Dusseldorf, form his earliest important work. The figures are colossal, and painted *en grisaille*. The artist was then only nineteen years old. Though imperfect, these works indicate that energy which is the distinguishing mark of his talent; they also denote the study of Raphael.

At the age of twenty-six his genius took a new direction, and developed itself in a series of compositions from Faust. The excellence of these works is quite independent of any aid derived from the study of the antique. The subjects are taken from the poem of Goethe, but Cornelius has breathed into them new life. These compositions are eminently German. They were executed at Frankfort, and have been engraved by Ruschweigh. Among them, the prison-scene of Gretchen, and that where Faust and Mephistopheles are described riding on coal-black steeds by the place of execution, are inspired by the very genius of German romantic poetry. The terrific sublimity of the latter scene is admirably depicted in a fine wood engraving by Wright and Folkard, which embellishes the volume before us.

After completing these compositions in 1811, Cornelius left Frankfort for Rome. On arriving there, he found his countryman Overbeck already established, and a close friendship was soon formed between the two younger artists. They inhabited an old deserted convent, where they worked separately from morning to night, communicating the results to each other at the end of every week, and imparting in a friendly spirit their mutual criticisms. A numerous colony of German students was soon gathered in the capital of the arts, who mutually sustained and encouraged each other's efforts. Cornelius himself speaks with proud exultation of their success in aiming at a point of excellence not yet attained.

"It would be impossible," says he, "briefly to describe the circle of development which took place at Rome whilst I resided there; but I may hazard the assertion, that it comprised centuries of real progress. I speak not of myself alone, but of that cluster of individual talents and characters, animated by patriotic, pious, and generous sentiments, elicited by the enthusiastic struggle already begun against tyranny and frivolity, both in Germany and among our countrymen in Italy. Every noble nature powerfully felt the impulse of this reaction."

Cornelius employed himself at Rome on compositions from the Nibelungenlied. These cartoons have been partly engraved

by various artists, but the "Departure of Siegfried," one of the finest of the whole series, had never been engraved until it was lithographed by Zach, of Munich, for Count Raczynski's work. It forms part of the cahier of prints accompanying the present volume. The cartoons of the "Meeting of Joseph and his Brethren," and "Joseph interpreting the Dream to Pharaoh," belong also to this epoch of Cornelius' career as an artist. He afterwards executed the drawings to illustrate the *Divina Comedia* of Dante. In this work he may be said to have laid aside his own crayons, and borrowed those of Giotto and Fiesole. These compositions are marked by a purity of sentiment, softness, and calmness of manner, which contrasts with the usual energy of his style. The figures of Adam, Moses, and St. Stephen are remarkable for simplicity and calm grandeur; whilst the scene in which Dante and Beatrice present themselves at the gates of Paradise is distinguished for grace and purity. During this period the prince royal, now king of Bavaria, arrived at Rome, and made himself acquainted with the fertile and powerful genius of Cornelius, whose aid he invoked to accomplish that restoration of the arts which the prince had already projected. In order to devote his whole time and attention to this object, Cornelius resigned his place of Director of the Academy at Dusseldorf, and emigrated with a colony of pupils to Munich. Here he devoted ten years of his life, from 1820 to 1830, in the maturity of his age, and full vigour of his talent, to designing and executing the frescoes of the Glyptothek, from appropriate mythological subjects of the Homeric poems. This series was followed by the History of Painting, which adorns the *loggi* in the picture gallery of the Pinacothek. The drawings for these frescoes were executed by Cornelius. He also prepared the immense cartoons for the frescoes in the church of St. Louis. Among the subjects of these are the "Last Judgment," the "Adoration of the Magi," and the "Crucifixion," the two last of which are engraved on wood; the "Adoration," by Andrew, Best, and Leloir, and the "Crucifixion," by Lodel at Göttingen. The tendency of Cornelius in these works is at once epic and symbolic. In treating religious subjects, he not only retraces the facts as recorded in Scripture, but impresses upon them a certain mysterious character, by surrounding the principal action with a whole world of allusions, which suggest deep reflections to the pious mind. The religious sentiment, and the character of the evangelists, are expressed in a language at once new and full of energy.

The merit of Cornelius, as a reviver and continuator of art, cannot be better summed up than in the words of a letter addressed to him in 1828 by Girard, himself a great artist and critic, whose enlightened judgment is delivered with a noble simplicity, without the slightest taint of envy or jealousy.

"You have discovered the means of restoring to art her ancient life, and Germany will be indebted to you for having accomplished all that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had promised to bestow on her. This revival will be durable, for it is founded on truth, with which the ancients were so deeply imbued. It will be durable, because it is in accord with the manner, spirit, and literature of your age; and in this respect will this reform vary from changing modes, which in other countries have often modelled art, without impressing on it lasting characters."

Among the numerous colony of artists who emigrated with Cornelius from Dusseldorf to Munich was Kaulbach. Few men of genius have struggled through such difficulties in early life. His first essays in art were paintings for churches, for which he was very badly paid. For one of these, a Madonna with the infant Jesus, of the size of life, and painted for a church in Westphalia, he received only forty thalers. He was also commissioned to paint the walls of a chapel belonging to an asylum for the insane near Dusseldorf, for which he merely received a bare subsistence whilst employed on the work. Whilst his mind was thus depressed by the evils of poverty, the sight of these unfortunate beings left a deep and lasting impression, the recollection of which haunted him for fifteen years, until he made it the subject of that fine composition which has been engraved by Meerton, and of which a wood engraving, by Wright and Folkard, forms a part of the illustrations of the present volume.

Kaulbach afterwards executed a series of drawings illustrating the story of Schiller's *Verbrecher aus verlorner Ehre*, in the style of Hogarth, a specimen of which forms part of the separate cahier of prints. He also executed a series of paintings for the royal palace at Munich, from the works of Goethe, which represent not merely scenes and passages from this great poet, in which the original idea is taken by the artist as the germ of his conceptions, but conveyed in a style entirely new and original. The latest and most remarkable of his compositions is the *Combat of the Huns*, painted for and now in the collection of Count Raczynski, at Berlin, a fine engraving of which by Thäter accompanies this volume of his work. This subject is painted *en camïeux* in a large picture of twenty-one feet by seventeen, and of which the figures in the foreground are of

the size of life. This sublime composition is above all praise, and may be placed among the greatest works of modern artists. It was intended to be executed in colours, but the impatience of the person by whom it was ordered to possess the work, obliged the artist to relinquish his intention. We are, however, of the opinion that it would have lost more of that undefinable character of mystery and grandeur which now belongs to it, than it would have gained in any other respect by being painted in colours.

The legend which forms the subject of this picture is the most striking scene furnished by the struggle between the expiring genius of ancient Rome and one of those hordes of barbarian invaders, who, after having ravaged and subdued the provinces, attacked the capital of the empire, A. D. 452, under their great leader Attila, king of the Huns. History says that Leo, the venerable bishop of Rome, came out to meet this monarch, bearing gifts, and accompanied by the senators, beseeching him to spare the city where the Apostles had preached, and which Alaric had not violated. Attila was moved, and drew off his army from Italy laden with spoil, to pasture their herds once more beyond the Danube. But the carnage and devastations already perpetrated by the Huns left a profound impression on the popular imagination; which, as Chateaubriand remarks, "avait inventé une histoire qui semble être l'allégorie de toutes ces exterminations." In a fragment of Damascius it is related how Attila gave battle to the Romans at the gates of Rome; the armies on both sides perished in the fight, with the exception of the generals and a few of the common soldiers. As they fell, the bodies of the slain rose and continued the combat in the air with unmitigated fury during three days and nights.* It is the allegory contained in this popular legend which has been transfused into the expressive language of painting by Kaulbach, with this happy deviation from the original, that he has not separated the soldiers from their generals. The majestic figure of Attila is seen in the foreground, borne aloft on a shield by his followers, and leading on his faithful Huns to renew in the air the battle with the Romans which had been commenced on earth.

The academy of Munich and the school

* "Commissa pugna contra Scythas ante conspectum urbis Romæ, tanta utrinque facta est cædes, ut nemo pugnantium ab utraque parte servaretur, præterquam duces paucique satellites eorum: cum cecidissent pugnantes, corpore defatigati, animo adhuc erecti, pugnant tres integras noctes et dies, nihil viventibus pugnando inferiores, neque manibus neque animo."

of Munich are two distinct objects. By the school is understood that aggregation of historical painters whose talents have been developed under the influence of Cornelius, and upon whose works his powerful genius has impressed a character of grandeur common to them all, and which distinguishes them from the productions of all other German artists. The academy is also under the direction of Cornelius, but the artists formed by his example do not all recognise the supremacy of the academy. The academy derives its moral being from the school, and not the school from the academy, as grammar springs from languages, the rules of which they teach without creating these rules. In the academy resides the conservative and regulating principle of the arts, but the creative and life-giving principle, which is so powerfully at work at Munich, must be sought for elsewhere. As to the models which are proposed for the imitation of the students of painting, they are principally the works of the old masters anterior to Raphael. As already intimated, the professors act upon the principle, that the arts in their progress form a continuous chain, which cannot be interrupted without danger to their perfection. Such, in fact, has been the progress of modern art in Germany. First came the study of the antique, then followed that of the old German and the grotesque; at last each artist entered on the path which was pointed out by his own natural genius. Such has been the course pursued by Cornelius, Wach, Begass, Schnorr, and many other of their rivals. And such, according to our author, is the correct course.

"Art," says he, "ever tends to pass the bounds of taste and moderation; the greatest masters of the classic age appear in their earliest works timid and naïfs, and it is only by degrees that they attain those extreme limits in the perfection of art beyond which lies the domain of bad taste and exaggeration; but those who have attained these limits at a single bound have soon overpassed them."

"The grave and grandiose character of which the external forms of the master-pieces of antiquity furnish examples, produced certainly the best models for forming the taste and for attaining a firm and pure style of drawing. The study of the works of the Italian painters anterior to Raphael is adapted to preserve young artists from the influence of rashness, presumption, and negligence; it tends to preserve the purity of the imagination, to develop the internal emotions, and that calm serenity of soul inspired by religious sentiments which have ever exercised the most beneficial influence on the art of painting. It is, therefore, that I object to the principle of the academy only when it is pushed to its extreme consequences. When it is carried too far, I should say that it is in vain to attempt to limit the action of a talent endowed with great force, which is completely developed, which is imbued with the consciousness of its own power, and pos-

sesses adequate means of expressing with energy a great conception. It should then be left to its own free action, and if it produces great and beautiful works, the models of which are not to be found in the productions of preceding artists, its merit is not the less in my eyes for being original. Uhland has well remarked, that there is an intimate connection between the different species of poetry, but it is at the same time undeniable that there exists a creative power, which acts independently of models, and continually produces something new. The art is transmitted from generation to generation, but there is also for poetry an independent field of action in which great talents may freely move. With a similar modification the principle of Cornelius and the academy may be admitted. But as already observed, I am firmly convinced that the study of Giotto, Fiesole, Perugino, Francia, cannot but be favourable to promote the progress of the student in the early part of his career. It serves to check the tendency to those exaggerations of force and grace which form the besetting sin of youthful artists."

We are informed, but we know not on what authority the assertion rests, that Cornelius has been applied to, to paint the frescoes in our House of Commons. We trust, as England has no fresco painter, that a mean jealousy of foreign genius, before which our own stands rebuked, will not obstruct this truly generous and noble appreciation of this distinguished artist.

ART. IX.—1. *Histoire de France*, 4 vols. 8vo. 1883—1840. By M. Michelet, Member of the Institute, Professor of History in the College de France, and Chief of the Historical Section in the Archives du Royaume.

2. *Histoire de France* par Theodore Burette. Paris. 1840.

If France and England were rivals in nothing else, their respective claims to the merit of having produced eminent historical writers would suffice to supply an endless fund of international emulation. With distinct features of national character, that in many instances are either strongly contrasted or else decidedly opposed to each other, with very various bents of national disposition and national tastes, that conduct the prodigious activity of the civilized public in either country to widely opposite pursuits, there is a decided similarity of national intelligence and national instinct, which has long existed between the two people, and has now for many centuries brought forward in each country historians of the first eminence. It is needless to dwell on a literary fact so well known to historical students in

general, and to the reading public, wherever such a public exists; nor is this the place to go into an examination of the comparative merits of the grand series of French and of English historians: still, before proceeding to deliver our opinion upon the very remarkable work the title of which we have prefixed to our article, it will not be irrelevant to the subject to say a few words upon the actual historical schools of either country, on the position of historical students and their means of carrying on their literary labours, on the turn taken nowadays by historical inquirers, and also upon what we consider to be the desiderata of history.

Upon the first point the names of Lacroix, Guizot, Barante, the two Thierry's, Thiers, and numerous others occur at once to the recollection; we might have added a short time ago that the amiable and deeply read Michaud, the historian of the Crusades, introduced to the notice of the British public first in this Journal, No. XXXIII., but his life and his literary labours are closed: we purposely abstain from adding the great name of Sismondi; but we may safely say that neither last nor least among the living historians of France is M. Michelet. Lacroix, the senior of the writers whom we have just named, may in some respects be looked on as the father and founder of what we may call the modern French historical school: since he was one of the earliest writers posterior to the Revolution who reverted the long lost practice of searching original documents for himself, of seeing something else in history than a mere record, however skilfully woven together, of political facts, and of giving his reader a philosophical *aperçu* of the moral and social history of the times whereof he wrote.

Guizot, the present head of the philosophical school of French historians, has laboured more at detached portions of history than many others of his contemporaries: his profound insight into the frame-work, and inmost constitution, moral as well as political, of society is well known, and is as evident in his works as his great store of diversified reading; his opinion, never pronounced except when founded on well-considered evidence, nor until after deep reflection, carries with it a weight that few living authors have ever experienced. The unbending habits and the rigid life of the still studious philosopher and statesman contribute in no small degree to what may be called the awe of the French literary world whenever M. Guizot's authority is appealed to. Barante, now dignified with the title of Baron, and torn from the peaceful walks of literary life to the thorny paths of European diplomacy, has produced one great work by which his

name will be tested in future times, the voluminous history of the Dukes of Burgundy; this was considered a great step made in the literary world at the time of its production, as it undoubtedly was, for it testified immense labour, research both profound and conscientious, and ample ability to judge of facts when collected. It was justly considered an historical monument, and we cannot but regret that its author should have been diverted by personal ambition from a pursuit in which his name would certainly have risen high, to another course in which he will probably reap but little either of honour or reward. The same thing indeed may be said of Guizot, who, though undoubtedly the greatest of French living statesmen, would have become still more eminent and perhaps more useful, both to his contemporaries and to posterity, had he continued his historical labours on a grand and serious scale. The Thierry's, more especially the historian of the Norman Conquest of England, are two of the brightest stars of the French historical galaxy: and their works, in having laid a final seal on the system and method of what we shall term philosophical and social history, have been of incalculable service not only to the readers of their own country but to those also of all Europe. The patient zeal of the one, who unravelled the obscure chain of the general history of the Gaelic and Celtic tribes, wherever dispersed throughout the world, and the animated enthusiasm of the other, who wrote by predilection, as he tells us in his preface, the history of the woes of a conquered nation, gave a stimulus to all historical students, and held out clear and shining lights as guide marks through the darkness of by-gone days, for which the gratitude of their contemporaries can never too fully recompense them. Thiers is of quite a different stamp: those whom we have above mentioned have written for the philosopher, for the patient examining student, for the professor, quite as much as for the public. Thiers has written for the public alone. Endowed with bright abilities, with ready eloquence and with great warmth of imagination, M. Thiers has made these qualities help out his comparatively small extent of reading: he seized hold of a subject on which there was no possibility of getting an inattentive and unwilling reader, and his voluminous work flowed out of it easily and almost as a natural consequence. But, unfortunately for his reputation as an author, it was a subject upon which a calm and philosophical opinion cannot even yet be formed: the revolution was a portentous political and moral phenomenon, the causes of which philosophers are not yet able to appreciate,

because historians have not yet been able to narrate them in their entire reality; sentiments have changed and are still changing as to the fact itself, quite independently of the opinion of even so eloquent an historian. M. Thiers is another instance of a statesman formed out of an historian; and he is not a fortunate one; his eloquence and his smartness in parliamentary debate are the only qualifications for a politician that he has been able to bring into the market; while his lamentable want of political consistency, and his absolute deficiency in all the habits of a man of business, have, though he ever and anon appears uppermost in the troubled whirlpool of a French cabinet, done much to lower him in the estimation of the more serious portion of the political world.

There is a highly promising school of younger historians both existing and likely to continue to exist in France, arising not only from the long-continued encouragement prudently given by the government of that country to persons who devote themselves to this the highest branch, perhaps, of literary inquiry, but also from the national taste and demand for such productions of the mind, as well as from the impetus caused by the previously successful labours of so many great men. We may range at the head of this school, only from the date of the publication of his history, not from his own age, still less from the date of his historical researches, the distinguished professor of history in the first collegiate establishment of France, whose work we are about to notice. But we have other matters to treat of before we come to a special examination of it, and we will first briefly state our reason for not including M. de Sismondi among French historians. This gentleman, certainly the greatest historiographer of modern times, whether we consider the extraordinary extent and profundity of his researches, the universal stores of learning and knowledge of almost every kind that he has brought to bear on the subjects of his inquiries, the mild and virtuous yet strict and eminently practicable philosophy, that he always displays in appreciating the actions of mankind, or the evenly-flowing stream of his manly and polished eloquence, this illustrious writer belongs not to Italy, the country of his descent, and perhaps of his affections; not to Switzerland, the land of his choice and his abode; not to France, the nation of which he has given us so splendid a history; not to England, to which he is allied by marriage, but to all Europe, or rather to all the world.

It is one of the most curious coincidences in the literary history of mankind, that four of the great and shining lights of modern

times should have all been so intimately connected with that European paradise—the banks of the lake of Geneva. Rousseau at Geneva and Lausanne, Voltaire at Ferney, Gibbon at Lausanne, Sismondi at Geneva,—may we not add a fifth, though his visit was but transitory, Byron at Diodati?—all these have thrown a halo of literary glory around the favoured spot that will perish only with the natural beauties of that lovely scene. Three out of these great writers have thought and given the products of their minds to the world in French; our own immortal countryman has left us one of the most splendid monuments of literary labour in our own language: but the younger of his French competitors, M. de Sismondi, is hardly to be reckoned inferior to Gibbon, either for the erudition he has displayed or for the form in which he has imparted his knowledge to mankind. Twenty years devoted to the history of the Italian Republics, twenty, or rather thirty, to the history of France,—sixteen volumes of the former work, twenty-four of the latter, besides a history on Gibbon's own subject, which, though written on a perfectly independent basis and brief, is not less philosophical in the views which it develops, together with the literary history of Southern Europe, and numerous other works; all these form a stupendous monument of intellectual labour which no other living author of Western Europe can pretend to, and which, like Laplace's great labours in celestial mechanics, is far too extensive, far too important, far too transcendental, for the great mass of superficial and unlearned readers. To appreciate M. de Sismondi's labours as they deserve to be, it is necessary to be extensively read in ancient and modern history, just in the same way as it has required the erudite acquisitions of a master-mind to bring forth a new edition of Gibbon worthy of the great historian, and to rescue his fame, if indeed it needed any rescue, from the bigoted ignorance of interested declaimers. Far from approving of the view which Gibbon takes of facts or of his criticisms on history, we yet give him due credit for laborious research, and a desire to state events as they happened. We hasten at once to declare that the history of France by M. de Sismondi, is the chief, the standard work on that subject. Other histories may, and no doubt will, develop particular parts of that matter more fully:—none more philosophically, none more eloquently, none more virtuously. It has remained for one person to take the poetical view of the question, and to treat the history of his country partly in the imaginative, partly in the moral, and altogether in the

social point of view,—this writer is M. Michelet.

Only a few lines are necessary for the carrying out of our comparison of English living historians with those of France. Hallam is no doubt our chief luminary in this respect; the most widely-read and the most accomplished, if not the most eloquent, of our historical writers: Lingard and Sharon Turner, who may be fairly placed next in the scale of competition, not only for voluminous extent of production, but also for great erudition and honest research: Milman and Thirlwall, whose German references are invaluable, as vigorous, original, and independent writers, labouring for truth and for posterity; the eloquent and masterly pen of Lord Mahon, conferring equal honour on himself and on the noble order of which he is a bright ornament: the learned labours of Sir F. Palgrave; the poetic antiquarianism of Moore; and numerous other instances; all these fairly place the living historical world of the British islands on a perfect level with that of France; and, were it not for fear of being accused of undue national prejudice, we should say that in many of the most valuable qualities of historical writing, they give it even a superiority. Our two extinct historians, Mackintosh and O'Driscoll, the former greatly overrated, the latter not sufficiently known, we should compare to Michaud and Daru in France, who, like them, are slumbering in the grave. Any writer to compare with Sismondi we have not: we have had our Gibbon: we must wait for another century.

The position of historical students, and their means for carrying on historical inquiries, we take to be much better in France than they are in England. The practical levelling of ranks in the former country, a circumstance for which we by no means desire to express any apology or any unqualified approbation, though like all human modifications of society it has many accompanying evils, yet has certainly had the effect of making the profession of letters one of the most honourable in the community. In England, a "mere author" is regarded often as a literary adventurer, sometimes as an intellectual brigand, nearly always as a quill-driving operative. The favourites of the public, when they come to be favourites, are certainly splendidly rewarded, and the ten or twelve literary lions of the day are patronized and received in every society; but as a class literary men are not encouraged, or at least not encouraged directly. They are rewarded as legists, as ecclesiastics, or as physicians, but not as authors. In France, on the other hand, the

mere title of "Homme de Lettres," is as indicative of a distinct and honourable profession as those of "Militaire," "Jurisconsulte," or "Médecin," and, like them, forms an unobjectionable passport with all the upper classes.

In England facilities for research to a certain extent are no doubt given both in public and private libraries, and in government collections of records; generous patronage is certainly more exercised by individuals in England than in France; but whatever is done, is done in the way of patronage, and not conceded as a matter of right, or one of national interest. In England, unless an author is a member of one of the universities, or can get introduced to the British Museum, there is no library, no really great library to which he can readily get access; and for an unknown, unrecommended individual to apply at the Tower or the Rolls, to search for records, would be an act of madness never attempted more than once by the same person. Not so in France:—all the public libraries of the country are really public, and open to the use of the most obscure applicants; no introduction, no patronage is required; the most valuable works, the most precious engravings, are confided to the local inspection of the first comer, and, to the great honour of the country, are not thereby injured: nothing is more easy than an introduction to the record office—the *Archives du Royaume*,—the administrators of which take a pleasure in helping the public to information. Hence it is that original literary labour is susceptible of being carried on with much greater effect, and by a much greater number of persons in France than it is in our country, and added to the system of gratuitous lectures, as well as to what it is connected with, both as cause and effect, a general friendly feeling in the republic of letters, it has already produced excellent results in raising the literary character of the nation, and will every day do more and more good in the special promotion of historical and documental knowledge. For the publication of memoirs, always an expensive and not seldom a losing undertaking, for the reprinting of scarce works, the editing of precious MSS., &c. we think that France, with her comparatively small pecuniary means, is doing much more than England, and is gaining for herself a more honourable name in the literary history of the century. As for the governments of the two countries, our own, we know, patronizes nothing, or next to nothing, whether in art or in literature. The French government, on the other hand, makes the encouragement and

the regulation of literature and science an important branch of state administration, while its enlightened love for the fine arts has long been known. We hold that on these accounts the position of the young historian and the means afforded him for carrying on his labours, are more advantageous among our Gallic neighbours than among ourselves.

The turn taken by living historical inquirers in France—what is doing in England it is not our business to advert to—is decidedly the examination and the illustration of the social and moral condition of the nation at various epochs of its existence. To ascertain how the thing called a nation has actually come to exist, it is necessary to know not only its action upon other nations, and their reaction upon itself, but also its own internal workings, its own moral, intellectual, and social growth. To learn this correctly, however, we have to go into the minutest details of ancient existence; all the labour and skill of the antiquary and the archivist have to be called into requisition, and it requires a long series of years of joint literary labour, as well as a vast number of memoirs and papers of all kinds to be published before the historian can have sufficient materials to work upon. Till within fifty or sixty years the social conditions of Greece, Italy, Egypt, and other nations of antiquity were alone considered worthy of investigation; what are now termed the *middle* were then complacently styled the *dark* ages; their literature was unknown, their arts and sciences contemned, and public attention was altogether averted from them. The case is far changed at the present day; we are profiting by the silent and apparently disjointed labours of our national antiquarians, and the result has been that new mines of literary and moral, to say nothing of scientific and technic, wealth are opening by historical pioneers every day. We are now at length learning how to judge fairly of our ancestors, and how to appreciate our own condition of national existence.

This leads us to mention that the desiderata of history are to be inferred from a careful comparison, not only of the qualities of what we may call the political historians, but also of those of the delineators of the social and moral peculiarities of any given race of men. Gibbon certainly, more than any other individual who preceded him in our own series of historians, has united all these qualities; and Sismondi, among those who have elevated the French language by their labours. Hallam, of our living authors, is the one who has been most successful in a similar way; and Michelet among

those of the present French school. We cannot better illustrate the desiderata of a good history,—a moral and social history at least, than by at once proceeding to notice our author and his work.

M. Michelet, whose historical labours both on ancient and modern topics have long rendered him a great favourite with the French public, and whose highly interesting memoirs of Luther, compiled from his own letters, have been already favourably introduced to the notice of British readers by a contemporary, is placed in one of the most enviable situations that an historian can hold, as chief of the Historical Section in the Archives du Royaume. All the riches of this immense establishment are in his own keeping; and this circumstance, added to his honourable position of principal Professor of History for France puts him at once at the head of the historical portion of his own countrymen. To the accumulated stores of a life of continual research he adds the precious acquirements of a most accomplished modern linguist, and a well-read scholar in the tongues of classical antiquity; he possesses unwearied powers of application, and is one of the most conscientious searchers of original documents that is any where to be met with.

The first two volumes of the History of France were published in 1833, and this immediately created a great sensation in that country; the third came from the press in 1837, together with his work, in imitation of Grimm's, on the *Origine du Droit Français*; the fourth has been published this year, and a fifth is to follow it in a few months. He has condensed into this work, if we may so venture to term it, an immense collection of observations and essays on the moral and social condition of the French nation, from the earliest periods up to 1422, when the English had become, for a time at least, settled in France; and in so doing he has developed at great length all that relates to the religion, the national and social manners, the local peculiarities, the amusements and the occupations of the people. We say so with the respect due from those who have sat at the feet of so eminent a professor, that for a general connected account of the total history of France we should not consult his book,—we should always revert to Sismondi; but for the illustration of any peculiar point of social history we should dive into his volumes, and we should bring up no small treasure. The highly poetical and religious turn of mind of this author leads him to place every thing in new and original points of view; his descriptions are accurate, full of details, and eminently graphic;

but still they are poetical, and bear plain marks of a very imaginative mind. This bent of our author, added to the peculiar transformation of style and composition which the French language has undergone within the last twenty years, renders the translation of his work almost impossible, at least into English. Like all French writers of the present day, M. Michelet constructs his sentences in brief isolated phrases, often of one member only, seldom of more than three;—in fact, his style may be said to be composed of a series of poetical ejaculations; and there is no way whatever of converting it into English, that could for an instant be tolerated by an English ear, without entirely disregarding the author's own division of his sentences. In the passages we are about to quote, we confess that to get at anything like the meaning of the original—for the French language is becoming more and more untranslatable every day—we have been obliged to construe with great amplitude, and to weave our sentences together something upon the English plan. In mentioning the social condition of the Celtic tribes in France, M. Michelet says :

"Whatever may have been the results of such a circumstance, it is a subject of honour and congratulation to our Celts to have laid the foundations of the law of equality in the west of Europe. The consciousness of personal right, the vigorous assertion of personal interests, which we have remarked in their religious philosophy, as in the case of Pelagius, appear more clearly in their political systems; and furnish us, in part at least, with the secret of the destiny of the Celtic races. While the families of the Germanic nations were rendering themselves immoveable, while their possessions were becoming perpetual, and aggregations of land were forming in consequence of their hereditary system, the families of the Celtic nations were, on the contrary, more and more dividing, sub-dividing, and enfeebling themselves. This weakness resulted chiefly from the equality of their partitions; and the destruction of their race was ultimately caused by their law of premature equity. They have a right to glory in it, and they are at least entitled to the pity and the respect of those for whose future advantage they gave at so early a period the indications of such an idea. This tendency to an equalization, to a general levelling, which in matters of law and policy isolates men from one another, needs to be counterbalanced by some lively sympathy in order to draw them together again, and in order that man, freed from his fellow-man by the equity of the law, may be again united to him by a voluntary bond. This is what in the end has been witnessed in France, and it is this circumstance that explains the greatness of the country: it is by this that we have become a nation, while the unmixed Celts have never been anything but clans. The petty association of the clan formed by the rude bond of relationship, real or fictitious, has ever been found incapable of admitting anything from without, and of attaching itself to any thing foreign. Thus the 10,000 men of the clan of the Campbells are all cousins of the chieftain; they all bear the same name; they have no farther am-

bition, and they hardly acknowledged themselves to be Scotch. A small, dry, nucleus-like clan has ever been found unfit for aggregating anything to itself; flints are not good materials for building, mortar will hardly stick to them; whereas the Roman brick has ever taken it so well, that even at the present day mortar and brick may be seen in ancient buildings forming but one solid block, and a mass almost indestructible." "The Celtic people have no great cause as nations to be gay; everything has gone against them; Brittany and Scotland have ever attached themselves to the weakest side and the last cause; the Chouans of the former supported the Bourbons, the Highlanders of the latter the Stuarts; but they can no longer make kings,—they have lost the power ever since the mysterious stone that was brought from Ireland to Scotland has been carried away to Westminster. Of all the Celtic population, however, the Bretons have, perhaps, the least need of commiseration; for Brittany has long been a participator in a system of gentle equality, and France is a country at once humane and generous. The Cymry of Wales, under the sway of the Tudors, were admitted to share in the rights of England; but it was only by torrents of blood, and the massacre of the bards, that England introduced this happy fraternization. After all, perhaps, it is more apparent than real. And what are we to say of Cornwall, so long the Peru of England, and valued by her only for her mines? That district has at length lost even her original language." "A strange destiny, that of the Celtic world! Of its two divisions, one, though the least unfortunate of the two, perishes, wastes away, or loses its language, its costume, and its distinctive character,—I mean the Highlanders of Scotland; with the populations of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. These, forming the serious and the moral element of the race, seem to be dying away, and threaten soon to become extinct. The other part, full of life, multiplies and increases in spite of everything:—I speak of Ireland.

"Ireland! the eldest of the Celtic race, so far away from France her sister, who is unable to defend her except across the waves! The Isle of Saints! the Emerald of the Seas! all-fertile Ireland, whose men shoot up like blades of grass, and frighten England with the ominous sound that daily rings in her ears—'There is a million more of them!' the land of poets, of men of daring thoughts—of John Scotus Erigena, of Berkeley, of Toland, of Moore, and of O'Connell! People of the brilliant word and the swift sword! people that in this, the decrepitude of the world, still retain the gift of song! Let England smile, if she will, when in some obscure and wretched corner of her crowded cities the Irish widow is heard raising the coronach over her husband's corpse. Weep on, poor Ireland! France, weep thou too! weep that thou seest in thy capital, over the door of the House of Learning which is still open to the children of Ireland, the harp that in vain demands thine aid! Let us weep that we cannot give back to her the blood that she has spilt for us! But is it to be in vain that within less than two centuries four hundred thousand Irishmen have combated in our armies? And are we to witness the sufferings of Ireland without uttering a word? It is thus, however, that we neglected and forgot the Scotch, our ancient allies! Yet a little, and the Scottish Highlanders will have disappeared from the world; the Highlands are becoming every day more and more thinly peopled; the boundless estates which ruined Italy are devouring Scotland. The Highlanders will soon cease to exist except in history, or in the

pages of Walter Scott! Even as it is, people at Edinburgh run to their doors when they see the tartan and the claymore go by! They are all going away—they are all emigrating; and the bagpipe plays one only, and a melancholy air, amid the mountains:—

‘Cha till, cha till, cha till, sin tuile!’

‘We’ll come back, we’ll come back, we’ll come back—Oh! never!’”

Vol. i. p. 150—160.

This may not all be true. The names of Moore and O’Connell, the breather of treason and lies, and the composer of the same admixtures, certainly ought to receive due qualification. Erigena was a Scot, as the well-known *bon mot* between him and Charles the Bald proves. The king asked him, as they sat opposite to each other, “Master, what is the difference between a Scot and a Sot?” “Only the *table*!” replied Erigena. Erigena died a victim to monkish barbarism.—But still the passage is highly poetical, and it presents some obvious facts in a perfectly new light: it is deeply impressed with the melancholy feeling that the perusing of the records of unfortunate races cannot but cause, and it tends strongly to show the compassionate sensibility of the mind of the writer.

In treating of the religion of the middle ages, M. Michelet, who as an antiquarian and a poet (there may be many poets who never wrote a verse) is a catholic, and as a philosopher and a Christian is one of the most mild and tolerant of men in all his opinions, religious and political, devotes numerous pages full of imaginative beauty to the consideration of Christian architecture: the following is a specimen:—

“That Gothic art has had something analogous to itself at Babylon, in Persia, or in Spain, is not to be doubted; but this affects the question only in a slight degree; that art belongs more especially to the place where it took deepest root, and where it made the nearest approaches to its own ideal perfection. Our Norman cathedrals are peculiarly numerous, beautiful, and various: their daughters of England are wonderfully rich, delicately and skilfully ornamented. But the mystic genius of the style seems to be more strongly marked in the churches of Germany, a land that was well prepared, a soil made expressly to bring forth the flowers of Christ: no where else have man and nature, the brother and the sister, played together under the eye of their Father with more pure or more infantine affection. The soul of the Germans betook itself to the flowers, the trees, the fair hills of the Lord, and its simplicity built out of them miracles of art. It was there that the middle ages produced golden souls, which passed away without being known, souls of purity, of child-like innocence and yet of profound thought, which scarcely suspected what the duration of time meant, and which can hardly be said to have come forth from the bosom of eternity, but left the world to flow unheeded by and saw in its troubled waves naught but the reflected azure of the sky above. How were they named? who can tell us? We

know nothing more than that they formed part of the mysterious and vast association that was everywhere spread about. They had their lodges at Cologne and Strasburg; their mark, as old as Germany itself, was the mallet of Thor; and with this, which was sanctified in their Christian hands, they continued throughout the world the great work of the new temple, itself the renewal of the temple of Solomon. To know with what care they laboured, obscure as they were and lost amid the association, or with what abnegation of themselves they persevered, the most remote and inaccessible parts of cathedrals ought to be visited. Climb these aerial deserts, mount to the highest points of the spires where the tiler cannot trust himself without trembling, and you will often find, lonely and seen by the eye of God alone, some chef-d’œuvre of art and of sculpture upon which the pious workman has spent his life. Not a name, not a sign, not a letter is there upon it! he would have thought himself robbing God of his glory had he put any: he laboured for God alone, and for ‘the remedy of his soul!’”—vol. ii. pp. 679—681.

“How are we to reckon up our beautiful churches of the thirteenth century? I could have wished to have said something about Notre Dame de Paris; but there is one* who has marked that monument with such a lion’s claw that none else may now trust himself to touch it; henceforth it is a thing for himself alone; it is his fief; it is the patrimony of Quasimodo. If I were to treat of this church I should consider it as a book of history, as the great register of the destinies of the monarchy. Its western portal, formerly surmounted by the statues of all the kings of France,† was the work of Philip Augustus; the southern portal was that of St. Louis; the northern of Philip the Fair, built out of the spoils of the Templars. The Porte Rouge is the monument of Jean-sans-Peur, Duke of Burgundy, the assassin of the Duke of Orleans. The great and massive building, thick wrought with fleure-de-lys, belongs to history no less than to religion. Notre Dame de Paris is the church of the monarchy itself, Notre Dame de Rheims of the crowning of the heads of that monarchy. St. Denis is the church of tombs; not a sombre and melancholy necropolis, like those of pagan antiquity, but glorious and triumphant, radiant with faith and hope, ample and unshaded like the soul of its builder, St. Louis; simple without, beautiful within, lofty and light, as though it would lie gently on the dead! The steps that lead from the nave to the choir seem as though they waited for the generations that were to mount and to descend with the last remains of the kings. At the period of which we are treating, the thirteenth century, Gothic architecture had attained its plenitude, and was in all the severe beauty of virginity, that short, that adorable moment, in which nothing here below can remain. To the period of pure beauty succeeds that second period of youth when the knowledge of good and evil pierces through the melancholy smile, and penetrating glances escape from languid eyelids: at such a period no festivities are too many to soothe the troubles of the heart, and at that time it is that ornament comes to the aid of beauty. Such was the Gothic church in the second age; it was then that she became coquettish and decked herself out; it was then that she adopted the rich window capped with the triangular canopy: elabo-

* Victor Hugo.

† We beg leave respectfully to differ from M. Michelet on this point: the statues were those of the kings of Judah, and their position in the edifice had reference to the genealogy of the Saviour.

rate tabernacle work then became appended to her doors and towers; and transparent lace work of stone spun from fairy spindles then decorated her! At length the human and natural part of Christianity developed itself more and more, and ultimately invaded the Church; Gothic vegetation, tired of continually mounting upwards, extended itself upon earth and produced its fruits: but what fruits? Images of man, painted and sculptured representations of Christianity, of the saints, of the apostles. Painting and sculpture, the material arts that reproduce finite subjects, came by degrees to stifle architecture, which as the abstract art, infinite in extent but silent in its nature, was unable to contend with its more lively, and more communicative sisters. The human face diversified and peopled the holy nudity of the walls; under pretext of piety man placed his own image everywhere; it entered under the form of Christ, of the apostles, of the prophets; at a later period it entered in man's own name humbly couched upon the tomb, for who could refuse a place to the dead? The dead contented themselves at first with a simple stone on which the effigy of the defunct was engraved; by degrees the grave-stone swelled into a tomb, and the effigy became a statue; the tomb next became a mausoleum, a canopy of stone that filled the church; and at length a chapel, or even the church itself. God, straitened within his own house, scarcely retained in it even a chapel; man had enthroned himself in the Christian church, and there was nothing remaining for it but to become a pagan church again, and to re-assume the form of the Hellenic temple."—vol. ii. p. 683—689.

The second volume opens with a long and most important chapter upon the influence of locality on national character, which is illustrated by a consideration of the peculiarities of the inhabitants of each of the old provinces of France, as connected with and resulting from the position and the physical qualities of the districts themselves. This chapter is well worthy of the most careful perusal, and should be taken as a model for similar researches which might be advantageously made in other nations. We select the following passages.

"Our entrance into the great valley of the South of France may be made by the Rouergue, a province of a rough and decided character. In itself, all shaded by its sombre chestnut-trees, it is but a mass of coal, of iron, of copper, and of lead. In many spots, the coal is on fire, and has been burning for ages, though not from volcanic agency. This district, little favoured by heat or cold on account of the various directions by which it is exposed and the various climates that are to be found in it, is broken up in precipices, deeply scarred by two torrents, the Tarn and the Aveyron, and has but little to envy in the rudeness of the Cevennes. It will be better, however, to enter by Cahors. There all the land is clothed with vineyards; the mulberry trees commence at Montauban; before us opens an immense landscape of thirty or forty leagues in extent, an agricultural ocean, a living and confused mass lost in the indistinctness of distance; while beyond appear the fantastic forms of the Pyrenees with their silvery summits. The ox fastened to the yoke by his horns is labouring at the plough in the fertile valley, and the vine tendrils are climbing round the branches of the elm; if we turn towards the mountains we shall find the goat clinging to the

arid hill side, and the mule winding with its load of oil up the narrow paths of the less elevated districts. At noon comes on a storm, and the land is turned into a lake; within an hour the sun has drunk up all the moisture, as it were at a single draught. In the evening we arrive at some large and sombre town, at Toulouse, where from the sonorous accent of its name we might think ourselves in Italy: but to be undeceived we have only to look at the houses in wood and birch; the rough speech and the bold lively gait of the people will soon remind us that we are still in France.

"The middle and upper classes, that is to say, are French; the lower are perfectly different, Spaniards perhaps in their origin, or Moors. Here, then, is the ancient Toulouse! the city that was so great under its counts, and that under our kings obtained by its parliament the power of royalty, the sovereignty of the south. Those violent legists that came forth from it, and gave to Boniface VIII. the blow intended for him by Philip the Fair, took many an opportunity of excusing themselves for it at the expense of the heretics; of whom, within less than half a century, they condemned four hundred to the flames. At a subsequent period they lent themselves to the vengeance of Richelieu, sat in judgment on Montmorency, and had him decapitated in the Hall, which still bears the stain of his blood. They used to boast, at Toulouse, of having a capital like that of Rome, and a cavern of the dead like that of Naples; in the capital of Toulouse the archives of the city were preserved in an iron chest like those of the Flamens of Rome: while the Gascon senate inscribed on the walls of their council chamber, '*Videant Consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.*'

"Toulouse is the central point of the great basin of the south of France: it is there, or thereabouts, that the waters of the Pyrenees and the Cevennes, the Tarn and the Garonne, meet to flow together to the ocean. The Garonne receives nearly all the streams; the sinuous and trembling rivers of the Limousin and Auvergne flow into it from the north by Perigueux and Bergerac; from the east and from the Cevennes come the Lot, the Viazur, the Aveyron, and the Tarn, by Rodez and Alby. The north furnishes rivers, the south torrents; thus, from the Pyrenees descends the mud-charged Arriège, while in the north-west the Garonne, increased by the Gers and the Baize, describes a curve of elegant form, which is repeated on a smaller scale in the south by the Adour. Toulouse forms the separation between Languedoc and Guyenne; two countries far different from each other, though under the same latitude. The Garonne flows by the ancient Toulouse, the representation of Roman and Gothic Languedoc; and thence, still swelling, expands itself like a sea in sight of the ocean and of Bordeaux. This latter city, modern by its very essence, long the capital of the English part of France, and for a still longer period English in heart, turns itself, on account of its commercial interests, towards England, towards the ocean, towards America. The Garonne, or as it should now be termed, the Gironde, is twice as wide at Bordeaux, as the Thames at London.

"All beautiful and luxuriant as is the valley of the Garonne, it is not for us to remain in it; the far-off summits of the Pyrenees form too powerful an attraction. The way to get to them, however, is a serious affair; for whether you go by Nerac, the poor and scanty domain of the Albrets, or whether you take your road along the coast, you see nothing before you but an ocean of *landes*, a few cork trees, immense *pinadas*, and sombre solitary roads, with no other companions than the flocks of

black sheep taking their eternal journey from the Pyrenees to the Landes, and going down from the mountains to the plains, from southern to northern regions, to seek for warmth, and to be tended by a Landais shepherd. The errant life of the shepherds is one of the picturesque characteristics of the south; you meet them coming up from the plains of Languedoc to the Cevennes or the Pyrenees, and from the Crau of Provence to the mountains of Gap and Barcelonnette; they are nomads; they carry all they possess along with them; they are the companions of the stars in their ever-enduring solitude; half astronomers, half sorcerers; and they perpetuate, in the midst of this our western world, the life of the Asiatics, the life of Lot and of Abraham.

"The formidable barrier of Spain at length appears before us in all its grandeur. It is not, like the Alps, a complicated system of peaks and valleys: it is nothing more nor less than an immense wall lowering itself at each end. At every other point the passage is totally inaccessible to vehicles, and shut even for mules and men during six or eight months of the year. Two people totally distinct from any others, and who, in reality, are neither Spaniards nor French, the Basques, that is to say, in the west, the Catalans and Rousillonais on the east, are the porters of these two worlds. It is they who open and shut, irritable and capricious door-keepers, tired of the eternal passing by of nations, they open to Abderrahman and they shut against Roland; there is full many a tomb between Roncevaux and the Seu d'Urgel. To describe and explain the construction of the Pyrenees is not the task of the historian; it is for the science of a Cuvier or an Elie de Beaumont to relate their antehistoric history. . . . We will not ascend the Vignemale, nor the Mount Perdu, but only the Por de Pailles, where the waters of the chain of mountains are divided between the two seas, or rather between Bagnères and Baréges, between the beautiful and the sublime. There your eye may seize on the fantastic beauty of the Pyrenees, their strange, their incompatible sites, which seem to be drawn together by the power of some inexplicable piece of fairy sleight; there you may witness the magical effect of the atmosphere that now brings objects close to you and now removes them far off; there you may look down upon the foaming *Gaves*, and on the meadows of emerald green. Let us push on, let us wind along the Gave de Pace, through the stern and wild pass where blocks of stone, thousands of feet in cubic thickness, are piled in rude confusion: let us get amongst the rocky peaks and the everlasting snows, and the windings of the Gave, shut up and buffeted about from mountain to mountain; at last we enter the stupendous Cirque de Gavarnie, with its towers hid among the clouds. There, at the bottom, are the twelve sources of the Gave murmuring beneath bridges of snow, and falling down a depth of 1300 feet, the highest cataract of the old world. It is here that France ends: the Port de Gavarnie, which you see up above you, that stormy pass, where, as the proverb runs, the son stops not for the father, is the gate of Spain. An endless store of poetical and historical tradition hovers over these limits of the two worlds. . . . That immense embrasure, three hundred feet in depth, amid the mountains, Roland cut it open with two strokes of his *Durindana*; a symbol of the eternal combat between France and Spain, between Europe and Africa, in which, though Roland perished, France has remained victorious.

If we compare together the two slopes of the Pyrenees we shall see that ours, on the French side, has greatly the advantage. The Spanish side, exposed to the southern sun, is abrupt, arid,

and wild; the French slopes gradually, is better shaded, is covered with luxuriant pastures, and supplies the other with great part of the cattle it requires: Barcelona in fact derives all its supply of cattle from France; and the country of vines and pastures is forced to purchase both our herds and our vines from us. On one side are a fine sky, a mild climate, and poverty; on the other, fog and rain, but with them intelligence, riches, and liberty. Pass over the frontier and compare our splendid roads with their wretched horse paths,—or go and contemplate that group of foreigners at Caunterets covering their rags with the dignity of their cloaks, sombre in their aspect and disdaining to compare themselves with the French. But fear not, Spain, great and heroic nation! we have no intention of insulting you in your misfortunes.

"The genius of our good and sturdy Flanders is positive and substantial, '*solidis fundatum ossibus intus*.' On its plains, fat, fertile, and full of rich exuberant vegetation, thickly traversed by canals, well cultivated and well manured,—on such plains as these, plants, animals, and men rival each other in wantonness of their growth, and shoot forth luxuriantly. The ox and the horse swell out there like elephants: the women are as large as the men, and often larger. The race after all has something soft in it, notwithstanding its corporeal grossness; strong rather than robust, and of immense muscular force. Witness the giants at our country fairs, how often have they been brought from our department of the Nord! The prolific strength of the Bogs of Ireland is to be discerned in the Belgians of Flanders and the Low Countries. In former days, amid the thick mud of those rich plains, in those vast and sombre commercial communities of Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges, men used to hum like insects after a storm: and it was not safe to tread upon one of those ant-hills: for there would come out of them at the very instant men by fifteens, twenties, and thirties of thousands, with lances lowered, well clothed, well armed, well fed, strong and resolute; and feudal cavalry played but a very indifferent game against masses such as those.

"The manners and customs of Flanders are not very edifying; on the contrary, they are sensual and gross. The more we advance towards the north in that fat country, beneath its mild and humid atmosphere, the more does it become softened, the more does the sensual system predominate, the more powerful does the sway of nature become. The science of history and the art of relation no longer appear to satisfy the want of witnessing the reality, and the desire of gratifying the senses. The arts of design are called in to their aid: sculpture is to be met with even on the French side of the frontier, and its types are the works of Jean de Boulogne, the pupil of Michael Angelo. Architecture also springs up; not the sober and severe architecture of Normandy, . . . but a style rich and ample in its forms; the pointed arch becomes softened into gentle curves, and voluptuous encirclings; in some instances the curve is weakened, and dwindles in; in others it swells, and bellies outward. The beautiful steeple of Antwerp, round and undulating in all its ornaments, rises gently stage by stage, like a gigantic piece of basket-work woven out of the reeds of the Scheldt. The Flemish churches, carefully kept, well washed, and gaily dressed out, like Flemish houses, dazzle the sight with their extraordinary cleanliness, their rich decorations, the splendour of their brazen ornaments, and the abundance of their white and black marbles. They are much cleaner than the Italian churches, and decked out with far greater coquetry. Flanders is Lombardy in prose, but

without its vines and without its sun. Nor are these the only things that are wanting to the former, as far as its public monuments are concerned; there is something else, and we soon become aware of it, when we see the innumerable figures in wood that meet the eye in the cathedrals, where they are ranged along the pavement; they are an economical kind of sculpture, and but ill replace the marble populations of the cities of Italy. High above the Flemish churches, on the tops of the towers, the uniform and skilfully combined chimes of bells, the honour and joy of every Flemish community, ring out harmoniously. The selfsame tune, played from hour to hour, and from age to age, has sufficed for the musical wants of unnumbered generations of artisans, who have been born and died under and upon their shopboards. Music, however, and architecture, are too abstract to suffice of themselves alone for the genius of Flanders. Sound and form are not enough; colours are wanted: warm and bright colours, vivid representations of flesh, and of the animal faculties. The Flemings require pictures of good boisterous fêtes, where red-faced men and fair-cheeked women drink, smoke, and dance with clumsy mirth; they require representations of horrible punishments; martyrdoms at once indecent and terrible; virgins enormous in size, fresh coloured, fat, and of a beauty to scandalize the worshipper. It is only on the other side of the Scheldt, in the midst of the dreary marshes, the deep waters, and the high dykes of Holland, that sombre and serious painting begins: Rembrandt and Gerard Dow painted where Erasmus and Hugo Grotius wrote. But in Flanders, in the rich and sensual Antwerp, the rapid brush of Rubens executed the very bacchanalia of painting. The mysteries that he represented in his pictures are all travestied; and while they tempt one to worship them for their extraordinary excellence, they inspire one with horror by the fire and the fury of his genius. That impetuous painter, descended of Slavic blood, brought up amidst all the exuberance of the Belgians, and though born at Cologne, a thorough enemy of German idealism, has embodied in his pictures an unbridled apotheosis of nature."—vol. ii. p. 103—108.

After having gone round all the provinces of France, M. Michelet returns to the centre, and proceeds:—

"The name of Paris is equivalent to that of the monarchy; but to explain how the grand and entire symbol of the whole country should have been formed in a single city would require the full history of the nation, in which the description of Paris would form the last chapter. The genius of Paris is the most complicated, and at the same time the most elevated, form of the genius of France; and it might have been expected that what was to be the result of the annihilation of all local spirit, of all provinciality, would in itself be altogether negative; on the contrary, however, out of all these negations of material, local, and individual ideas, there has sprung a living generality, a thing of a positive nature, an actuating force,—such in fact as we had proof of in 1830.

"It is a grand and extraordinary spectacle to cast one's eyes from the centre to the extremities, and to embrace in one view the vast and powerfully organized system, the various parts of which are so skilfully brought together, contrasted, and associated, the weak to the strong, the positive to the negative; to see the eloquent vinous Burgundy placed between the ironic naïveté of Champagne, and the criticizing, quarrelsome, warlike spirit of Franch-Comté and

Lorraine; to perceive the fanaticism of Languedoc interposed between the levity of Provence and the indifference of Gascony; or to witness the covetous conquering genius of Normandy kept in between the resisting force of Britany and the massive strength of Flanders. France may be said to undulate in two long organic systems, similar to the double economy of the human body,—the gastric and the cerebro-spinal. On the one hand are the provinces of Normandy, Britany, Poitou, Auvergne, and Guyenne; on the other, Languedoc, Provence, Burgundy, and Champagne; Picardy and Flanders are where the two systems become connected: and Paris is the sensorium of the whole. Its strength and beauty consist in the reciprocity of the powers of succour, in the combined solidity of its parts, in the distribution of their functions, and in the division of their social labours. The resisting and warlike forces, the faculty of action, are at its extremities; intelligence is at its centre,—the centre which understands not only its own functions but those also of all the other parts. The frontier provinces, which are those that co-operate the most directly in the defence of the country, preserve their military traditions, keep up their spirit of barbaric heroism, and with their energetic populations recruit those of the centre, enervated and worn out by the rapid friction of social rotation. The centre, sheltered from the shock of war, invents and innovates in arts, in science, and in policy; alters the form of whatever it receives; imbibes the juice of life in a crude state, and adapts it to its own conformations. In it each province sees itself reflected; in it each district admires itself under a new and better form:

'Miranturque novas frondes et non sua poma.'

"This beautiful system of centralization, by which France is what it is, causes at first sight a painful sensation. The spirit of national life is at the centre, and at the extremities: all the intermediate parts are weak and colourless. Between the rich district of Paris and the wealthy plains of Flanders the road lies through Picardy, an old and melancholy province, similar in its fate to all the provinces that have been centralized without becoming centres themselves. It would seem as though the force of attraction had weakened and thinned them; they look solely to the centre, and are great only in its greatness: still they are greater by this very bias of central interest than eccentric provinces can ever become by dint of their individual originality. Picardy, though centralized, has produced Condorcet, Foy, Beranger, and other great men of modern times: have the rich and luxuriant Flanders and Alsace any names, at least in our times, to compare to these? In France, the chief glory for a man is to be a true Frenchman; and in this respect, though the extremities of the country may be opulent, powerful, and full of military enthusiasm, it cannot be denied that they have often interests of their own opposed to those of the nation, and that they are not so much French as other parts of the country. The Convention had to conquer the federalism of the provinces before conquering the confederation of Europe; and on the same principal Carlism is strong at Lille and Marseilles; while Bordeaux, though a French city no doubt, is quite as much a Colonial, an American, or an English one: the reason being, that it feels the necessity of keeping up its sugar trade, and of finding markets for its wines.

"It is one of the peculiar causes of the strength of France, that upon all her frontiers she possesses provinces which unite a certain portion of foreign feeling with what they hold of the common national spirit. Thus to Germany she opposes the German part of France, to Spain the Spanish, and to

Italy the Italian. Between all these provinces and the neighbouring countries there is not only a certain analogy, but also a certain opposition: just as related tints accord less with one another than decidedly opposed colours, or as the deadliest feuds are those that exist between persons connected by blood. Thus Iberian Gascony hates and detests Spain, which is Iberian also. Provinces such as these, analogous to and yet different from each other, and which are those that France opposes the first to foreign force, offer against all attacks a resisting or neutralizing force: they are different powers by which France is placed in contact with the world, and has a strong hold upon it. Go on then, France, in beauty and power; throw out the long waves of thine undulating territory to the Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic; thrust forward against hardy England, bold Brittany and tenacious Normandy; oppose to grave and solemn Spain the derision of the Gascons; to Italy the fire and impetuosity of the Provençaux; to the massive empire of Germany the solid battalions of Alsace and Lorraine; to the boasting and choleric of Belgium, the dry sanguine ire of Picardy, and the sobriety, the reflection, the disciplinizing civilizing spirit of the Ardennes and Champagne!

"To whoever passes over our frontier, and compares France with the countries that surround her, the first impression is not favourable. There are few sides on which foreign countries do not seem superior: thus from Mons to Valenciennes, or from Dover to Calais, the change is a painful one: Normandy is England, a pale copy of England: what are Rouen and Havre for trade and manufactures compared to Manchester and Liverpool? Alsace is Germany, but without that which constitutes the glory of Germany,—universal knowledge, philosophical profoundness, and poetical naïveté. France, however, should not so be taken, piece by piece; she must be embraced as a whole. It is precisely because her centralisation is powerful, her common vitality strong and energetic, that her local vitality is feeble. I would even say that this constitutes the beauty of our country; it does not possess, it is true, such a mass of cultivation as England, strong beyond belief in industry and wealth, but then it has not the deserts of the Scottish Highlands, nor has it the cancer of Ireland; there are not to be found in it, as in Germany and Italy, twenty centres of science and art; it has only one centre, one common point of social life. England is an empire; Germany is a country, a race of men; France is a person.

"Personality, unity,—these are the qualities by which rank is obtained in the scale of beings. I cannot give a better explanation of my meaning than by employing the language of physiology. Amongst animals of inferior orders, such as fish, insects, molluscæ, and others, local vitality is strong. In the language of a learned naturalist, M. Dugès, 'Each segment of a leech is found to contain a complete system of organs, a nervous centre, vascular anse, a pair of gastric lobes, respiratory organs, and seminal vesicles; and it has been remarked that a segment can live for a certain time though separated from the others. But according as we mount in the animal scale we see the segments uniting themselves more intimately to each other, and the individuality of the whole more clearly defined. Individuality in composite animals does not consist merely in the soldering together of all their organized parts, but rather in the common play of a number of parts, a number that becomes greater and greater according as we approach the higher degrees. Centralisation becomes more complete according as the animal mounts in

the scale.' Nations may be classified, in this respect, like animals; the common play of a great number of parts, the joint union and responsibility of these parts among themselves, the reciprocity of functions which they exercise with regard to each other, these are the qualities that constitute social superiority. This is the superiority of France, the country of all others where nationality or national personality makes the nearest approaches to individual personality.

"To diminish, without destroying local individual vitality, for the benefit of the vitality that is general and common to all, involves the problem of human sociability;—a problem, to the solution of which the human race is daily making nearer and nearer approaches. The forming of monarchies, of empires, is one of the steps by which the solution is to be attained: the Roman empire was a first step; Christianity was another; Charlemagne and the Crusades, Louis XIV. and the Revolution, together with the French empire that sprung out of it, all these were so many new steps in the same route. The best centralized people is that which by its example and the energy of its action has done the most for advancing the centralisation of the world. This unification of France, this annihilation of the spirit of provincialism, has been frequently looked upon as the simple result of the conquest of the provinces. Conquest, however, though it may fasten and chain together hostile parts, can never form an union between them. Conquest and war only opened the provinces to the provinces, they only gave isolated populations an opportunity of becoming acquainted with each other; the lively and rapid sympathy of the genius of the Gauls and their social instinct did the rest. Curious as it may seem, these provinces, so different in their climates, their manners, and their language, have nevertheless understood each other, have conceived a mutual affection, and felt themselves to be component parts of a great whole. The Gascon has got accustomed to be anxious about Flanders; the Burgundian to be rejoiced or grieved at what may be doing at the Pyrenees; and the Breton, seated by the shores of the Atlantic ocean, to feel the blows that are struck on the Rhine. It is thus that the general, the universal spirit of the country has been formed; the local spirit has been disappearing day by day; and the influence of soil, of climate, and of race has yielded to the action of the social and political system. The fatality of locality has been overcome, and man has escaped from the tyranny of material circumstances. The Frenchman of the North has got a taste for the South, and has warmed himself in its sunshine: the Southern on the other hand has assumed something of the tenacious serious contemplative turn of the Northern: society and liberty have subdued nature, and history has effaced geography. In this marvellous transformation, spirit has triumphed over matter, generalities over individualities, the ideal over the real. Man as an individual is given to material things, and attaches himself readily to local and private interests; human society on the contrary is given to spiritual things and ever tends to free itself from the paltry trammels of local existence in order to attain the high and abstract unity of a country. The more deeply we plunge into ancient times, the more distant is our removal from this pure and noble generalization of modern days. The barbaric epochs present us with scarcely any thing but what is local, individual, and material; man still holds to the soil, is engaged in it, and seems to form part of it. The history of those periods seems to concern the land, and the distinction of races is itself powerfully influenced by it. By degrees, as

we shall see, the force that is peculiar to man will disengage him, will root him up, from the land; he will come forth from it, will throw it away from him, and will disdain it; he will require, instead of his native village, his town, or his province, a great father-land by which he may himself count as something in the destinies of the world. The idea of this country, an abstract idea which is but little indebted for its existence to the senses, will lead him by a new effort to the idea of a universal country, the city of Providence."—vol. ii. pp. 121—129.

These passages, which we have cited at considerable length in order to make the reader the more fully acquainted with M. Michelet's style, are too beautiful, too dramatic, to need much comment of our own. We need only say that the same strain of poesy pervades almost every page of his book; that as the reader turns over leaf after leaf he finds new views opening to his sight, new methods of treating matters of previously well-known historical celebrity, and everywhere the most cheering and amiable display of candour, moderation, and conscientious judgment.

It is impossible to peruse these volumes without feeling a regard for the author that increases the farther we advance in them. Not that we would by any means assert that *all* his views will be adopted; or that his dicta are everywhere to be received with implicit deference. For ourselves we beg leave to dissent,—but we feel it necessary to apologize for so doing,—from two of the favourite doctrines of M. Michelet, and indeed of the modern French historical school in general; we mean the advantage of the system of Centralization as existing in France since the period of the Great Revolution: and that of Hereditary Equality, or the theory of an equal division of property among heirs after the possessor's death.

With regard to the former, the Centralizing System, some apology may be found for the conduct of the first promoters and advisers of it, in the scandalous administrative system which had so long prevailed in France, and by which the oppressed inhabitants had been involved in such a confusion of fiscal and judicial iniquity, that almost any system was better than the one to which they were subjected. The fact is, that the provincial parliaments, which had originally served as bulwarks of liberty, and might have been made good instruments of local government, had lost their importance since the gradual diminution of the moral influence of the aristocracy, and had been converted into ready instruments of regal oppression. The people were burthened with unfairly divided taxes; they knew their aristocratical chiefs only as absentees, and they received little protection from those who

ought to have been their natural defenders against the indiscriminating tyranny of the court. The clergy too had pushed the selfish feelings and unnaturally abstracted system of the Church of Rome too far, and, like the nobles, had lost much if not almost all their restraining and civilizing influence over the masses of the population from two causes, teaching the Romish system in preference to the fundamentals of Christianity, and their current notion that Papacy was adequate to oppose the power of rationalism and the expansive spirit of the times: the seeds of civil dissolution had in fact long been sown, and the time for their bursting forth was fully come when the Revolution arrived. But the legislators of that period went too far: like other men under similar circumstances they knew not how to cut away the rotten parts of the system, and to leave the good untouched; like improvident builders they levelled the venerable edifice that had stood so many ages, without knowing whether they could ever erect anything half so good in its place. In their wish to remove what was bad, they took away all that was good at the same time; to make the life of the people more tolerable, they took away all that was worth living for. There is no doubt that the taxes of France at the present day lie lightly on the country, that they are fairly apportioned, and that their produce finds its way with comparatively little loss into the coffers of the State. It is certain that the energies of government in all the various branches of administration are exerted with rapidity, and that very little of the power of the great social machine is wasted. But if we look at the practical results of this system to the people themselves, we shall find that after so many years of bloodshed and misery they are not much better off now than they were at first, and that their liberties, specious enough on paper, are not more respected in practice than under the old régime. Allowance must of course be made for what the old system might have effected, if left to itself to amend, to expand, and to change in proportion with the general progress of civilisation; but, when such allowance is made, we maintain that the new system has not done more for the nation than the old one would, had it existed fifty years longer. The people before the Revolution had been abandoned by the nobility to the tyranny of the government; but by whom are they now protected from a worse tyranny,—from their own? They were exposed in former times to the rapacity of local administrators, civil and military; but what have they gained if the central administration of the capital can act

on them through its legions of civil functionaries, and its immense army, which after all has to be supported by the cultivators of the soil? *Lettres de cachet* no longer exist, it is true: but what is gained when a *mandat d'arrêt* and the obsequious verdict of a packed jury,—the Chamber of Peers,—can consign any individual accused of conspiring against the State, first, to a long preventive imprisonment, and then, after the phantom of a trial, in which judge, jury, and prosecutors are all jumbled up together, to perpetual incarceration?

The people of France were not represented very efficiently in the provincial states, it is true; but are they much more so in the present Chamber of Deputies? Bribes and fees and the conferring of public offices for undue purposes were no doubt part of the system of former days; but can the actual system of French government be said to depend on any thing else? could the present order of things stand for a single day before the irritation of the people but for the influence of the ministry for the time being, that is to say the crown, acting first on the host of placemen in the chambers, and then on the locust swarm of functionaries of all kinds that prey upon the country? It is our full conviction that, though the trading classes of the community may have received a great development from the results of the revolution, the great masses of the people are not happier nor better off than they were under Louis XVI. In the mean time local energy is destroyed; local means of resistance are annihilated; let it please two or three hundred of the the rabble of Paris to get up an *émeute*, and the whole country runs an imminent risk of having its whole future destinies changed; let it please some political fanatic to terminate the life of the present chief of the state, and the peaceful inhabitants of the remotest provinces are not sure but that the armies of coalesced Europe may again be sweeping over their plains within a year's time. Could the people have been more exposed to the faults of government under the old system than they thus are under the new?

It is true that a decentralized government, quoad a government, may not have the same strength and vigour as a centralized one; and no one can doubt that it would take much longer time to get any administrative measure carried into effect in Germany, in Spain, or in England, than it would in France; but what the government loses the nation gains. The government may not be so powerful, but the people may have more innate vigour, and more national spirit; it may not be quite so easy work for the Bureaucracy, but it is much better for

the flesh and bone of the national, for the people, for the owners of the land and the other property of the country, and for those whose possessions consist in the produce of their arms or heads. The capital of a centralized state may be more brilliant than that of a decentralized one; but the former will have only one capital, the latter will enjoy several. France has only got Paris; England has not only London, but in her sister countries she has Edinburgh and Dublin; Germany has capitals by the score; Italy by the dozen; even Spain possesses several. Annihilate Paris, and France is removed from the assembly of nations; let Vienna or Berlin be swallowed up by an earthquake, Germany has only one city less. The general vigour that the decentralizing system always keeps up, is strongly exemplified in Spain; that country where the upper classes are the most degenerate and demoralized in Europe, Portugal and Italy excepted, where the population is in a state of the lowest ignorance, and it might almost be said misery, where the country is underpeopled and uncultivated, and where according to the French system all the elements of a nation are wanting; yet what vigorous resistance can the Spaniards oppose to foreign invasion! what an indomitable attachment to their own country the people retain, what numberless rallying points they have throughout their provinces. Had France been invaded by an army bearing the same proportion of numbers and moral influence towards the nation that the French army did when in Napoleon's time it occupied Spain, the chances are that France would never have liberated herself from thralldom; even Napoleon himself, and, since that great man, the Bourbons, experienced the fatal effects of the central action of the capital paralysing almost instantaneously all the efforts of the nation, and cutting off every hope of subsequent demonstrations in their favour. If the boasted invasion of England during the late war had taken place, if London had fallen into the enemy's hands, would the two islands have thereupon submitted to the foreign intruder? Did Napoleon conquer Russia merely because he took Moscow? And again, in a social point of view, what is it that gives so much superiority to the other countries of Europe over France? what is it that makes life so much more agreeable in Germany, in Switzerland, in Italy? what but the healthy vitality, the intellectual and political movement to be found in some quarter of those districts? Supposing that Paris did not exist, who would go to France?

The Equalization System—the equal di-

vision of property after death—is in our opinion one of the most dangerous diseases to which the French body politic is exposed: the centralization system tends to destroy all local energy, but this attacks and undermines all individual exertion. Far from being, as it was supposed it would be, one of the main bulwarks against political oppression, it has done nothing more than substitute one kind of oppression for another. It has rendered the existence of an aristocracy impossible; but it has not hindered the existence of corrupt and oppressive governments of every denomination. The fact is that a mob of peasants, still more of petty manufacturers or shop-keepers, can be as tyrannical and capricious as the most absolute despot; and that a mob government, however liberal its professions may be in the first moments of enthusiasm consequent on a revolution, can soon degenerate into a slow and wary system of general jobbing and corruption. How abundantly is this exemplified by the history of France ever since 1789! What a melancholy reflection is it to the historical student to contemplate the complete break-down of every political character in France who has attempted the carrying out of the principles of either revolution to their ultimate consequences! The equalizing of the fortunes of a people, in so far as it can be carried into effect, while it lays all men prostrate to the political Juggernaut of the day, added to the destruction of local spirit by the centralizing system, is a fatal check on all efforts at agricultural and even manufacturing or industrial improvement. Is there any, even a small operation of this kind to be done in France, nothing but a company can be resorted to, nothing but the chances of the stock exchange can be allowed to decide on the fitness or practicability of the enterprize. France, if the intellectual acuteness of her people be considered, is the most backward nation of the civilized world in an agricultural or a commercial point of view. On the other hand, while the people are deprived of their natural friends and protectors, the members of an aristocracy, and while they are subjected to the unmitigated action of the executive, they are exposed, an unresisting prey, to the “fangs of the law.”

By the general subdivision of landed property that now exists in France, it has come to pass that a man's land lies sometimes so split up into small parcels, and at such distances from each other, that his whole time would be taken up in moving merely from one part of his commune to another: and he cannot exchange parcels at a distance, for others lying nearer home, because the

law-costs, stamps, &c., necessary for such a transaction, are so heavy, that for a piece of land yielding not more than *ten* or *twenty* francs a year in raw produce, he would have to pay *one hundred* francs for the conveyance of it! There are made in France every year about 250,000 mortgages of 300 francs and under, the duration of which is for one year, or two years at most. The cost of each of these mortgages is 31f. 60c., so that for one year the expense amounts to 10 1-2 per cent. The total cost of conveying land and of drawing up other documents connected with freehold property in France, is 100 millions of francs per annum, paid, be it remembered, in great part by the poorest class of landowners. The consequence is, that the whole country is overrun by lawyers, and officers of the law; notwithstanding which it is not a whit the better cultivated or better managed. We know that for the present the peasantry are happier and perhaps better off than they are in England: but the question is, will they always be so? Sixty years is nothing for the trial of a great national experiment, it is true; but enough has come out of the equalization system in France to render another revolution and a republic inevitable within the next half century, or else a most extensive alteration of the law that causes the mischief. The law of equalization is not a bond of union: it is one of political discord and degradation. In so saying, we wish no harm to France: on the contrary, we wish her all prosperity and happiness; but it is of essential importance to all nations to indicate the fatal diseases under which she is labouring.

We are compelled to conclude our notice of M. Michelet's interesting and most valuable history, by mentioning that the subject of the suppression of the order of the Templars is treated in the third volume in a highly luminous and impartial manner; the author is indeed commissioned by the French government to publish a complete collection of documents relating to this historical event:—the wars of Edward III. also occupy considerable space in the same volume. The fourth treats of the disastrous reign of Charles VI., and ends with the death of that unfortunate monarch and of Henry V. of England.

ART. XI.—1. *Das Nibelungenlied in neuhochdeutscher Sprache, uebertragen von G. O. Marbach, mit Holzschnitten nach*

- Originalzeichnungen von E. Bendemann und J. Huebner.* Leipzig. Wigand. 1840.
2. *Gutenbergs Album, herausgegeben von Dr. H. Meyer.* 1840.
3. *Dr. Carl Hallaus. Album deutscher Schriftsteller, zur vierten Saecularfeier der Buchdruckerkunst.* Leipzig: 1840.
4. *Die Buchdruckerkunst in ihrer Entstehung und Ausbildung, oder die Fortschritte der Typographie. Eine Festgabe zur vierten Saecularfeier der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst, von K. Falkenstein.* 4to Leipzig: Teubner. 1840.
5. *Fest-Ausgabe des neuen Testaments und der Psalmen.* Stuttgart: Liesching. 1840.
6. *Das Neue Testament deutsch durch Dr. Martin Luther, veranstaltet von der Buchdruckerinnung zu Leipzig.* 1840.

It would have been an easy task to lengthen the list of the works that appear in commemoration of the approaching fourth centenary anniversary of the discovery of printing, for their name is legion, and Midsummer-day is looked forward to in all parts of Germany as a day of national rejoicing, nor is it easy for any one residing in that country to escape the enthusiasm that pervades all classes and ranks. Wherever you go, Gutenberg busts and Gutenberg pictures stare you in the face, and the papers are filled with advertisements alluding in some way or other to the engrossing subject. Nor is the ridiculous wanting. Catchpenny articles are manufactured, and tradesmen allure their customers by christening their wares after the hero of the day. Gutenberg pipes and Gutenberg sticks, Gutenberg caps and Gutenberg handkerchiefs, Gutenberg beer and Gutenberg schnaps attest the popularity of the printer of Mayence. The booksellers and printers of Leipsic, as in duty bound, take the lead. Let us, however, retire for awhile from the noise and bustle of their preparations, which we shall notice hereafter, to contemplate the use which the Germans make of the press, and the manner and spirit in which their ancestors in bygone centuries celebrated the great discovery fraught with inestimable advantages to mankind, the invention of the art of printing.

To us there is something remarkably pleasing in the celebration of this jubilee, connected as it is with benefits not conferred on one language or nation, but extended to the whole civilized world. Almost all national feasts have something selfish or exclusive, are in honour of some event gained at the expense of bloodshed or misery to thousands of our fellow-beings; there is hardly one on which the beneficent and phi-

losophic mind can look back with unmixed pleasure, but in this all men may for a moment look upon each other as brethren, undisturbed by national prejudices or melancholy retrospect.

It may at first sight appear singular in the eyes of Englishmen, in the full possession of a free press, and accustomed to consider it principally with reference to politics, that the Germans, who enjoy this advantage but in a very slight degree, should be almost the only nation in Europe to celebrate the return of this jubilee as a subject of universal rejoicing. And yet perhaps it is this very circumstance in connection with some other features of the German character that produces this apparent anomaly. We are only then in perfect enjoyment of any particular blessing, when all reflection upon it is absorbed by the reality of the blessing itself. The English seldom boast of the freedom of the press or of their constitution, because they cannot think of England except with these advantages; they form part and parcel of their very nature as Englishmen. But the Germans are a more reflecting people, it is part of their nature not to enjoy without reflecting on the nature of the enjoyment, and their contemplations on the approaching jubilee are doubtless not unmixed with aspirations which we hope may soon be realized. The state of their political press is such that we might at first wonder how a nation, eminent for genius, humanity and love of justice, and by no means insensible to freedom, could rest contented with such a state of things.

We are so accustomed to outward comforts, practical energy, and the liberty and occasionally to the licence of our press, that we are disposed to undervalue the simple habits, the sedateness of character in the Germans, and above all, to ridicule the inanity of their daily press. A thinking mind would go further, and inquire whether the two former had not likewise their advantages, and be apt to conclude that there must be somewhere an equivalent to counterbalance the defects of the latter. It will rarely be found that nature is unjust; she dispenses her blessings with an even hand; and although the liberty which she offers may not in all countries be arrayed in the same garb, she will not be found to have denied the gift to a nation eminently worthy to receive it. The freedom of the Germans is to be found in their universities and their philosophical speculations.

We are too fully engrossed by our party questions, too much occupied with the present, too closely pressed by material interests and threatening symptoms from with-

out, to appreciate at once all the merits of the German philosophers and scholars. The politician may deride the colourless reports which the censor allows to pass—the man of fashion may look contemptuously on coats not made by Stultz, and on manners hearty and simple, not formed in the d'Orsay school,—but the meditative and reflecting will look with respect, and perhaps with shame, on a nation from one of whose youths Coleridge imbibed* those opinions which obtained for him the high reputation which he enjoys in his native country as a profound thinker. The true model of the German character, its noblest representative, is the German gelehrter. Unfettered by politics, not harassed by the galling ties of party connection, he pursues the even tenour of his way with a one-minded singleness, neither swerving to the right nor to the left, careless of the results to which his speculations may lead; troubling himself as little about their practical application as Archimedes of old, he follows out the ray which truth detects, and in the unshackled freedom of investigation permitted to him in speculation, he forgets the narrow bounds prescribed to him by the timid policy of the Diet at Francfort. True it is that this freedom of speculation may occasionally degenerate into error, but even error is but another incentive to the pursuit of truth; for he would be but an unworthy votary of philosophy who could for a moment admit the supposition that error could be finally victorious. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.* It is from this point of view that we must explain the appearance of such works as that of Strauss, which has so much shocked the orthodox; but we think it redounds more to the honour of the German governments that instead of proscribing the work,† and thereby investing it with the popularity of martyrdom, they called upon the divines to refute it.

This, then, seems to us the peculiar and honourable province of the Germans, the diffusion of ideas in speculative philosophy, which, worked out in their practical applicability by nations whom Providence has more highly favoured in this latter respect, return thus modified to their original coun-

* We say imbibed, because although we have read with pain an article on the subject (written in a very proper style), in a recent number of Blackwood's Magazine, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that Coleridge was *knowingly* guilty of the plagiarisms from Schelling, there proved against him.

† The question was discussed by the Prussian government, when we believe that the estimable Bishop Neander gave it as his opinion that the work ought not to be proscribed, but refuted; a decision the more honourable, as he himself has published a life of Jesus Christ to prove his sincerity.

try, there to create new impulses, and give a more active direction to social and political life. This of itself would be sufficient to account for the high value which that nation sets on the press; and when we add that every child is there obliged to learn to read, we shall not be surprised at the interest taken in the celebration of a festival, so much in unison with the cosmopolitan character of the Germans.

It will not be uninteresting to mark in the different celebrations the gradual changes in national habits and manners, and it is equally gratifying to trace the progressive improvement in the national condition, from the simple, we may almost say doubtful meeting, in 1540, when the spirit of the Reformation was abroad, to the costly preparations for the jubilee in our nineteenth century.

The accounts which we have of the first celebration in 1540 are meagre and contradictory. Werther, in his *Veritable Intelligence* on the art of printing, is of opinion that the printers of Wittenberg, Michael Lotther, Hans Lufft, George Rhau, and Peter Selze (likewise spelt Seitz, Saltze) all distinguished in the literary history of the Reformation, in company with their workmen, celebrated the first *Jubilæum typographicum* on St. John's day as Gutenberg's name day. Eichsfeld, indeed, in his relation of the jubilee at Wittenberg in 1740, affirms that there are no grounds for this assertion, but later writers assume it as authentic. There is likewise a tradition that some friends, and amongst them Luther and Melancthon, were present at the festival in Lufft's house; and a learned friend informs us that there is supposed to be an allusion to it in one of Luther's letters. In the other parts of Germany there was no celebration.

Notwithstanding the badness of the times and the devastations produced by the thirty years' war, the printers celebrated a jubilee in 1640 at Leipsic, Jena, Breslau, and doubtless in other cities. (Strassburg seems to be the only city in which the discovery of printing was celebrated every fifty years.) On this occasion Leipsic took the lead; and as the *Jubilæum Typographicorum Lipsiensium*, published in 1640, contains the only report of this festival, we shall make a few extracts from it, as the humble tone of piety in which it is written will doubtless please our readers better than the noisy doings and pedantic sayings of old father Gottsched a century later.

"That the praise of God may resound the farther, and that dear posterity in all places may be cheered to holy imagination, they (the printers of Leipsic) have thought it good and advisable to discover this

their intention to their fellow craftsmen, whether they might perhaps be pleased to celebrate the jubilee with them; and accordingly, in April of this current year, they issued friendly and brotherly epistles to the same in several noble cities of the empire, ports and commercial towns, but particularly the far and wide celebrated city of Strassburg, which is renowned as a mother and native city of the inventors and beginners of this worshipful art, as also to the noble universities of Wittenberg and Jena, sufficiently unfolding to them their Christian intent, and exhorting them to equal thankfulness to God under all changeableness of circumstances; almost all of whom have cheerfully accepted and willingly agreed to like joy in the Lord and celebration of such feast."

The poor printers of Wittenberg were not, however, able to gratify their wishes by a public celebration, from their great poverty and indigence; nevertheless they determined to meet,

"because the printers of Leipsic commemorate this year, and because printing was discovered two hundred years ago, to thank God for this benefit, and in friendly talk to take a drink and frugal meal together in stillness. God grant that this noble art may soon recover from the distressed state to which it has been reduced in these bad and ruinous times of war."—*Eichfeld Relation of the Wittenberg Jubilee in 1740.*

The anonymous author of the Leipsic Festival informs us that

"The above-mentioned printers and their fellow craftsmen have agreed to celebrate this feast on the day of St. John the Baptist, for the following reasons: firstly, because both the praiseworthy discoverers and beginners had this name, and the one is called John Gutenberg, but the other John Faust, as amongst other matters will be recorded in the German oration here annexed, therefore this their name day hath been hereto chosen in honourable commendation of them; and secondly, because they would avail themselves of the loveliness and convenience of this season of the year."

That their "Christian intent" might not be imputed to them as unseemly presumption and a self-chosen service, they had communicated it to the superintendent and clergy "who did not only express themselves well pleased with the same, but likewise his reverence the superintendent, in the morning sermon of the aforesaid St. John's day, did excellently commend and laud this art and its great and manifest utility, as likewise its inventors and improvers, exhorting his hearers to thank God heartily for this high and great benefit;" which example was likewise followed in other churches in Leipsic and the neighbouring towns.

The printers then went to church in due order of procession, where, we are informed, they listened in zealous devotion, and *waited even to the end*. Afterwards they met together, and in Christian conversation discoursed of the great deeds of God, but particularly of the wonderful invention, ad-

vancement and gracious preservation of this worshipful and excellent art. The guests afterwards assembled "in a room of seemly dimensions, adorned with trees, fair flowers and sweetly-smelling grass, and looking into a goodly garden," the men being placed to the south, but the women "in excellent order, by themselves, to the north," to hear a German oration. True to their original design of celebrating this feast, in token of a grateful mind, to the honour and praise of the Lord God, with such piety and devotion, that, although after service they should meet at a public dinner, all licentiousness, dancing* and improper speaking was forbidden under pain of severe punishment.

"The ladies and gentlemen present, together with the cantor and organist, were in a friendly manner requested to continue the praise of God to the end of the day, after which they sat down to table, and, grace being said, enjoyed the gifts of God in cheerfulness, yet all conducted themselves with becoming seriousness and respectably in Christian devotion to the honour of God."

In this humble and thankful spirit, singing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, did these pious printers celebrate the discovery of their art, and we hope that the three thousand guests at the festive board, in the elegant building erected for the present occasion at Leipsic, may have equal cause to say that the day ended without "vexation or disappointment."

We have, however, some slight misgivings, for Rhine wine and Champagne will abound, and our very good friends the bibliopoles have not hitherto shown any great affection for the doctrines of the tee-totallers.

Turn we now to the last jubilee of 1740. German literature was at a very low ebb. Pedantry and selfish conceit were the only qualities that distinguished the men who were then looked upon as heroes, but who are now only remembered as laughing-stocks. In the absence of genius, the most ridiculous rules and canons of criticism and poetry were laid down; philosophy there was none, or it was considered but as synonymous with what is generally called common sense.

In most periods of literary history and intellectual development there are two great phases which succeed and complete each other in beneficial alternation. A few favoured spirits in advance of their age, breaking through all acknowledged rules, produce masterpieces for the admiration of their con-

* The contrast between the manners of the olden time and those of the present day is strikingly displayed in the fact, that whilst in 1640 dancing was strictly forbidden, the printers of 1840 will conclude their celebration by arranging a Volksfest, or kind of fair for the amusement of the people on the third day of the festival.

temporaries ; and nature, as if exhausted by the birth of her favourites, or perhaps in benevolent compassion to the mass of mankind, reposes, to give them time to become familiar with new forms and new ideas. Thus criticism and common sense never contribute to the production of genius, but genius, heaven-born, gives a new standard to the direction of taste. But in the period of which we are speaking the state of things was comfortless in the extreme. With no mighty models to purify and exalt the national taste, the language was reduced to a flat unmeaning level, only varied by a piebald mixture of foreign words from the French, at that time the language of the German courts, and of Frederick the Great. All that could be expected was, that the nation would at last become aware of the empty nothingness of the Aristarchuses, who, with characteristic pomposity, doled out their tedious pedantry. A great step was already gained when Bodmer and the Swiss, the antagonists and conquerors of Gottsched, found out that bad was bad. Once discontented, the inherent activity of the human mind will proceed in restless agitation, until kind nature, finding her pupils worthy, or at least desirous of her gifts, applies a remedy. The good Germans long groped in the dark, and what will our readers imagine was the model of excellence which the Swiss party, undoubtedly in earnest, after serious deliberation, proposed for imitation ? Neither more nor less than the *Fables of Esop* ; and strange as it may appear, we find even Lessing himself, one of the clearest heads of the last century, doing homage to this national conviction.

We cannot do better than quote the singular logical process which led to this extraordinary result in the words of Goethe :—

“No fundamental principles of poetry could be found, it was too intellectual and evanescent. Painting, an art which we can follow step by step with our outward senses, appeared more favourable. The English and the French had published theories on the fine arts, and it was believed that through analogy with these poetry might be established. Painting placed images before the eyes, poetry before the fancy : poetical images were then the first thing to be considered. They began with images, descriptions followed, and whatever could be apprehended by the outward senses was discussed.

“Images then ! Where were these to be taken except from nature ? The painter clearly imitated nature ; then why not the poet ? But nature as it lies before us, cannot be imitated ; it contains so much that is insignificant, or unworthy : a choice must be made, but what shall decide the choice ? We must look only for what is important ; but what is important ?

“The answer seems to have puzzled the Swiss for a long time, for they hit upon a strange, yet pretty and merry idea, that the *New* is always the most impor-

tant ; and after considering awhile, they find that the Wonderful is always newer than anything else.

“They had now collected the requisites for poesy ; but one objection occurred, that the Wonderful might likewise be void, and without reference to man. But this necessary reference must be of a moral nature, and from this followed manifestly the amelioration of mankind, and thus a poem had attained its object, when in addition to all its other qualities, it became useful. The different kinds of poetry were to be examined according to the requisites here collected, and that which imitated nature, was at the same time wonderful, and had a moral aim and utility, was declared the first and best. And after much consideration, this great preference was with full conviction assigned to the *Fables of Esop*.”—*Goethe's Works*, vol. xxv. pp. 77—79.

The state of things, worse than the severest satire, thus described, refers to a [period somewhat later than our present jubilee, but matters were, if possible, then still worse. Old Gottsched, the Aristarchus of Leipsic, was chosen to deliver the German oration, and so great was the desire to hear him, that men climbed in at the windows by means of ladders ; professors of the highest rank were unable to get through the crowd, and returned without enjoying the set phrases of the old pedant, and the adjacent street was thronged with an immense multitude.

Our readers will easily imagine that the oration delivered by the man, who, puffed up by his own vanity, was far behind the admirers of Esop, was totally unworthy of the enthusiasm which prevailed, although it was doubtless highly admired. And according to the ideas of the times, it was a model of composition. A regular introduction of some eight or ten pages, a due oratorical confession of his own weakness, which he would have knocked any man down for admitting ; and then, not rushing rudely in medias res, but beginning according to the approved German system *ab ovo*, which on the present occasion is synonymous with Saturn, he enumerates the discoveries of other nations, which of course vanish before the German invention. The list of celebrated Germans fills him with such enthusiasm that he can “*hardly* refrain from offering up his thanks to Divine Providence for being born in a German *volk und land*.”

The conclusion is characteristic. After wading through some fifty pages he begins his eulogy of the printers present, and asks them, what *affecting* observations can I introduce in the conclusion of my discourse ? Does not the number of your presses in the town exceed fifty, &c. &c.

Poor Gottsched lived to survive his reputation, and his name is now only remembered as a by-word for arrogance and pedantry.

In leaving this uncheering period, and casting a rapid glance at the revolution which

the last century has operated in Germany, so great have been the changes, so extraordinary the progress, that we can hardly imagine we are speaking of the same people. In the extract from Goethe quoted above it must have struck the most careless reader that nothing proceeds from the mind within, all proceeds from external impulse ; yet this same nation is now distinguished above all others for its investigations into the operations of the human mind ; a long and illustrious series of poets, critics, historians, does honour to the German name ; music stands unrivalled, and painting and sculpture flourish. As if to present the most complete contrast to the period we have just quitted, the whole direction of the German mind, with an elastic rebound, seemed to strive to penetrate the hidden recesses of things, and the very existence of the material world was, as with Berkeley, doubted. Napoleon too, by his gigantic ambition, reduced the German nation to a state much similar in politics to what it was in intellect a hundred years ago, and thus a *tabula rasa* being formed, and so many incumbrances of the unwieldy German empire having been swept away, it will be the fault of the Germans themselves if they do not improve these advantages.

In literature the great spirits have passed away, and their mantle has not fallen upon their successors. Yet if Germany cannot boast of great and creative writers, what nation can at the present moment ! The period of steam-ships and railroads is not favourable to the quiet workings of genius. It creates too many ideas in other directions, beneficial likewise to mankind (unless they generate a too great fondness for gain,) and Germany has obeyed the common impulse. But there is a great and general literary activity. The national taste has improved by the study of their great models : instead of slavishly adopting a foreign language as the medium of conversation, the Germans have become sensible of the great beauties of their own, and Grimm has raised a monument to the historical development of the language which other nations must look upon with envy and regret.

The diffusion of education has become general, we might almost say universal, as every child must learn to read, the book-trade (notwithstanding the fears of the good printers two hundred years ago that printing could advance no further,) has acquired an immense expansion, commerce is extending, wealth, or rather competence, more generally diffused, a sense of comfort gaining ground, and, therefore, it was natural that Leipzig should make preparations for celebrating the

present jubilee on a scale far surpassing the modest festivals of the two former centuries. The printers have, by weekly contributions for the last four years, raised a considerable sum ; the city has voted a sum of three thousand dollars ; the booksellers have been liberal in their donations ; so that there is no want of funds. The feast will be celebrated from Switzerland to Norway ; but whilst in most other cities it partakes more of a private character, in Leipzig, as the literary mart, it will be truly a national jubilee.

Little has occurred to us in the preparations of the other cities that could interest the English public ; but it may not be unworthy of remark, that the committee at Halle have fixed upon the 18th instead of the 24th. The Roxburgh Club will doubtless be flattered with the compliment, that the eve of the 18th has become celebrated by the institution of their society, and all Englishmen will read with pleasure that the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, which restored liberty to Germany and Europe, has been chosen to celebrate the peaceful festival.

But to return to Leipzig. The following extracts from the Report of the Committee will sufficiently explain the objects and arrangements of the Directors.

On the 23d of June, the committee meet in the Commercial Exchange to receive the more distinguished visitors, and the deputations of the foreign universities, &c.

On the 24th the bells will ring a merry peal, and the morning will be ushered in by music from the church towers, and by a reveille through the streets. At eight o'clock the magistrates and different companies, with all their guests, walk in procession to hear divine service in one of the churches. At ten o'clock the great festive procession will proceed through the principal streets to the market-place, on which three temporary buildings have been erected, one in the centre which is closed, a second with accommodation for 3000 spectators, and a third for the orchestra and singers.

On the arrival of the procession, a cantata composed for the occasion by Mendelssohn will be sung ; at the conclusion of which the building in the centre will be opened, and disclose type-founders and printers in full activity. A song will be printed with the fresh-cast types, distributed amongst the public, and sung in general chorus. At three o'clock about three thousand persons will sit down to dinner in the building erected before the university, and in the evening the town will be illuminated.

The morning of the 25th will be devoted to a *conversazione*, and to an exhibition of all subjects connected with typography ; in

the afternoon there will be a grand musical performance under the direction of Mendelssohn, consisting of a symphony with choruses, composed by him expressly for this feast, and other pieces. In the evening there will be a ball.

The last day will be devoted to public amusements, the committee availing themselves of the funds so liberally placed at their disposal, to give the inhabitants of Leipsic and their guests an opportunity of closing "this great festival in harmless mirth and cheerfulness." The whole will conclude with fireworks, and a procession with torches, which (we mean the torches), according to German custom, will be extinguished on the market-place, amidst music and a general chorus.

The slight sketch in which we have attempted to convey to our readers some idea of the manner in which the Germans have celebrated their different jubilees, will naturally give rise to many interesting reflections on the changes which society has undergone. Whether all these changes are improvements, may be doubted; nor are we so attached to our German brethren as to be blind to their national or social defects.

At a period of general festivity, when we have just been reading their invitation to all "within and beyond the limits of their fatherland" to join with them in a friendly and brotherly spirit in the celebration of our common advantages, it would be ungracious to look at any but the bright side of the picture, and notwithstanding some few dark spots on the horizon, we rejoice that there is cause for sincere congratulation. Although our good wishes will appear in print *post festum*, we doubt not that they will be accepted by our kindly neighbours.

It may not be uninteresting, in conclusion, to notice the progress of printing in Leipsic in the several reports of the jubilees. In 1640 the number of master-printers was only 5, who employed 11 journeymen; in 1740 the number of the former was 18, with 137 journeymen.

Since this time the number of masters has

not experienced any very great increase, but their business has extended itself in proportion to the demands of the reading public, and the improvements which have been made in the art of printing, and it is not unlikely that a single establishment (that of the Brothers Brockhaus), prints as much as almost all the printers of 1740 together.

At present there are in Leipsic 116 booksellers, 9 typesetters, about 20 printers who employ 240 presses (10 of them for machine-printing), 620 journeymen and 200 apprentices. The quantity of paper consumed annually is estimated at present at 12,000 bales, each containing 5000 sheets. These details, although not to be compared with the gigantic estimates published in the interesting article on printing in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review*, display a very respectable activity in a city which contains little more than 40,000 inhabitants. As signs of the times, we may remark that the rage for illustrated works has likewise led to the establishment of two ateliers for engraving, conducted by Englishmen, in which there are about ten Englishmen employed, besides Germans. The recent improvements in printing, and the probable commencement of a new era in engraving, by the multiplication of copies by the galvanic process, indicate that posterity in celebrating the Jubilee in 1940 will have room for self-gratulation in any comparison they may deign to institute with our generation. Should some industrious antiquary, in the zeal of his researches, take down the present number from the dusty shelves to which we fear even our lucubrations may then be consigned, he will at least find it recorded, that, although duly sensible of the spirit of invention which is abroad in our own age, far from imagining that we had attained the height of perfection, we believe ourselves merely at the threshold of improvements and discoveries greatly surpassing the wonders of the first half of the nineteenth century.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

GREECE.

The degeneracy of music in this country may be traced to the absence of heroic or patriotic subjects, and the want of bards to sing them. "If the great musicians of antiquity, whose names are so familiar to our ears, had not likewise been poets, time and oblivion would long since have swept them away. Since writing and practical music have become separate professions, the celebrity of the poor musician dies with the vibration of his strings, or if in condescension he be remembered by a poet or historian, it is usually but to blazon forth his infirmities, and throw contempt upon his talents."—*Burney*. King Otho, as yet, has done little for any of the arts.

The new theatre is nearly completed at Athens, and M. Dametrio Carburì has been sent to Italy to secure a host of talent from the Lombardian and other states. The musical direction is to be conducted by Signor Fontana.

ITALY.

During the last half year eleven new operas have been produced in Italy, emanating from six new composers; of these, four were produced, for the first time, at Naples, three at Milan, one at Rome, one at Florence, one at Trieste, and one at Turin. The new composers are, Travesari, Gravillè, Corbi, Poniatowski, Panizza, and Nardi.

Among the known and admired operatic compositions of celebrated composers, the operas of Donizetti have been the most frequently represented, having been produced at fifty-three theatres, viz.—*Lucia di Lammermoor*, at 12 theatres; *Gemma di Vergy*, at 9; *Marino Faliero*, at 6; *Belisario*, at 6; *Anna Bolena*, at 6; *Roberto d'Evereux*, at 6; *L'Elisir d'Amore*, at 5; *Ajo nell'Imbarazzo*, at 5; *Olivio e Pasquale*, at 5; *Parisina*, at 2; *Pia de' Tolomei*, at 1; *Maria di Rudenz*, at 1; *Gianni di Parigi*, at 1; *Betty*, at 1; *Il Campanello*, at 1.

The operas of Bellini were performed at

seventeen different theatres, his *Beatrice* being represented at eight of them.

Those of Mercadante were produced at ten theatres, his *Gadrialla* was performed at six of them.

Those of Rossini at eight theatres, his *Barber of Seville* at seven of them.

The year 1839 produced the following results:—

New Operas by new Composers.			
At the Carnival	13	5	do
During the Spring	8	6	do.
During the Summer	5	2	do.
During the remainder of the year	11	5	do.

Total 37 new operas, 18 new composers.

From the Musical Journal.

A new opera has been produced at the Pio Istituto, entitled *Ildegonda*, the music and libretto composed by Temistocle Solera, a young man who has had no instruction in music whatever, but report states he was refused the hand of his beloved, the daughter of a rich apothecary living in this city, unless he produced a new opera. He commenced by studying the flute, and has now obtained the prize sought for, by the production of his opera of *Ildegonda*. The music is very simple and melodious, bearing a great similarity to the works of the early Italian composers. This opera was fully successful, but was only performed twice at the Pio Istituto, as the season then terminated. Solera has since left, with his bride, for Naples, where he intends studying the sublime science.

Among the virtuosi of the good old Italian school of music were some highly gifted individuals. The power of abstraction exhibited by one of them is strikingly exemplified in the following anecdote of a *somnambulist composer*. "A young priest in a Catholic seminary was accustomed to rise in his sleep and write sermons; he wrote music also with great exactness, tracing on it at equal distances the five lines, and putting upon them the clef, flats and sharps, afterwards he marked the notes, at first white,

then blackened those which were to be black. The words were written under; and once happening to make them too long, he quickly perceived they were not exactly under the corresponding notes: he corrected this inaccuracy by rubbing out what he had written, and putting the line below with the greatest precision."—*L. A. Muratori della forza della Fantasia umana, Venezia, 1766.*

NAPLES possesses five theatres. *San Carlo*, whose colossal proportions and splendid interior surpasses any thing of the kind in Europe. *Teatro del Fondo*, smaller than the former, but favourable to sound. *Teatro Nicovo* still smaller than the last mentioned, and used alternately for the representation of the opera buffa and plays. *Teatro dei Fiorentini*; Rossini's farce, *La Gazzetta*, was brought out here, and did not succeed. *San Fernando*, which bears a great resemblance to the *Teatro Nuovo*, but is rarely opened. *San Carlino* and *Fenice* are two theatres expressly designed for the populace. Sometimes two representations are given daily to avoid the immense crowd that usually assembles.

NICE.—Paganini expired in this city on the 27th May last. He died without absolution, or extreme unction, and the authorities refused sepulture to the corpse. The great violinist has left his large fortune to his two sisters and the mother of his son, while the latter becomes possessed of the landed property situate in the Duchy of Parma. For some time before his death Paganini had lost the use of his speech. The genius of this artist lay not altogether, as is commonly supposed, in his wonderful performance, replete as it was with every variety of tone, every species of difficulty, and in the whirlwind of his energy taking the hearers completely by storm, but also in the composition; the artful disposition of the several movements, and the scientific construction of the accompaniment, which distinguished all his music, these showed the musician of profound thought and refined sensibility.

GERMANY.

The number of musical publications which have appeared in Germany during the first three months of the present year, have exceeded those published during the corresponding period of last year (1839). Of 729 musical compositions there were 23 orchestral pieces, 37 for the violin, 14 violoncello, 21 flute, 3 other wind instruments, 21 for the guitar, 2 harp, 321 piano-forte, 10 organ, 23 church hymns, 13 concert

pieces, 203 songs, and 10 works on music, (exclusive of newspapers.) Of these, four are works of instruction.

MUNICH.—The first Italian opera performed here seems to have been *Adelaide Regia Principessa di Suso*, by Giulio Riva Medico Veneziano.

PRAGUE.—A new opera, in two acts, entitled *Die Felsenmühle von Estalieres*, the composition of C. G. Reissiger, has been produced with very equivocal success at the city theatre; and a new four-act opera, composed by C. L. von Oertzen, and entitled the *Fürsten von Messina* (Princess of Messina), was produced with unqualified success at Neustrelitz on the 5th ult.; the libretto, from the pen of J. F. Bahrdt, is founded on Schiller's celebrated *Bride of Messina*. This opera will be brought out at Dresden almost immediately.

VIENNA.—Heinrich Ernst, by the death of Paganini, the first violinist in Europe (our friend Ole Bull not excepted), has been performing with considerable *éclat* in this his almost native city, having commenced his studies from the age of eleven years, at the Conservatorium, under the direction of Professor Bohm. His concerts have been overflowing, notwithstanding the tickets for admission were at an unusually high price. The only novelty at the Court theatre was the production of Auber's *L'Ambasadrice*, which was withdrawn after its second representation.

This city possesses five theatres. Two in the city, namely the Burg Theater and the Opera, and three in the suburbs, the *Am der Wien* (formerly known under the celebrated name of Casporle), that of Leopoldstat, and the new one at Josephstat. The Burg Theater is devoted to tragedies, comedies, and other works of this kind. The Opera was formerly undertaken by government, but was so ill-managed that it was necessary in one year to pay from the public funds half a million of florins. Barbaja (the Neapolitan Impresario) had it for three years, and awakened a taste for Italian music by bringing successively before the public, Fodor, Colbran, Mombelli, Eckerlin, Donzelli, Rubini, David, Lablache, Ambroggi, &c. His lease was renewed April, 1826. The Viennese public, like that of London, are not always treated with either first-rate operas or singers once during a period of eight months; those that had the greatest success were by French composers—*Dame Blanche*, *Les Voitures versées*, *Le Maçon*, and Herold's *Marie* (the three last most flimsy productions), although in their library they have the works of Mozart, Weber, Rossini, Carafa, Weigl, and Cherubini!

The Theater an der Wien was sold Dec. 1826, to a creditor, for 147,507 florins.

The Leopoldstat and Josephstat Theatres generally give fairy tales and farces, with national airs, dances, and waltzes.

LEIPZIG.—Since the return of Madame Schroeder Devrient to Dresden, this town has relapsed into its wonted sameness; the operas of *Fidelio*, the *Hugonotts*, *Capuleti e Montecchi*, *Guido et Ginevra*, *Norma*, and *Iphigenie*, have been once more laid aside for the want of performers. Sophie Schloss, the singer who so delighted the Leipzigers during the winter, gave a brilliant concert under the direction of M. David, on the 22d ult., previous to her departure for Berlin.

BERLIN.—At the King's theatre we have had no musical novelty of late. Adam's *Faithful Shepherd*, and his *Brewer of Preston*, continue to attract full houses. Mozart's *Figaro* has been reproduced at the other royal theatre, with the addition of Sophie Schloss as the Countess, in which she reaped loud and repeated applause; she may be considered a great acquisition to the stage, the clear and distinct intonation of her beautiful soprano voice was much admired. Auber's *Fairy Lake*, which had been laid aside, is to be reproduced; the prima donna, Mademoiselle Loewe, will be assisted by M. Beyer, the new tenor from Breslau, who has rendered himself conspicuous by his personification of Sever in Bellini's *Norma*.

SWEDEN.

The first original opera was performed in 1774.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG.—Since the production of Adolph Adam's new ballet opera entitled *L'Ecumeur de Mer*, no musical performances have excited more attention than the concerts given by J. B. Gross, who performed two new overtures, a concerted piece, and a fantasia for the violoncello, all his own compositions. The empress, and the *dilettante* of the city who attended his concerts, were loud in their applause.

FRANCE.

A new opera by Leconte, entitled *Stella*, has been produced at Havre, in which the devil figures as one of the most prominent characters, both as to singing and action. The soul of Manfred is carried into hell, from whence he is ultimately rescued by his wife Stella, who carries him with great pomp into heaven. This *soul-stirring* performance was received by an overflowing house with enthusiastic applause.

PARIS.—In this city, as in many others, art and artists are completely at the mercy of the journalists, no fame can be acquired without them, no reputation established without their interference and protection. When Nourrit, the celebrated actor and singer, died, the editor of one of the musical reviews waited on his successor, Duprez, and with a profusion of compliments and apologies, intimated to him that Nourrit had invariably allowed 2000 francs a year to the review. Duprez, taken a little by surprise, expressed his readiness to allow half that sum; but with which the editor was so dissatisfied that he departed, complaining bitterly.

PORTUGAL.

A new opera has been produced at Lisbon, with considerable success, by M. Coppola; it is entitled *Gl' Illinesi*; the principal characters are filled by Batti the tenor, and Coletti the bass singers.

LONDON.

The London season is fast closing, and, as far as we have the means of judging by information from every quarter, it has been the worst, in a musical point of view, known for some years. Laporte, at the Italian Opera House, has not brought forward one *new opera* of the high class (Persiani's *Inez de Castro*, although an ingenious work, is in the main but a selection of passages suiting the voices of the principal singers.) Coletti, an excellent singer, has been seldom heard; he has been thrown in the back ground to make way for Tamburini's perpetual *tours de force*. Rubini is worn out, although highly extolled. If such quivering and twirling as he perpetrates constantly is to be called *singing*, then may all the masters of the art go to school again to unlearn the very first principles of vocalization, and commence *de novo*. The redeeming points in the opera season have been the production of *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Il Barbiere*.

The Ancient Concerts have by no means increased in reputation by this year's selections; they have now become a mere arena for the display of the inadequate powers of young and ill-taught singers, while the really established and well tried talent has been studiously kept from the public ear.

The following anecdote of the founder of the Ancient Concerts may not be generally known. "Lord Sandwich might serve as a model for a man of business. He rose early, he often appointed persons to attend him at six o'clock in the morning; and his time from that hour till a late dinner was

wholly dedicated to business; he was very methodical; slow, but not wearisome, cautious, but not suspicious, rather a man of sense than a man of talent; had much real good nature; his promises might be relied on. His manners partook of the old court; and he possessed, in a singular degree, the art of attaching persons of every rank to him. Few houses were more pleasant or instructive than his lordship's; it was filled with rank, beauty and talent, and every one was at ease. He professed to be fond of music, and musicians flocked to him; he was the soul of the Catch Club, and one of the directors of the Concert of Ancient Music; but (which is the case of more than one noble and more than one gentle amateur,) he had not the least real ear for music, and was equally insensible of harmony and melody."—See *Charles Butler's Reminiscences*.

The *Philharmonic* has revived somewhat from its torpidity. The new symphony of Spohr, although not so successful as the partizans of that composer could have wished, was nevertheless well attended. Another by *Strauss* (not the waltzing Strauss) went off extremely well; it is a work highly creditable to the writer. As usual, there has been no attraction in the *vocal pieces*; we again repeat, that *concerted pieces* are the only sure auxiliaries to form a bill where the instrumentation is of such a high order. Could not the directors have a selection from some of Handel's Serenatas, *L'Allegro*, for instance? Or is it possible there may be just so much talent existing as to write some vocal piece purposely for these concerts? But no—they evidently prefer going on in the usual way, according to a plan laid down by certain persons who would seem to have the entire control of the society. The new pianist, M. Liszt, has made what is called a great sensation. His playing is wonderful, full of wild harmonies, extraordinary power of wrist, and uncommon energy. Molique, the new violinist, seems to have the real artistical spirit both in his compositions and playing, but, excepting his estimation among musicians, it will not (we suspect) avail him towards the desirable end of making a fortune here, because it is very evident the British public are always better pleased with charlatanism than real merit, or (to put the case in a milder form) they must have *novelty* at any price, and unless an artist is *very much talked of*, they know little and care less about his performances; his feeling, taste, sentiment, purity of style, &c. &c. are words they hear, but have no power to comprehend.

The German opera at the Prince's Thea-

tre is an attempt to introduce a better order of music than has been heard for some time. If there be a want of that physical power and culture which distinguishes the singers at Her Majesty's Theatre, they have at least displayed considerable ability, both in Weber's delightful opera of "Euryanthe," and in Marschner's opera of "Der Templer und die Jüdin," both of which have been produced for the first time in this country with considerable success. The choruses are of the highest order, possessing that unity of feeling with delicacy and purity of expression, which so distinguish the German choruses from those of the inferior Italian school; the softness and modulation of their voices, now tender and simple like the chorus of outlaws in *Der Templer* "Es zittert im Fruhroth," and then bursting forth into the loud and mirthful strains, as in the hunting chorus of "Bruder wacht," nightly draw forth enthusiastic applause.

Spohr's "Faust," "Jessonda," Weber's "Euryanthe," "Der Freischütz," and others have been given in succession to good houses, although not supported by the best voices.

Drury Lane—The success of the Concerts à la Musard at the English Opera has induced Mr. Eliason, in conjunction with Monsieur Julien, to open this theatre for the performance of instrumental music, with vocal choruses. The favourite quadrilles by Musard, and waltzes by Strauss, with the elegant display of flowers and mirrors, attract full and fashionable attendances every evening. Mr. Charles Kean is in treaty for his theatre.

The season at Covent Garden Theatre closed as it commenced, with a success which the unremitting exertions of the fair lessee to secure and reward native talent fully deserved and rightly maintained. The new opera, compiled from the musical compositions of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, will be one of the chief attractions next season. Madame Vestris has already completed engagements with Farren, Anderson, Miss Ellen Tree, and Miss Rainforth.

Haymarket Theatre.—Under the guardianship of Mr. B. Webster, continues to meet with the same brilliant results that distinguished it during the last season. It is much to be regretted that the proprietor of this elegant theatre should be so lost to his own interest as to refuse Mr. Webster a renewal of his lease. Mr. W. is the only person, save and except Macready, capable of undertaking the management of Old Drury. The new tragedy by Sergeant Talfourd, "Glencoe," or the fate of the Macdonalds, has become a standard favourite.

The English Opera House has been again opened by a company of performers with fair prospects of success. A new piece, entitled "The Three Secrets," and a laughable farce, called "Ins and Outs," form, with the attraction of the Ladies' Club, an interesting evening's entertainment.

The committee of the Sacred Harmonic Society having retraced their ill-advised steps by returning to their original prices, have met with a corresponding increase of public patronage. Mendelssohn's oratorio of St. Paul has been the last performance, and was given in a most masterly style. The choruses have greatly improved.

Olympic.—This delightful little theatre, after a short and prosperous season, under the management of Mr. Butler, who supplied the public with a variety of pleasing trifles, has been re-opened by M. Cloup, the veteran manager of French companies in London. Among other little vaudevilles "La Famille Improvise" has been completely successful.

Queen's Theatre.—Through the spirit and determination of Mr. James, the manager, this theatre is rising considerably in public estimation. Miss Emmeline Montague has been a recent attraction.

Littolf has a power of hand far exceeding that of any pianist except Liszt, and the finished brilliancy with which he touches off the varied difficulties of Weber's Concert Stück entitle him to rank among the first pianists even of this "miracle-working" age.

Liszt is about visiting Scotland, Ireland, and the provinces; he will be accompanied by Mademoiselle Villowen, F. Mori, Lavenue, and Parry, jun.

Beethoven's Battle Symphony, that erst did astound the ears and astonish the nerves of the frequenters of the Old Drury Lane Oratorios, has been performed at the Surrey Zoological Gardens by Mr. Godfrey's band.

Lord Burghersh has likewise written a Battle Symphony, in imitation of the great master; it will be performed at the Philharmonic. A double orchestra is engaged for the purpose.

Her Grace the Duchess of Argyll, Mrs. John Abel Smith, and one or two other ladies of haut-ton, have given musical soirées, at which English music, glees, catches, madrigals, &c. were performed, (styles of composition which no foreign nation has equalled,) and they have produced great pleasure to the lovers of native music. Italian music has for some seasons been the only charm, but the spell having now been broken by the most influential ladies of high rank, we trust the example will be followed, and that

the beautiful structure of English glees, requiring the most artistical singing, will at last regain the place it once held in the estimation of our countrymen.

The great Lord Bacon, amongst other subjects explored by his astonishing grasp of mind, notices the effects of music; he says, (in speaking of dramatic poetry, and the effects it produces on the mind,) "many wise men have thought it to the mind as the bow to the fiddle; and certain it is, though a great secret in nature, that the minds of men in company are more open to affections and impressions than when alone." This is true to a certain extent, but we must recollect that people in company, although by extended sympathy their feelings may be more affected than when alone; yet the numerous interruptions that every frequenter, either of theatres or concerts, must have felt most exquisitely annoying, from nonsensical observations, loud talking, and the usual mixture of vanity and ill-breeding that too often occur to mar the comfort of those who go *purposely* to listen, and know how to exercise that valuable capacity; all this combines to render music or dramatic recitation, when exhibited before a large and mixed audience, rather hazardous as to the appeal to *sympathy*. Fashion, cabal, and personal weariness, are its formidable antagonists, unless you can secure the Utopian boon, an *unprejudiced* auditory.

The following passage is an unanswerable condemnation of the use of chromatic harmony. "For discords, the *second* and the *seventh* are of all the most disagreeable in harmony, the one being next above the unison, the other next under the diapason, which shows that *harmony requires a competent distance of notes*." Had Lord Bacon lived in the present days of improvement of musical instruments, and heard some of the splendid works of a kindred mind to his own, (the immortal Handel,) performed by a band of vocal and instrumental performers, such as is sometimes heard at the Abbey or Exeter Hall, with his philosophical knowledge and excellent feeling upon the subject, we should have had the musical portions of his essay considerably enlarged.

Lover has written some very beautiful songs lately, "Sprite of the Foam," similar in style to "Through the Wood;" "Music bounding," a simple but pleasing melody; and others we have not space to particularize. The Honourable Mrs. Norton is an active competitor, but her style is more sentimental and sustained. The "Midshipman," "The Name," "Song of the Fairies," and "Exile," are very superior songs.

Among the Piano-forte music are Thalberg's principal pieces, arranged as duets, and rather easier to the players in that form. Two fantasias by Döhler, one in E flat, the other a subject from Oberon, evince great musical feeling and tact. Rosellen's fantasia upon subjects from Parisina and La Voliere, are like the style of Hunter's pieces, brilliant and effective, but of moderate difficulty; the subjects are very pleasing. The "Coro Marcia," from Pacini's opera, "I Cavalieri di Valenza," one of his most effective pieces of that style, has been arranged by Mr. Horncastle as a duet. It is brilliant, easy, and adapted for two players of moderate proficiency. The same composer has likewise produced a third divertimento (*Melange Militaire*) for the piano-forte, consisting of a march, waltz, and polonaise; this will be an established favourite among the moderate class of players. Miss Masson's Jacobite songs, "The Blackbird," "Lochiel," and the "Balmoran Rant," are well-arranged revivals of some beautiful old melodies.

Lately published, in 1 vol. royal 4to., "A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland, comprising a Dissertation on the Antiquity and Characteristics of Irish Music and Musical Instruments, together with some Account of various eminent Harpers of later Times, and Notices of the more remarkable Melodies and Pieces of the Collection." By Edward Bunting. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the high degree of

early civilisation and national glory laid claim to by the Irish people, it has never been questioned that, in the most remote times, they had at least a national music peculiar to themselves, and that their bards and harpers were eminently skilful in its performance. To Mr. Bunting the musical world are indebted for the best collection of Irish airs extant, from which Mr. T. Moore selected many for his celebrated collection. This work will be found highly interesting to such as are fond of studying the character of the Irish people through their music. One air, called "Ballindery," seems to prove that this people possessed a knowledge of counterpoint.

There is now ready for delivery to subscribers, a beautifully engraved Portrait of the late William Linley, Esq., President of the Madrigal Society, &c. &c., exquisitely engraved in the highest style of mezzotinto, by Lupton, from the original and much-admired picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P. R. A., in the Dulwich Gallery. The number is strictly limited to one hundred, to be delivered to subscribers only. Price one guinea each, and published by Messrs. Leggatt and Neville, 79 Cornhill. We have seen the portrait from which this engraving is taken; it is an excellent youthful likeness of that highly-talented amateur, and is worthy a place in the collections of his friends and admirers.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

GERMANY.

THE number of students in the several German and Dutch universities, at the commencement of the year, was as follows:—

Berlin . .	1778	Jena . .	450
Bonn . .	648	Leipzig . .	925
Breslau . .	631	Leyden . .	614
Erlangen . .	325	Marburg . .	276
Freiburg . .	315	Munich . .	1440
Giessen . .	377	Rostock . .	115
Göttingen . .	675	Tubingen . .	729
Groningen . .	274	Utrecht . .	510
Heidelberg . .	622	Wurzburg . .	447

LEIPZIG.—Dr. Julius Fuerst, a very learned Jewish theologian, has been appointed tutor and professor of the Hebrew and Talmudian languages to the university.

Upwards of 18,500*l.* has been placed by order of the late King of Prussia at the disposal of a committee formed for effecting the restoration and completion of the cathedral at Cologne.

Professor Gebauer, of Breslau, has succeeded in taking the most minute objects by means of the Daguerreotype and the aid of the Drummond light.

Dahlmann, of Jena, has completed the first volume of his "History of Denmark;" this elaborate work is now in the press.

There are 81 journals published in the Austrian empire; of these 36 are political periodicals, and are written—16 in the German, 11 in Italian, 5 in Hungarian, 1 in Bohemian, 1 in Illyrian, and 1 in the Wallachian languages. The *Beobachter* is the only periodical having original foreign correspondence. The *Ost und West* is celebrated for the great literary talent displayed in the articles of its many gifted contributors. The *Wiener Jahrbucher* is not a political journal, but enjoys a large and influential circulation. Of the non-political periodicals, 45 are in the German, 38 in Italian, 4 in the Bohemian, 3 in the Hungarian, 1 in Latin, 1 in French; and 1 in the Servian lan-

guages. The two enjoying the greatest circulation are the *Theater Zeitung* and the *Humorist*; the former containing well written notices on all that refers to trade and the arts.

Joseph Lalich, a schoolmaster in Verbovszko, in Hungary, has discovered a certain cure for hydrophobia. His method having in every instance been attended with success, the Emperor of Austria presented him with 700*l.*, and an annuity of 150*l.* during his natural life.

The first part of K. von Raumer's "Crusades," (*Kreuzzüge*), has been published at Stuttgart; the work is divided into four essays. The first is on "Napoleon and Germany," in which the learned author takes a different view to Victor Hugo. The second essay, on the "Poet and the Writer of Travels," is principally directed against Lamartine's "Travels in the East." The third essay answers the query, "Does Sweden rise, or does the Baltic recede;" and the fourth and last essay on "The Geography of the English," in which Hugh Murray's *Encyclopædia of Geography* is especially noticed and approved of. The work is exceedingly interesting, and worthy attentive perusal.

HANOVER.—The prohibition of all works treating of, or relating to the constitutional laws of this kingdom, has had a serious effect on the literature of the country; added to these severe measures, the prohibition of the Leipzig "*Allgemeine Zeitung*," and the penalty attached to any person receiving the same within the kingdom of Hanover, has produced very loud and general complaints here, and in other parts of Germany.

HEIDELBERG.—The son of the celebrated Oriental traveller, Zacharia, is preparing for publication the travels of his father, undertaken in 1837 and 1838.

GÖTTINGEN.—Ottfried Müller has left this city, in company with Schöll, on an archæ-

ological tour to the Neapolitan states and Greece.

OFEN.—The death of Professor Wesslerer, who was engaged on a "Numismatical History of Hungary," having prevented the completion of that desirable work, J. Rupp is now compiling a "Compendium of Hungarian Numismatics," extracted principally from the papers of the late professor.

COLOGNE.—A labourer has discovered, two feet below the surface of the earth, an antique urn, containing 823 silver and 4 golden Roman coins of Vespasian, Adrian, and Antonius Pius.

PESTH.—Two new Bohemian periodicals have appeared this year, the *Dennice* (Morning Star), published by J. B. Maly, and the *Wlastimil*, (the Friend of Home). The former is chiefly filled with translations from the works of Thomas Moore, Dumas, "Boz," &c.; the columns of the latter are principally filled with original articles of sterling merit. From the pages of the *Bohemia* we learn that Ignaz Palme, who spent eleven months in Koordistan, and who is conversant with French, Italian, and Arabic, is about to resume his eastern travels. The *Panorama des Universums* is about to publish copious extracts from the first series of his travels, now in the press.

Professor Swoboda has published a Latin translation of Goethe's "*Iphigenia auf Tauris*," in verse.

FRANKFORT.—The Taunus railway from this town to Wiesbaden and Mayence is now open the whole distance.

OLDENBURG.—There are three newspapers published in this town, the *Humoristische Blätter*, and the *Mittheilungen aus Oldenburg*. The *Oldenburger Anzeiger* is, however, the most read. Literature is at a low ebb, and the Ducal Library, open four times a week to the public, is scarcely visited for literary purposes.

SICILY.

The literature of this island continues in the same state that it was half a century ago.

The only recent publication on ecclesiastical literature is the "*De venerabili eucharistia*," by Catalano, in four volumes. The study of medicine is now attracting considerable attention, and through the exertions of Antonio di Giacomo, Franc Scuderi, and Rosario Scudèri, the people no longer look on charms, the evil eye, signs, and other absurdities, as the sole causes of all illness. The homœopaths, however, are promulgating their vicious doctrines. Jurisprudence, like philosophy, is entirely neglected in the island, and is in such an unsatisfactory state, that each councillor is enabled to work out any conclusion he finds most convenient to his pocket. The highest bribe is invariably the consideration which influences the decision. An institution has been formed for

the promotion of agriculture and manufactures, but it has not produced any satisfactory results. M. Politi, a most distinguished antiquary and architect, has been enabled to form a valuable cabinet of paintings, engravings, antique vases, minerals, and medals at Girgenti, together with a small library of books, the whole of which he has opened for public inspection.

The first attempt to diffuse Sicilian literature, through periodicals, was by Domenico Schiavo, in 1756, and in 1764 a *New Miscellany* appeared by Sergio.

The latter was followed in 1772 by the *Giornale ecclesiastico*, the *Notizie de letterati*, the *Gazetta Letteraria*, which appear in a series of letters, and the *Giornale di tutte le Scienze*; from 1790 to 1810, during the troubles of Sicily, a dead silence prevailed in every department of literature; in 1814 the *Giornale di Palermo* and the *Giornale enciclopédico di Sicilia* appeared; the latter containing articles on foreign literature, was soon withdrawn. The *Deca di belle Arti* was the next periodical of note, and contained contributions from Franco, Juzenga and Agnello.

The periodicals of the present day appearing in Sicily are the *Ceres*, a daily journal, the *Erix*, a political journal twice each week; the *Sicilian telegraph*, and the *Biblioteca sacra*; in addition to these there are two or three medical periodicals, and the *Indagatore*, the *Peloritanian Observer*, the *Spectator* by Zancle, the *Maurolico*, edited by Mortillaro, and the *Marcus*, appear weekly in Messina. The *Atti*, the organ of the Genoese academy, appears half-yearly, and the *Monitore economico-technologico-agrarico*, delivers two sheets monthly. In addition to these there are 15 periodicals now publishing in Palermo:—1, *L'Effemeridi scientifiche e letterarie*; 2, *Il Giornale di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*; 3, *Il Giornale di Statistica*; 4, *La Clinica chirurgica dello Spedale civico*; 5, *Gli Annali della Medicina omiopatica*; 6, *Il Giornale de Commercio e d'Industria*; 7, *Il Giornale dell'Intendenza*; 8, *La Cerere*; 9, *La Guida Sicula*; 10, *L'Oreto*; 11, *Il Caffè*; 12, *La fata galante*; 13, *L'Occhio*; 14, *La Ruota*; and 15, *L'Utile*. Among the new periodicals, *La Sentinella del Peloro* has appeared with every probability of success at Messina, and *Il Trovatore* at Catanea.

The public schools are conducted on the Bell-Lancastrian system, which was first introduced into Italy in Piedmont, and has been adopted in Sicily by the *Commissione della pubblica istruzione ed educazione*, who have ordered that a public school shall be formed on this method to every 4000 inhabitants.

FRANCE.

During the last year 5324 works were published in France, 287 musical compositions, and 1015 copper-plate and lithographic engravings, and 100 maps.

A work on the ancient manners of the Normans, and their code of criminal and exchequer laws in Normandy from 1207 to 1245, has been reprinted from a MS. found in the Bibliothèque St. Gèneviève.

The Society of Antiquarians at Rouen have offered a gold medal for the best reply to the question—"What was the state of feudalism under the government of the Dukes of Normandy?"

Didot frères, the celebrated Parisian publishers, have announced the following works in continuation of their *Univers pittoresque*:—the "*Histoire et Description de la Pologne*," by Foster, in one volume, with plates, and a "*Histoire et Description de la Turquie*," by Jouannin; and van Gaver Jouannin, who has been residing for a long time in the East, and by his aid the work will be embellished with upwards of 100 engravings.

F. Denis has published a work of very curious and entertaining legends, entitled "*Chronicles chevaleresques de l'Espagne et du Portugal, suivies du Tisserand de Segovie*," a drama of the seventeenth century; the notes are valuable, and evince considerable research. The "*Bibliotheca Charpentier*," a collection of the best French and foreign works, is to be enriched by "*Poésies complètes de Sainte Beuve*," and "*Oeuvres complètes de Rabelais*," with notes by C. Labitte, the "*Memoirs of Alfieri*," translated by A. de Latour, a translation of the Koran by Kasimirski, and Klopstock's "*Messias*," translated by the Baroness Carlowitz, and the two parts of Goethe's "*Faust*," translated by H. Braze.

Captain Lafont de Lurzy has published one of the most interesting works of travels which has appeared in Paris for many years, the "*Quinze ans de voyages autour du monde*." The author possesses the happy facility of fixing the interest of his readers, and carrying them throughout the whole work. The remarks on the opium trade, and on the English colonization of Africa, show a perfect knowledge of these intricate subjects. The work comprises three volumes, illustrated with numerous plates. The two first have already appeared, and the third is now in the press.

BELGIUM.

Two new universities are in the course of formation in Belgium: one at Antwerp, under the auspices of Viscount Chateaubriant, and the other at Ghent. The institution of public schools in Belgium is much needed, the proportion of educated children to the uneducated being 1 in 10; and in the province of Brabant, which is generally considered the best educated, in a population of 5873 young men of 18 and 19 years of age, 3105 were found unable to read or write.

Great preparations are making for the celebration of the opening of Rubens' monument in the month of August. Two prizes have been offered for the best poem

and the best prose essay in honour of this celebrated painter.

ITALY.

A very interesting work has just appeared at Milan, entitled "*Attuale storia del progresso ed dell' incilimento dell' umano intelletto desunta dal titolo dei Giornali*."

Academies of sciences and arts have been formed under the auspices of the Austrian government at Venice and Milan; at the latter the professors are Morosi and Carlini for astronomy, Consigliacchi for physics, Dr. Franconetti, Count Litta, A. N. Manzoni, and Professor Bordoni. The president is Count Castiglione. At Venice J. Santini is appointed professor of astronomy, and B. Gamba, librarian of the Marc's Library.

According to a recent police regulation every shopkeeper in Naples is compelled to suspend two lighted glass lamps before his house every evening, for the purpose of affording light to the city.

TURIN.—The Countess Diodata Rovero di Novello, the authoress of several lyrical poems and twelve dramatic novels, including the celebrated poem "*Sparzia*," terminated her mortal career in this city on the 5th ult. at the advanced age of sixty-five; she was the daughter of the late Marquis Giuseppe Angelo di Saluzzo, one of the founders of the royal academy of Turin.

Rosini, the celebrated Italian scholar, who has translated two romances into French, and one into German, has just published the first nine numbers of his "*Storia della pittura italiana, esposta coi monumenti*," which he has dedicated to the King of France. The chronological arrangement is excellent. The copies from the works of Nicolo and Giunta Pisano, the two allegorical pictures of Simon Memmi, and several of the effusions of Fiesole, are highly interesting.

SWEDEN.

Among the translations lately published here may be remarked Schwab's *Hero-Legends*, Oehlenschläger's *Correggio*, Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, &c., besides the current novels of the day.

Professor Grubbe, of Upsala, has just favoured us with a goodly octavo, under the title of "*Philosophical Development of the Rights of Society*."

Tegnér's two last poems are, a conservative "*Salutation Song*" to the House of Nobles on the opening of the Diet, and a fine "*Lament*" on the death of Archbishop Wallin.

The Lady Brehmer, who is now well known not only in Scandinavia but in Germany also, has gained great applause by her last beautiful novel, "*Home*." It should by all means be translated.

The "*Legendary History of Sweden*," by Afzelius, a clergyman distinguished for his antiquarian researches, of which two small

volumes have appeared, is admirably written, and, as might be expected from the title, is full of historical pictures, traditional tales, and snatches of song and superstition. The whole work will probably consist of three or four volumes.

Among the illustrated serials now publishing, we cannot omit mentioning and recommending Nillson's "Primitive Inhabitants of the Scandinavian North," and Hedenborg's "Manners, Customs and Costumes of Turkey."

A year or two ago "old-book shops" were unknown here; now there are three in Stockholm.

POLAND.

Professor Poplinski, in his new work on Numismatics, now in course of publication, denies the current opinion that Poland, previous to the year 1300, had only coins of leather (*aspergillorum*), which were washed with an alloy of silver and copper, and stamped with an antique bust; but that during the government of King Wenzel, who ascended the throne of Poland in 1300, and about the year 1333, the small groschen were first introduced, called by *Miechowita*, the Polish historian of Cracow, *asperioles*; and further, that previous to that period (1300), the barter between the Poles and the more northern tribes, was effected by means of skins, hides, and furs.

RUSSIA.

A work on the state of public instruction in the Russian empire, recently published at

Hamburg, shows the following as the result of a government inquiry. There are 100,000 scholars in the public and private schools in the Russian empire. In the seven universities there are 2700 students. The educational establishments in St. Petersburg, under the patronage and direction of the government, are—9 gymnasiums, 50 high schools, and 104 national and 100 private schools; while the city of Berlin has only 5 gymnasiums and about 250 other schools. In the year 1838, 777 original works were published in the Russian empire, and 51 periodicals; 500,000 books were imported from foreign countries into Russia during the last year (1839).

GREECE.

ATHENS.—The first volume of "Sharlatos Byzantio's Old and New Greek Lexicon," has just been published by Koromilas, who, also has just issued his "Old and New Geography," "Chortabis's physical, mathematical, and political Geography," and "Gennadio's translation of Kammer's *Allgemeiner Geschichte*."

CHINA.

Slawuskowski, a Polish noble, who was banished to Siberia, but afterwards received permission to visit China, has established a school of the French and Polish languages at Maimotsky for the last two years, and has now between 4 and 500 scholars, among whom are many of the sons of Mandarines and Tatar nobles.

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